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CONTENTS OF No. 225.

Page

ART. I.—1. Effects of Arts, Trades, and Professions, and of Civic States and Habits of Living, on Health and Longevity; with Suggestions for the Removal of many of the Agents which produce Disease and shorten the Duration of Life. By C. Turner Thakrah, Esq. London: 1832.

2. Contributions to Vital Statistics, being a Development of the Rate of Mortality and the Laws of Sickness, from original and extensive data; with an Inquiry into the Influence of Locality, Occupations, and Habits of Life on Health; an Analytical View of Railway Accidents; and an Investigation into the Progress of Crime in England and Wales. By F. G. P. Nelson, F.L.S. Third edition. London: 1859.

3. On the Health of Nightmen, Scavengers, and Dustmen. By William Augustus Guy, M.B., Cantab. Journal of the Statistical Society. Vol. II. Part I.

4. On the Duration of Life in the Members of the several Professions. By William A. Guy, M.B., Cantab. Read before the Statistical Society of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, 11th September, 1846.

5. On the Duration of Life among the Families of the Peerage and Baronetage of the United Kingdom. By William A. Guy, M.B., Cantab. Journal of the Statistical Society, March, 1845.

6. Die Metallurgischen Krankheiten des Oberharzes. Von Dr. Carl Heinrich Brockman. Königlich-Hannoverschem Hof-und Bergmedicus zu Clausthal, Osterode.

7. Papers relating to the Sanitary State of the People of England; being the Results of an Inquiry into the different Proportions of Death produced by certain Diseases in the different Districts in England. Communicated to the General Board of Health. By Edward Headlam Greenhow, M.D.: with an Introductory Report by the Medical Officer of the Board, on the Preventability of certain kinds of premature Death. 1858, ... 1

II.—The History of Herodotus, a new English version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, &c. By George Rawlinson, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford; assisted by Col. Sir Henry Rawlinson, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. Wilkinson, F.R.S. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1859, ... 32

Page

ART. III.—Essays on the Coal Formation and its Fossils, and a Description of the Coal Fields of North America and Great Britain, annexed to the Government Survey of the Geology of Pennsylvania. By Henry Darwin Rogers, State Geologist. Edinburgh and Philadelphia: 1858. 3 vols. 4to. with Plans, . . 68

IV.—Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years 1857, 1858, and 1859. By Laurence Oliphant, Esq., Private Secretary to Lord Elgin. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1860, . . 96

V.—History of Europe, from the fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852. By Sir Archibald Alison, Bart., D.C.L. Vols. II.—VIII. Edinburgh: 1853–59, ... 119

VI.—1. Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London. By D. W. Mitchell, B.A., F.L.S.; and P. L. Sclater, M.A. Third edition. London: 1859.

2. Zoological Sketches. By Joseph Wolf. Edited by D. W. Mitchell. London: 1858.

3. Annual Reports of the Zoological Society of London: 1859.

4. Bulletin de la Société Impériale Zoologique d'Acclimatation. tom. 1—4.: 1854—1859.

5. Animaux Utiles, Domestication et Naturalisation. Par Isidore Geoffroy St. Hillaire. Paris: 1854.

6. Gleanings from Knowsley Menagerie. 2 vols. 18mo. 161

VII.—Lord Brougham's Acts and Bills from 1811 to the present time, now first collected and arranged, with an Analytical Review, showing their results upon the Amendment of the Law, by Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, Bart. London: 1857, ... 189

VIII.—Souvenirs et Correspondance de Madame Récamier. Par Madame Lenormant. 2 vols. Paris: 1859, . 204

IX.—1. Financial Reform Tracts. Liverpool: 1859.

2. People's Blue Book. London: 1856.

3. American Almanac of General Information. 1857–1859. New York.

4. Annuaire d'Economie Politique et de Statistique. 1857–1859. Paris.

5. Report on Finances. By the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. New York: 1858.

6. On the Pressure of Taxation. By George W. Norman, Esq: 1850.

7. Report on Taxation, direct and indirect, adopted by the Liverpool Financial Reform Association. 1859, ... 230

Lord Macaulay, ... 273

CONTENTS OF No. 226.

Page

ART. I. — 1. Examen du Système Commercial connu sous le nom du Système Protecteur. Par M. Michel Chevalier, Membre de l'Institut, Conseiller d'État. Deuxième Édition. Paris: 1853.

2. Etude Économique sur les Tarifs des Douanes. Par M. Amé, Directeur des Douanes et Contributions Indirectes à Bordeaux. Deuxième Édition, revue et augmentée. Paris: 1860.

3. Mélanges d'Économie Politique et de Finances. Par M. Léon Faucher. Membre de l'Institut, Ancien Ministre de l'Intérieur. 2 vols. Paris: 1856, ... 277

II. — 1. The Life of John Milton, narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time. By David Masson, M.A., &c. Vol. I., 1608–39. 8vo. Cambridge and London: 1859.

2. An Account of the Life, Opinions, and Writings of John Milton, with an Introduction to 'Paradise Lost.' By Thomas Keightley. 8vo. London: 1859.

3. The Poems of John Milton, with Notes by Thomas Keightley. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1859.

4. Original Papers illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton, including sixteen Letters of State written by him, now first published from MSS. in the State Paper Office. Collected and edited by W. Douglas Hamilton. Printed for the Camden Society. 1859, ... 312

III. — The Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1858–9. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, . . 348

Page

IV. — 1. The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon; a History of the Early Inhabitants of Britain. By Thomas Wright, Esq. London: 1852.

2. Treatise on the Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons, as exhibited in the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici. Translated from the German of Professor Heinrich Leo. London: 1852.

3. An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland. By J. J. A. Worsaae, For. F. S. A. London. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1852, ... 356

V. — Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of F. M. the Duke of Wellington: Ireland, from March 30. 1807, to April 12. 1809. Edited by his Son. London: 1859, ... 394

VI. — L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IVme Siècle. Par le Prince Albert de Broglie. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1856—1859, ... 422

VII. — 1. An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspere, folio, 1632–5; and of certain Shaksperian Documents likewise published by Mr. Collier. By N. E. S. A. Hamilton. 1860.

2. The Shakspeare Fabrications: or, the MS. Notes of the Perkins Folio shown to be of recent Origin. By C. Mansfield Ingleby, Esq., LL.D. 1859.

3. Mr. J. Payne Collier's Reply to Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton's Inquiry. 1860, . . . 452

VIII. — 1. On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life. By Charles Darwin, M.A. 8vo. 1859.

2. On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type. By Alfred Russel Wallace. (February, 1858.) Proceedings of the Linnæan Society, August, 1858, . . . 487

[And other Works.]

IX. — 1. La Suisse dans la Question de Savoie. Lausanne: 1860.

2. Mémoire sur les Rapports entre la Suisse et la Savoie neutralisée. Berne: 1859, . . . 533

THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW,

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ART. I.—1. *Effects of Arts, Trades, and Professions, and of Civic States and Habits of Living, on Health and Longevity; with Suggestions for the Removal of many of the Agents which produce Disease and shorten the Duration of Life.* By C. TURNER THAKRAH, Esq. London: 1832.

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6. *Die Metallurgischen Krankheiten des Oberharzes.* Von Dr. CARL HEINRICH BROCKMAN. Königlich-Hannoverschem Hof-und Bergmedicus zu Clausthal, Osterode.

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Proportions of Death produced by certain Diseases in the different Districts in England. Communicated to the General Board of Health. By EDWARD HEADLAM GREENHOW, M.D.: *with an Introductory Report by the Medical Officer of the Board, on the Preventability of certain kinds of premature Death.* 1858.

IT is but natural to suppose, that in such a busy hive of industry as England, where so large a proportion of the population — at least one-half — is engaged in the prosecution of arts and manufactures, that the effects of unceasing toil, and the debilitating influences of many employments, will have a certain effect upon the health and longevity of the artisan. We cannot pit the tender muscles of the child against the senseless energy of steam, without producing a strain upon the vital principle of the workers which must be highly injurious to it. We cannot consign a population as large as that of many German States to live perpetually in the bowels of the earth, without being prepared for an increased death-rate. The hundreds of diverse manufactures and handicrafts which make the land hum with labour, must all be prosecuted under circumstances more or less inimical to perfect health. If we take the agricultural labourer of the better class, whose daily toil is performed under the roof of heaven, it must be clear that all trades which pursue their monotonous vocations in the crowded workshops of crowded cities, in constrained attitudes, and subject to debilitating emanations, must, to a certain extent, fall short of his standard of health. Nevertheless, we do not think the public are prepared for the state of things which a close examination of the sanitary condition of certain portions of the working population divulges. Accustomed to be furnished with all the appliances of easy life and luxury, the great middle and upper classes have never perhaps given a thought as to the manner in which these wants and appliances are supplied. Accustomed to sip the honey, it never strikes us that perhaps its product involves in some cases the life of the working-bee. Yet the lady, who, from the silken ease of her fauteuil, surveys her drawing-room, may learn a lesson of compassion for the poor workman in nearly every article that lies before her. Those glazed visiting-cards, if they could speak, possibly could tell of the paralyzed hand that made them; that splendid mirror which lights up the stately room, has, without doubt, reflected the trembling form of the emaciated Italian artificer poisoned with mercurial fumes; those hangings so soft and delicate, may have produced permanent disease to the weaver, whose stomach has been injured by its

constant pressure against the beam; the porcelain vase on the bracket has dragged the 'dipper's' hand into a poison that, sooner or later, will destroy its power, and, may be, produce in him mania and death; nay, the very paper on the walls, tinted with all the vernal brightness of spring, has, for all we know, ulcerated with its poisonous dust the fingers of the hanger. The history of the manufacture of almost every article of elegance or *virtû* would disclose to us pictures of workmen transiently or permanently disabled in the production of them. All this suffering — much of it totally preventible — goes on without complaint, the workman falls out of the ranks, and another instantly takes his place, to be succeeded perhaps by a third. We are convinced that such a waste of health and life could not be endured, if the public were fully alive to the magnitude of the evil; for this reason we shall endeavour, in the following essay, to give a true picture of what may perhaps, without pedantry, be termed the pathology of industrial occupations and professions in this country.

Foremost among those artisans who suffer from the inhalation of dust and other gritty particles given off in the pursuit of their employment are the grinders of Sheffield. Dr. J. C. Hall, in a series of papers published lately in the 'British Medical Journal,' draws a picture of the condition of these unfortunate men, which is indeed appalling, and without doubt gives them the bad pre-eminence of pursuing the most deadly trade in existence. Grinding is divided into dry, wet, and mixed; that is, the various articles of steel turned out of the cutlers' shops of Sheffield, are subjected to the stone entirely dry, revolving in water, or to processes involving both methods. Of the three, the former is by far the most deadly: forks, needles, brace-bits, &c., are ground entirely on the dry stone, and the amount of finely divided metal dust and silicious grit given out in the process may be imagined, when we state that a dozen of razors, weighing 2lb. 4ozs. as they come from the forge in the rough, lose in the process of 'shaping' on the dry stone, upwards of 5 ounces, and the stone itself, seven inches in diameter, would be reduced one inch. To receive the mixture of stone and steel dust thus rapidly given off, the position of the grinder is but too convenient; straddled across his 'horsing,' as the frame in which the grindstone revolves is called, with his knees bent in an acute angle, his body inclined forwards, and his head hanging over the work, his mouth is brought into fatal contact with the poisonous dust, and his eyes with the rush of the sparks. Fork-grinding is performed entirely on the dry stone, and consequently it is the most deadly occupation pursued in Sheffield. About 500

men and boys are at present devoting themselves to destruction during the period of early manhood, for the benefit of the users of steel forks. 'The silver fork school' imagines perhaps that these vile appliances have long been banished to the same limbo as snuffers, and will be surprised to learn that more steel forks than ever are thus fashioned in Sheffield, and the poor grinder, as he receives into his lungs the products of the fashioning in his own person, exemplifies the awful passage in the burial-service — 'dust to dust' — as the disease thus induced cuts him off at the average age of twenty-nine years! 'I shall be 'thirty-six years old next month,' remarked a grinder, pathetically, to Dr. Hall, 'and you know, measter, that's getting *a very* 'old man in our trade.' Another operation, almost as deadly as fork-grinding, is that of 'racing the stone.' These grindstones are but roughly reduced to the circular form by the quarrymen, and the grinder undertakes the business of reducing and removing all their asperities, which he does by revolving them against a piece of steel — a tremendous dust being given off in the process. In wet grinding, which is employed in the manufacture of saws, files, sickles, table-knives, and edge-tools, comparatively little dust is made, and in these employments the grinders enjoy comparatively longer life; their average age ranging from thirty-five to forty years. In addition to the destructive effects of these particles of metal and stone upon the delicate membrane of the lungs, the dry-grinder is subjected to serious injury of the eyes from the red-hot particles of steel thrown off in the shape of sparks. The more careful of the workmen protect themselves from the danger, however, by wearing large spectacles of ordinary window glass. These spectacles, when they have been in use a little time, give practical evidence of their utility, for on examining them they are found to be speckled all over with the particles of steel, which, when red-hot, become embedded in the glass.

In the rough nomenclature of the trade, the disease which thus early destroys the fashioner of forks and needles is termed the *grinder's rot.* The lung, when examined after death, looks as though it had been dipped in ink, and the texture, instead of exhibiting the usual spongy character of that organ when in health, cuts like a piece of india-rubber! The colour and the solidification of the dry-grinder's lung is owing to the chronic inflammation to which it has been subjected by the presence from an early age of irritating particles of steel and stone within its finest air passages. But why dry grind at all, the reader will involuntarily exclaim, if the wages of the occupation are death? The grinder replies, that there are certain operations which

cannot be done on the wet stone; giving the rounded back to razors, technically called 'humping,' and the rounded side to scissors, are quoted as examples. The pressure during the process of shaping is so great, that the rolling friction would speedily make the stone wear, and the workman would be unable to hold the blade upon it. Then, again, we may ask, where is the necessity for this rounded form — would the shaver on a cold morning care a jot whether his razor had a round or a square back? Would the lady, as she manipulated her lace-work with her scissors, hesitate to accept a three-sided scissor leg in place of a half-round one, if she knew that the difference involved the life of a fellow-creature? Yet such trifling differences as these between round and flat, stand in the way of the health or misery of an entire class of workers! We give a list of the average duration of life of artisans in steel in Sheffield:—Dry-grinders of forks, 29 years; razors, 31 years; scissors, 32 years; edge-tool and wool shears, 32 years; spring-knives, 34 years; table-knives, 35 years; files, 35 years; saws, 38 years; sickles, 38 years — the ascending longevity being in proportion to the amount of water used on the stone, and to the greater amount of adult labour employed; such articles as saws, sickles, and tools are happily too heavy to be manipulated by the children employed, and thus early diseased in the manufacture of the lighter articles. The only relief to be gathered from this dismal picture of wasted life, is the fact that things are not so bad as of old. By means of greater speed being given to the stone, many articles, such as pen and pocket-knives, are now ground with the wet stone that formerly were ground with the dry; and happily much of the dust has been abolished in the best shops, such as that of Messrs. Rodgers, by the introduction of fans on the principle of a winnowing-machine, which blows the dust and grit as it comes from the grindstone clear away through a flue placed in connexion with the chimney. This fan is, however, only partially used; the grinders themselves, whom they are intended to benefit, complaining that the 'trade is bad enough as it is, and 'if the men lived longer, it would be so overfull that there would 'be no such a thing as getting a living:' the same spirit rejected Mr. Abraham's mask of magnetised wire, invented many years ago for the same object. There can be no doubt, however, that intelligence should rule in this matter, and that the Legislature should make it a fineable offence to work a dry stone without a fan, just as it is to work dangerous machinery without guards, for where one life is lost by neglect in the latter case, thousands sink into a premature grave in the former. Grinders, wet or dry, may also protect their lungs in a most remarkable manner,

by simply allowing the beard and moustache to grow. The hirsute appendages of the upper lip and chin are Nature's respirators, and it has been observed that those men who have allowed her in this respect to have her way, have discovered that she is somewhat wiser than fashion or popular usage.

Of those artisans exposed to irritating dust, probably miners take the second place after the miserable dry-grinders. If we investigate the condition of these men, we are immediately struck with the lamentable conditions under which they labour, and astonished at the endurance and patience with which they submit to toil to which that of the well-fed, well-housed felon is pleasant pastime. There are at present upwards of 300,000 human beings acting the part of gnomes for the good of the community at large, entering day by day into the bowels of the earth, and emerging in the evening. Of human life they see as little as the train of black ants we watch emerging from their holes in the ground. Yet the miner is the industrial Atlas of England. Were he to cease to labour, this busy hive of men would speedily be hushed, and the giant limbs of machinery, which now do the drudgery of the world, become as still as the enchanted garden of the fairy tale ere the advent of the prince. Without the coal and the iron, the copper and the tin, they toilfully evolve from vast depths, England would be but a third-rate power. A life so cheerless, and yet so useful—nay, essential, to our national existence—should at least receive at the hands of the Government every protection that can be thrown around it; yet, if we follow the miner into his gallery and working cell, we are amazed at the dangers and the difficulties which are needlessly thrust upon him in the black realm in which he moves and has his being. Let us take the collier, for example. In many pits in the west of England, the seams of coal are not more than twenty or twenty-five inches thick; and inasmuch as the object of the worker is to remove the coal with as little as possible of the surrounding soil, he often drives his working to a considerable distance through an aperture not more than, and often not so much as, two feet high. If our adult male reader will condescend to squat himself on the floor, *à la Turque*, say under the dining-table, for instance, and then picture to himself the inconvenience of picking with an axe the under side of the prandial mahogany for twelve hours, he will obtain some slight idea of the muscular knot into which the poor collier has to tie himself for the whole term of his working life, having to use violent exercise throughout. Can it be wondered at that, under such circumstances, the Apollo-

like form of man becomes permanently twisted and bent, like the gnarled root of an oak that has been doubled up in the fissure of some rock? If we look at a collier, we see instantly that his back is curved, his legs bowed, and the extensor muscles of his calves withered through long disease. He has knotted himself so long that the erect position of his race becomes a punishment to him. It is credibly related that a number of colliers having been sentenced to imprisonment in Wakefield jail, with hard labour, the only complaint they made was that they were obliged, whilst at work, to keep the ordinary posture of rational creatures. But confined space is only one of the many evil conditions under which they labour. In the majority of cases the collier works in foul air; for, notwithstanding all the official inspection, the ventilation of mines is still execrable. The fire-damp either blasts him into a cinder, or the choke-damp noiselessly blots out his life. However good, moreover, the general system of ventilation in a mine, unforeseen accidents will happen at any moment. The pick of the collier strikes into the gallery of an old pit, where carbonic acid gas has been gathering perhaps for a century; and the poisoned air rushes in and does its work in an instant; or a sudden invasion of carburetted hydrogen disengaged by the fall of a mass of coal, meets the miner, who is working, perhaps, imprudently with a naked candle;—and an explosion follows which crowds the pit mouth with a wailing multitude of newly made widows and orphans.

Upwards of 1500 lives are annually lost, principally through these causes, and not less than 10,000 accidents in the same period testify to the dangerous nature of the miner's occupation, notwithstanding the strict Government inspection.* It is humiliating to know that England is yet far behind continental nations in her methods of preventing these dreadful catastrophes. Mr. Mackworth, in his lecture at the Society of Arts, stated that the mortality from accidents was, in the coal mines of,

	Killed Persons.
Prussia . . .	1·89 per 1000 per annum.
Belgium . . .	2·8 „
England . . .	4·5 „
Staffordshire . .	7·3 „

This comparison, so humiliating to England, cannot be explained by the superior adventure of our countrymen, inasmuch

* Since the above was written, the attention of Government has been drawn to the condition of our mines, and a commission of inquiry will, we hear, be appointed during the next session of Parliament.

as the production of coal in Belgium is half as much again per acre of the coal-field as in England. It is not, however, to the dramatic accidents of coal mines which every now and then startle the community, to which we wish to draw attention; but rather to the silent progress of disease, which makes his death so premature, and his life so miserable. In addition to his cramped condition, whilst at work, his supply of oxygen is small; for in all probability the air supplied to him has to circulate many miles through the mine, and to pass over the excrementitious deposits of man and horse, and the decaying woodwork of the mine, ere it finally reaches him, in enfeebled streams, in his solitary working cell. Long deprivation of solar light, again, tends to impoverish his blood, to blanch him, in short, like vegetable products similarly deprived of the light of day. It is through the lungs, however, that the health of the miner is principally attacked. The air of a coal mine (such as it is) holds a vast amount of coal dust in mechanical suspension, and this, as a matter of course, is constantly passing into the lungs of the miner. The proof of this is the so-called 'black spit' of the collier, which, on being subjected to the microscope, is found to consist of mucus, filled with finely divided particles of coal. The permanent inhalation of such an atmosphere results in what is termed the 'black 'lung.' The breathing apparatus of the collier becomes clogged, in short, with coal dust, and after death it has the appearance of being dipped in ink. A writer, who has lately investigated this singular pathological condition, thus gives his experience of two *post-mortem* examinations:—

'In each case, the black treacly fluid obtained by thus cutting the various portions of the lung (more especially the posterior and inferior portions of the lower lobes), and by slitting up the bronchial tubes, was evaporated to dryness, and the residuum being broken up and subjected to a red heat in a porcelain tube retort, behaved precisely as coal under similar circumstances, i. e. it evolved a smoke-like gaseous product, which, on being slightly condensed, deposited hydrosulphide of ammonium and coal tar, and being thus purified, burnt in all respects like the well-known compounds of the two carbides of hydrogen (common gas).'

Dr. Gregory, of Edinburgh, many years since, by destructive analysis, came to the same conclusion respecting the carbonaceous nature of this deposit. The presence of this foreign body in the lungs leads to the whole train of pulmonary diseases. Asthma, bronchitis, and pneumonia are but too frequent, and we are consequently not surprised to hear that

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* W. T. Cox, Esq., in 'British Medical Journal.'

the aggregate amount of sickness experienced by this class for the period of life, from twenty to sixty, is 95 weeks, or 67 per cent. more than the general average.

Rheumatism, leading to heart disease, is another very common complaint of the miner. Indeed, all the conditions of ill-managed mines seem ready prepared for the propagation of this disease. When mines are driven to any considerable depth, the temperature proportionably increases, and 80 degrees of Fahrenheit is a common temperature at the end of workings, all the year round. After exposure to this oppressive atmosphere during the whole day, the collier perhaps suddenly emerges into the open air at the pit's mouth, vitally depressed by his prolonged exertion, when the bitter wind is shaving the surface of the earth at a temperature much below freezing point. In the coal-field stretching from Valenciennes to Aix-la-Chapelle, the mines are made conspicuous a long way off by the presence of huge buildings, which enclose the machinery and the top of the pit. In these buildings apartments are prepared in which the colliers change their clothes before and after labour, and wash themselves in baths filled with hot water from the steam waste-pipe. The importance of this sanitary precaution is very great, inasmuch as colliers, like chimney-sweeps, are subject to a skin disease, in consequence of the begrimed condition of their skins. Lady Bassett has established these baths, we understand, at her mines at Camborne, in Cornwall; but we think that the enforcement of a sanitary act of such importance should not be left to the philanthropic tendencies of individuals, but should be required by the Government. If a provision of this kind were made compulsory, and stricter legislation with respect to ventilating mines were established, no doubt a vast amount of disease could be eliminated. It is estimated that the worst coal mines can be ventilated thoroughly at a cost of one penny per man per day, and that in well-constructed furnaces the consumption of one ton of coals per day at the bottom of an up-cast shaft will enable each collier to cut one ton of coals more per day with the same amount of exertion. Such being the case, there can be no excuse for asphyxiating the miners wholesale. Those proprietors of mines, who are only open to these breeches-pocket appeals, should know that it is their interest, in a pecuniary sense, to ventilate well, inasmuch as the preservative effect of pure air upon the wood brattrices, which form so expensive an item in mining, effects a saving of 80 per cent.

Our remarks hitherto have been directed entirely to coal mines and colliers, as these are by far the most extensive

industrial occupations of the kind. The metalliferous mines; such as the tin and copper mines of Cornwall, and lead mines of Derbyshire, are in pretty much the same pestiferous condition, but in one particular they are still more destructive of life than coal mines. In the latter the tired workman is lifted from the depths of the mines to the surface by a rope. The Cornwall miner, on the other hand, has to carry his exhausted body in some cases thousands of feet up a series of steep ladders to the mouth of the mine. It has been estimated that many miners have thus to make an exertion every night equal to climbing to the summit of Cader Idris, and this in an up-cast shaft used for the extraction of the foul air! The disastrous effect upon the already weary miner has long been known, yet in only a few of the great mines of Cornwall has the tireless arm of the steam-engine been called in to save him from this unnecessary labour. The machinery used is called a man-machine, and differs entirely from that employed in coal-pits. In place of a rope, a beam of wood or iron descends through the whole length of the shaft; this beam, at regular intervals of ten feet, has little platforms attached to it, sufficient to afford standing-room to a miner; at the sides of the shaft are similar platforms, at the same intervals. At every stroke of the engine the beam ascends or descends through the space of ten feet, consequently the miner has only to step from the fixed platform to the moving one to be lifted ten feet every time it ascends. In this manner as many as a hundred men are lifted at the same time several thousand feet in a few minutes, without any more exertion than is necessary to make a few score steps. This curious invention has materially benefited the miner, and where it is used there is a manifest absence of the heart disease, induced by the climbing of interminable ladders placed in an almost vertical position.

Dr. Greenhow, in his report on the prevalence of certain diseases in different districts of England and Wales, very clearly proves the deleterious nature of the lead miners' employment by the comparisons he makes between the death rates of the men and women of Reeth and Alston, which are purely lead-mining districts. In the former, the lead miners die at the rate of 2037 per 100,000 of all ages, whilst their wives, sisters, and daughters, who are variously employed, die at the reduced rate of 1711 per 100,000; in other words, lead mining in this one typical district caused an excess of no less than 326 deaths in every 100,000 inhabitants; and if we make a comparison relative to the prevalence of pulmonary disease between the two sexes above the age of twenty, we find the death-rate of the

men is double that of the women. The evil influence of copper mining on the male population is not quite so marked, but still it is apparent enough. Thus, in Redruth, in which this kind of labour is exclusively carried on, we find that in every 100,000 of population, 220 males die from pulmonary disease more than females; and in Penzance, which is exclusively a tin-mining district, the superior waste of male over female life, in the same population, of all ages, is 104.

The mason, like the miner, is particularly liable to suffer from the presence of irritating substances in the lungs. It has been asserted that in Edinburgh members of the craft rarely live more than fifty years. This is doubtless owing to the nature of the material they work upon. There is great reason to suppose that the degree of damage done to the delicate air-cells of the lung is to be measured by the nature of the particles inhaled. Thus, the ragged portions of granite detached by the chisel are much more likely to do harm than the less irregular dust of the bricklayer. In this manner we can account for the high rate of mortality said to exist among the masons of our northern metropolis. The Scourers in the potteries exercise their fearful trade in an atmosphere loaded with pulverised flints, a mineral dust of the most distressing character: we are not surprised, therefore, to hear that in this process pulmonary disease is still more rampant than among the Edinburgh masons, and is little inferior to that of the dry grinders of Sheffield, who receive into their lungs jagged particles of steel as well as grindstone dust.* It will be unnecessary to consider all the trades which

* A just appreciation of the value of life is, perhaps, of more importance to Friendly Societies than to Insurance Offices, inasmuch as the range of sickness in the working classes is much more extensive than in the upper and middle walks of life. Mr. Hardwick, in his manual on enrolled Friendly Societies, has pointed out the fact that the vast majority of these societies are based upon calculations which must in the end terminate in their bankruptcy; and among the causes which tend to this disastrous result he mentions the total disregard evinced in these clubs to a proper estimate of the states of health in different occupations and localities. It must be clear that the potter, whose average amount of illness between the ages of 20 and 70 is more than 333 weeks, obtains a very unfair advantage over clerks or schoolmasters who may happen to be in the same club with him, and whose average of sickness during the same period is only 48 weeks. The dyer, again, who, under the present system of management of Friendly Societies, may be admitted to a club on the same terms as a wheelwright, claims for 293 weeks of sickness against the wheelwright's 64. The healthy country artisan is thus made to pay for the unhealthy town mechanic. If we take the case, again, of the miner

are affected by dust, inasmuch as the artisans employed in them are similarly subjected to pulmonary affections, if not in a like degree. Thus millers are rendered consumptive and asthmatic by the floating meal of their mills; snuff-makers by the snuff which pervades the air of their places of work; pearl button-makers suffer still more from the same cause; and the men of Sheffield who haft knives with cocoa-wood or ebony are affected with a disease exactly like the hay-asthma. The shoddy-grinders of the West Riding, who grind and break up rags in a machine called 'a devil,' are subjected to what they term the shoddy fever, in consequence of the devil's dust given off in the tearing process. The dressers and preparers of hair, especially of foreign hair, are speedily broken in health by the dust and stench produced by their operations.

The evil effects arising from the prosecution of these trades sink into insignificance, however, when compared with the destruction caused by the floating fluff of flax-mills. These mills employ children of tender years, who have to work in an atmosphere loaded with vegetable particles to such a degree, that in a measure it clouds the vision. The hecklers are the chief sufferers in this department of industry, especially the children, who are, many of them, forced to work the same time as adults, that is, as long as human nature can possibly hold out. We shall have more to say, however, when we come to consider the effects of bleaching and dyeing works, respecting those trades which exhaust the youthful powers of large portions of the working population, and thus do infinitely more damage to the race than the more curious diseases of smaller trades, which may be severe enough, but do not affect more than infinitesimal portions of the population.

It would be supposed that workers on decomposing vegetable and animal matter would suffer a sickness and mortality only inferior to the artisans subjected to the emanations of poisonous metals. *A priori*, we should say for instance, that dustmen, night-men, and the workers in sewers, would be amongst the most unhealthy of the working classes, and, indeed, routine sanitarians would summarily tell us that such must be the case. The begrimed and dusty scavenger, whose very name is a reproach, spends the

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or the Sheffield grinder, and huddle him, without inquiry, into the same Friendly Society as the agricultural labourer, it must be clear that the latter must pay for the more than average sickness of his fellows. Until the relative value of life and of sickness among the working classes is thoroughly understood and acted upon, as regards the payments of members, it is clear that the healthy trades must be sacrificed to the unhealthy ones.

best part of his life in clearing away the disgusting refuse of civilisation; he has yet another duty to perform which brings him into still closer contact with unsavoury emanations. The lay-stall, or scavengers' yard, is of course a huge collection of the sweepings of the streets, the refuse of the markets, and the night-soil and dust of the houses, but it is not allowed to remain in a fermenting and indiscriminate mass. Almost as soon as it is deposited, men, women, and boys are employed to sift and sort the heap; bones, glass, woollen and linen rags, old iron, and other metals, have to be eliminated from the mass and set aside, and the coals and great cinders are extracted from the useless ashes by the 'hill-men.' It would scarcely be possible to bring human life into closer contact with filth of every kind than we find it to be in the workers in these lay-stalls. Yet, strange to say, Dr. Guy, who has investigated their sanitary condition, finds them to be among the healthiest of our working population. 'They are, with a very few exceptions,' he tells us, 'a healthy-looking ruddy-complexioned race;' that is, they wear their natural rouge under their artificial tint, reversing the more fashionable method of May Fair.

'One or two boys,' he tells us, 'whom I saw at work, would 'have been excellent models for the artist.' Our London readers will perhaps remember to have seen troops of robust and rosy-looking young women, not perhaps in afternoon toilet, making their way about five o'clock, from the Marble Arch across Hyde Park — these are the 'hill-women,' chiefly Irish, trooping home to the rookeries of Westminster — their appearance quite confirms Dr. Guy's views as to the healthful appearance of these workers. The master scavengers, who live with all their families amid these heaps of dusty desolation, excite the admiration of this searcher after truth still more; and at last, breaking out of the calm unimpassioned manner which the philosophical statist, who deals only with general truths, is wont to impose upon himself, he thus fairly gives vent to his admiration for the genus dustman:—

'To conclude this account of the health of this very useful class of men, I will merely add that the score or so of master scavengers who were brought together on more than one occasion by the trial already alluded to (an indictment for nuisance against a lay-stall keeper), as the origin of these inquiries, *are the healthiest set of men I have ever seen.* I do not think, whether in town or country, such a body of men could be brought together, except by selection; and it is not going too far to assert of them, that if the comparison were limited to the inhabitants of London, or our large towns, no score of selected tradesmen could be found to match the same number of scavengers brought casually together.'

This is high praise, and doubtless deserved; but few people, however, would have suspected that Hygeia clasped so closely to her bosom the grimy scavenger in his filthy frock. Dr. Guy, however, gives us hard figures for his pleasant flourishes. If we compare the scavenger with other workmen placed under somewhat similar circumstances, he rises triumphant over them. Thus whilst the bricklayer's labourer, generally a very poor Irishman, it is true, suffers from fever a ratio of 35½ per cent., and the brick-maker 21 per cent., the scavenger experiences only 8 per cent. of illness from the same cause. This result does seem astonishing when we remember that sanitarians sometimes attribute so much illness to the presence of a neglected dust heap; but as Dr. Guy very justly remarks, those emanations which may prove injurious when confined within a small space — and our houses, like bell glasses, cover and keep in numberless impurities — become innoxious when fully exposed to the air. We suspect, however, that the power of ashes to absorb noxious emanations of all kinds, is at the bottom of the striking immunity which the scavenger exhibits from all febrile complaints. Nightmen and sewer-men, again, are brought into direct communication with the most disgusting, and as the public are led to suppose, the most poisonous animal effluvia; they stir in the very nidus of fever, yet it has been remarked by many observers that they are singularly exempt from this disease. Sir Anthony Carlisle tells us that out of fifty men employed in the sewers in his time, only three had had fever. Thakrah declares that out of eighteen examined by his assistant, only two had even slight disorders, and they informed him that appetite was increased by the effluvia; and finally Dr. Guy tells us that out of thirty-four nightmen examined by him, only one had had an attack of fever, and he only through being out of work for three weeks; he suffered, in short, *from change of air*, and perhaps want of food. Dr. Guy, in the little pamphlet we have already quoted from, states a most remarkable fact, illustrative of the changes of opinion, even amongst medical men, relative to the effects of snuffing sewer emanations. He says, that a gentleman who accompanied him in one of his inspections over a scavenger's yard, informed him that, 'he perfectly well re-'collects thirty years ago, when he was a lad, seeing as many as 'twelve patients directed by the faculty of that day *to walk round* '*the shoots* for the night-soil on his father's premises; and he 'appealed for confirmation of this statement to his brother, who 'said that he had seen scores of patients industriously inhaling 'this curious dose of physic.' Thakrah, who wrote his celebrated

'Treatise on the Effects of Trades and Professions on Health,' about this period, tells us that the parents of consumptive youth in his time, brought them up to the business of a butcher in the hope of averting that formidable malady. In endeavouring to avoid Scylla they fell into Charybdis, inasmuch as it is a well-ascertained fact that butchers, although exempt from consumption and scrofula, are very prone to inflammatory diseases. They are seldom ill, but when ill it goes hard with them, so much so, that as a class, these jolly red-faced men, the very pictures of their own beef, are but short-lived. The effects of animal emanations, and the contact of animal substances with the skin in protecting workmen from consumption, is a very remarkable circumstance. Tanners constantly at work among tan-pits are rarely, we believe, attacked with phthisis; and those artisans in the woollen manufacture termed cloth piecers, whose skins are smeared with oil in the course of the day, present a remarkable contrast to the workers in cotton factories — their flesh being plump and rosy, and their muscles strong. Mr. Thompson of Perth, who has investigated this subject, found the weight of one hundred young persons, so employed, increased in three months 575 lbs., giving an average increase of $5\frac{3}{4}$ lbs., and in eight selected cases the gain during the same brief period averaged no less than 17 lbs. each person. The beneficial effect of this department of the woollen manufacture is so well known, that in Yorkshire the better classes frequently send the delicate members of their family to the woollen mills for the benefit of their health. The application of oil, especially of cod-liver oil, to the skin, has indeed been recommended to consumptive patients, as thereby a greater amount of carbonaceous material can be thrown into the system without deranging it than by any other. After having drawn attention to so many occupations which are positively injurious to artisans, it is at least gratifying to be able to point to one large and rapidly increasing manufacture which is so clearly beneficial in its operations upon human health.

There is a class of artisans which suffers from the inhalation of poisonous matters into the lungs, like the grinders and the masons, &c., but the foreign matter here presents itself in the form of a subtle vapour, rather than in that of dust. We little think, when we strike a lucifer-match — that incomparable product of civilisation, whose inventor deserves a statue in every capital in Europe — what suffering it may possibly have caused in its manufacture. The composition at the end of a match is composed of phosphorus combined with oxymuriate of potash

and glue, made into a paste, and kept liquid by being placed over a heated metal plate. Into this composition the 'dipper' dips the bundle of matches, and in doing so he is forced to inhale the vapour given off, which is strongly charged with phosphoric acid, the effect of which upon him is sometimes most disastrous. After a time he experiences most excruciating pains in the bones of the jaw, but principally in the lower one; they begin to swell, a purulent discharge takes place, and, finally, the bone dies and comes away. Mr. Stanley, one of the surgeons of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, had a patient who thus lost the whole of the lower jaw. There appears to be considerable doubt whether the poison acts locally or constitutionally. One would naturally suppose that if the action were local, it would first take effect upon the bones of the nose, but, as far as the experience of surgery goes, the 'dipper' always preserves his nose intact. That the poisonous fumes have a certain constitutional effect, the aspect of the workman at once declares; cadaverous in complexion, emaciated to a degree, and painfully nervous, he presents the appearance of a person suffering from the presence of some irritant poison in the blood. It certainly is very remarkable that phosphorus, which, in the form of phosphate of lime, is a very important constituent of bone, should have such an extraordinary effect upon it when received into the system in the manner we have described. We are not aware that this drug, when received into the stomach only, has ever produced the local effect noticed; but without doubt, it is the quantity of the poisonous agent to which the workman is subjected, as he not only receives the fumes directly into his mouth and air-passages in the act of 'dipping,' but the whole atmosphere of the factory becomes so impregnated with phosphorus, in consequence of its volatilisation when the process of drying the matches is being proceeded with, that his clothes even become saturated to such an extent that in the dark they appear quite luminous. In Vienna, where enormous numbers of lucifer-matches are made, necrosis of the jaw is of common occurrence among the workmen; and the German physicians believe that the disease arises principally in persons of scrofulous habit, the periosteum or lining membrane of whose bones are peculiarly liable to take on inflammatory action, the death of the bone following as a matter of course. If this view of the case be true, all scrofulous persons should be warned from the employment as dangerous, and in all cases employers should adopt every precaution in their power to prevent the recurrence of such mischief to the employed. Mr. Stanley says that the oil of turpentine which is a solvent of phosphorus, when exposed in

saucers, absorbs the vapour which does so much mischief, and that its employment in a large lucifer-match factory in the neighbourhood of the London Hospital was attended with the happiest success. Thus we have another example of the power of the chemist to make the good elements of his craft do battle with the evil ones in the cause of humanity.

Another and more common instance, in which the workman is sacrificed to luxury, is the case of the water-gilder. The skill of this artisan is employed in gilding metals, principally silver, by the action of fire. The metal to be gilded is coated with an amalgam of gold and mercury, and is then exposed to the fumes of a charcoal fire, which drives off the mercury, and leaves the gold adherent to the metal. During the process the fumes of the mercury are inhaled by the workman, and indeed, deposit their metalliferous particles over the entire surface of the skin—the result is that he speedily becomes afflicted with mercurial tremor, or, in the language of the workshop, he gets 'a fit of 'the trembles.' If he proceeds with his work, the tremor rapidly increases. Dr. Watson, in describing a patient thus afflicted, says:—

'He was led into the room, walking with uncertain steps, his limbs trembling and dancing, as though he had been hung on wires. While sitting on a chair he was comparatively quiet,—you would not suppose that he ailed anything; but, as soon as he attempted to rise and to walk, his legs began to shake violently with a rapid movement. He could neither hold them steadily nor direct them with precision.'

Were it not painful to contemplate, the incoherent muscular action of workmen thus afflicted would appear ludicrous. In endeavouring to put his food into his mouth he will sometimes, as in chorea, bob it against his eye or his cheek; and extreme cases have been known, in which the unfortunate water-gilder thus afflicted has been forced to take his food like a quadruped. As the disease increases, the complexion becomes of a brown hue, and, presently delirium, and lastly, want of consciousness supervenes. To this complexion comes the water-gilder; and, as the silverer of looking-glasses is exposed to the action of mercury, both by touch and inhalation, the same effects are produced upon him. If the charming belle, as she surveys her beauty in the glass, could but for a moment see reflected this poor shattered human creature, with trembling muscles, brown visage, and blackened teeth, she would doubtless start with horror; but, as it is, the slaves of luxury and vanity drop out of life unobserved and uncared for, as the stream of travellers disappeared one by one through the bridge of Mirza. Happily, the subtle finger of electricity has in a measure emancipated the water-gilder from

the horrors of his art. The voltaic battery now deposits the metal without the intervention of quicksilver, and science has eliminated another of those destructive agencies which have hitherto afflicted this class of artisans

The silvering of mirrors and looking-glasses still remains a dangerous operation; but there can be no doubt, that with properly constructed flues, the floating metal would be entirely conducted away. Indeed it is by the chimney that much of the metal now escapes; for Thakrah tells us that he has been informed by a manufacturer that from the sweepings of the chimney on one occasion, he had collected twenty pounds of good quicksilver. Another, and a very manageable expedient, sometimes resorted to by those exposed to the fumes and the oxide of mercury, is to cover the mouth with a tube-like proboscis, which hangs out of the way of the floating metal, and thus conducts pure air to the operator.

Thakrah tells us that workers in brass also suffer from the inhalation of the volatilised metal. The brass melters of Birmingham suffer from intermittent fever, which they call the brass ague. This malady leaves them in a state of great debility. The filers of brass, on the same authority, are subject to a most peculiar affection; like Tittlebat Titmouse, their hair turning a vivid green. It is supposed that the copper in the brass dust combines with the oil of the hair, and thus an oxide of copper is formed. Coppersmiths are of course similarly affected. Plumbers, whilst casting, are subject to the volatilised oxide of lead, which in time produces paralysis, and while they are soldering, many deleterious fumes arise, of a sweetish taste, and of a highly astringent nature, which often produces violent attacks of constipation.

But poisonous metals may attack the mucous membrane in the shape of finely-divided powder, used in the arts. There is an exceedingly beautiful paper, of an apple-green colour, which is often selected for the coolness and cheerfulness of its appearance. The writer was himself once deluded by the seductive appearance of a paper of this description, and had his library furnished with it. Strange to say, a violent cold seemed to seize every one, even in the midst of summer, who stopped long in this apartment, especially if they came much in contact with the walls. On questioning the paper-hanger, the mystery was speedily explained. 'I never hang that kind of paper,' he said, 'without getting a bad sore throat and a running of the 'eyes—all the trade knows it is good for a cold to have any deal-'ings with it.' The cheerful green of the paper is nothing less deadly than the aceto-arsenite of copper: an irritant poison of the first class. The flock part of the paper contains a large

quantity of pigment in the form of dust, which is of course liable to be detached from the walls on very slight occasions. It has been erroneously supposed, that the metal must be volatilised by heat ere it can be separated from the paper; but the action of detachment is mechanical, and not chemical, the poisonous dust either falls or is brushed off the wall, and becomes mixed with the ordinary dust of the room; the lifting of a book, or the displacement of a pile of papers, proves sufficient to set these particles in motion, and to bring them in contact with the mucous linings of the eyes, nose, and throat; hence the violent irritation produced, which simulates so closely the effects of a bad cold in the head. Professor Taylor, the celebrated medical toxocologist, has moreover proved the presence of arsenic in the dust fallen from this kind of paper. In a letter to the 'Medical Times and Gazette,' of January 1st, 1859, he says:—

'I procured from the shop of Messrs. Marratt and Short, Opticians, 68, King William Street, London Bridge, a quantity of dust for the purpose of analysis. The walls of this shop are covered with an unglazed arsenical paper, and, as I am informed, they have been so covered for a period of about three years. In collecting this dust from the tops of the cases containing the instruments, great care was taken not to touch the walls. The quantity thus collected for examination amounted to about 450 grains. It was nearly black, and, under the microscope, appeared to consist of fibres of sooty particles. It was very light and flocculent. One hundred and fifty grains of the dust were examined by Reinsch's process, and enough metallic arsenic was obtained from it to coat about ten square inches of copper foil, in addition to a piece of copper gauze. From the latter deposit, by the application of heat, octahedral crystals of arsenic were readily obtained. The case had not been dusted for a period of nine months. Even the dust of instruments locked up in the cases, which were lined at the back only with the green paper, was found to be charged with this poisonous pigment. Half a grain of the dust sufficed to cover pretty thickly with metallic arsenic a square inch of copper gauze. These facts,' says Professor Taylor, 'lead to the inevitable inference that the air of a room, of which the walls are covered with an unglazed arsenical green paper, is liable to be charged with the fine dust of the poisonous aceto-arsenite of copper. Those who inhabit these rooms are exposed to breathe the dust. The poison may thus find its way by the pulmonary membrane into the system, or it may affect the eyes, nose, and throat by local action.'

After this unimpeachable testimony to the poisonous character of the pigment in this paper, it is not difficult to understand that the workmen employed in its manufacture are particularly liable to attacks of illness which exhibit all the symptoms of acute influenza; or that the paper hangers, in putting it up, are sometimes obliged to leave work for a time, in order

to get rid of the distressing symptoms to which its manipulation gives rise.

There is in Sheffield, an occupation connected with tool-making, which forms, as it were, a connecting link between the diseases produced by working in steel and those which flow from working in lead—we allude to file-making. Unfortunately the various preparations of lead enter very largely into the arts and manufactures of this country, and as its action upon the human body is very great, its pernicious influence is felt in a vast number of occupations of a diverse nature. Thus, white-lead manufacturers, sheet-lead rollers, painters, plumbers, potters, china manufacturers, colour-grinders, glaziers, enamellers of cards, lead miners, and shot-makers, all come under the saturnine influence; even the poor lace-makers of Belgium do not escape, for the manufacturer, in order to make the fibre look white, requires them to dust it with white lead powder, and possibly, by this means, it may find its way into the fair skin of a duchess!

It may seem strange that a worker in steel should suffer from the poison of lead, but it occurs in this manner: — The file-maker, in order to hold the file securely, and, at the same time, to protect the fine edge of the sharp chisel with which he cuts the face of the file, places it upon a bed of lead which rests upon an anvil. In cutting the larger three square files, the workman uses as much as a pound of lead a week: this is detached from the mass by friction and the use of the chisel, in the form of a fine black powder. It is curious that the first portion of the file-cutter's anatomy that is affected is the finger that rests upon the lead — at first it feels numb, and then becomes paralysed. If the artisan will not take warning by this fastidious touch of a digit, before long the poison grips him by the wrist, and then some fine morning he wakes and finds that he has what is termed in the trade 'a dropped hand.'* That is, the extensor muscles of the wrist are paralysed, and the hand falls helplessly forward, like the forepaws of a kangaroo. Here the specific action of the poison has exerted itself through the skin of the part affected. The same thing is observable in painters, who are more subject to lead paralysis than perhaps any other workers in lead. The finger which first touches the brush, first

* An ingenious Frenchman, of the name of Bernot, has just invented a file-cutting machine which will, we trust, come generally into use, and do away with the paralysis arising from the present handicraft. It is said that the workmanship of the machine is more even than the hand-work: the files cut in the morning by the artisan being superior to those cut in the afternoon, in consequence of his muscles becoming tired.

suffers; and the potter, who has in the course of his trade to dip his ware in a preparation of lead and flints in order to form the glaze, is in like manner, but still more severely, afflicted. It is well ascertained, however, that the constitutional effects which show themselves in obstinate constipation and colic, arise from the reception of the lead directly into the mouth, either in the shape of finely-divided particles, or floating in the air, or direct from the fingers to the manipulators: thus, painters will eat their food with fingers soiled with the brush. The mere exhalations of paint are sufficient to paralyse some constitutions very speedily: a single night, spent in a newly painted house, is sufficient to produce colic, especially in young children. And Dr. Watson, in his 'Practice of Physic,' relates a case in which a person suffered from dropped hands who had, she said, no concern with lead in any way. On cross-examining her, however, it at last came out that her sons 'had in the preceding summer occupied their leisure time with making bird-cages, and painting them green, in the one room in which she habitually lived.' The dippers, as they are termed in the Potteries, are perhaps subjected to more frightful effects from lead poisoning than any other workmen; in addition to paralysis and colic, the subtle poison sometimes creeps into the brain, mania comes on, and they die raving mad. The grinding and packing of white lead is so destructive, that the men can work at the occupation for a few hours in the day only—the dust that is given off penetrates the clothes, and covers the skin to such an extent that these artisans, after taking a medicated bath of sulphuret of potassium in water, come out like blackamoors. In these works rats and mice are speedily poisoned by the fine white lead dust, which penetrates even to their holes. The artisan who handles lead in its various combinations may, however, vastly mitigate his trouble by adopting perfect cleanliness. Before every meal he should wash his hands thoroughly, and, after work, he should change his clothes. Medical science has given him the means of being forewarned that lead is entering his system by a particular and rarely-failing diagnostic sign — where the metal has entered the system, a blue line will be discovered near the edge of the gums: when this blue Peter is hoisted he may know that danger is at hand, and that, unless he is more careful, his bread-earning hand will speedily drop powerless by his side. In all cases, however, prevention is better than cure; and we are glad to learn that almost perfect exemption from painter's colic and paralysis has been secured in some extensive painting establishments, by causing artisans to drink a lemonade made by adding a drop of

sulphuric acid to a gallon of water. The sulphuric acid is supposed to form, with the lead received into the mouth and stomach, a sulphuret of that metal, which is insoluble, and therefore cannot be taken up by the absorbents into the system.

There are many important classes of workers whose sufferings have nothing either curious or dramatic about them, who nevertheless furnish the largest contingent to the army of death. At the head of these dismal companies march tailors, bakers, and milliners of large cities and towns. These three classes supply more victims to what has been erroneously termed 'the English 'death,' or consumption, than any other. Yet there can be no doubt that there is but one condition wanting to render these employments comparatively speaking healthy, and that one want is pure air. Dr. Arnot makes the monkeys in the Zoological Garden teach us a lesson in this particular which should not be lost upon us. In his evidence before the Health Commission he says: —

'A new house was built to receive the monkeys, and no expense was spared which, in the opinion of those intrusted with the management, could ensure to those natives of a warm climate all attainable comfort and safety. Unhappily, however, it was believed that the object would be best secured by making the new room nearly what an English gentleman's drawing-room is. For warming it, two ordinary drawing-room grates were put in as close to the floor as possible, and with low chimney openings, that the heated air in the room should not escape by the chimneys, while the windows and other openings in the walls above were made as close as possible. Some additional warm air was admitted through the openings in the floor, from hot water pipes placed beneath it. For ventilation in cold weather, openings were made in the skirting of the room below the floor, with the erroneous idea that the carbonic acid produced in the respiration of these animals, because heavier than the other air in the room, would separate from this and escape below. When all this was done, about sixty healthy monkeys, many of which had already borne several winters in England, were put into the room. A month afterwards more than fifty of them were dead, and the few remaining ones were dying. This room, only open below, was as truly an extinguisher to the living monkeys as an inverted coffee cup held over and around the flame of a candle is an extinguisher of the candle. Not only the warmth of the fires and the warm air that was allowed to enter by the openings in the floor, but the hot breath and all the impure exhalations from the bodies of the monkeys ascended, first to the upper part of the room to be completely incorporated with the atmosphere there, and by no possibility could escape except as a part of that impure atmosphere, gradually passing away by the chimneys and openings in the skirting. Therefore, from the time the monkeys went into the room until they died, they could not have had a single breath of fresh air.'

The *post-mortem* examination proved that these monkeys all died of consumption; so that we have a practical proof that this dread disease can be brought on at will. Now, what took place in the monkey-house is taking place, in a milder form, in the hundreds of workshops in which tailors and milliners work in this metropolis. In the great majority of cases tailors work together in rooms by no means proportioned to the number that occupies them. In many cases they work knee to knee on the shop-board with the thermometer ranging from 95 to 100 degrees, no ventilation whatever beeing present, for when it is provided, the enfeebled workers, fearing catarrhal complaints, stop them up. The result is, an amount of consumption among them second only to that prevalent among the grinders of Sheffield and bakers. The cross-legged fashion in which he works in some measure assimilates him to the collier. It has been suggested that instead of thus doubling himself up for the whole time of his working life, he should work on a board having a hole in it of the circumference of his body, with a seat fixed for his support beneath. Such a contrivance would render his position easy, and enable him to bring his work pretty close to his eyes without his having to bend over it as he does at present. As the tailor is principally employed on black and dark clothes, his eyes are much strained, especially if he works by gas-light: hence he is subject to great impairment of vision.

The baker is subjected to a still greater number of debilitating influences as regards his health than the tailor. In all cases his place of work is in a confined basement, where the oven and the gas contrive to keep the temperature at a tropical point. There is generally a privy close at hand, and the drains are not always in good order; the air, already foul enough, has yet to be contaminated with the floating flour dust so irritating to the fine air passages of the lungs. In an atmosphere thus deliberately poisoned with the elements of sickness, the journeyman baker is confined ordinarily from seven o'clock at night until four the following morning, and towards the end of the week he is engaged nearly two entire days in succession. Is it surprising that their rate of sickness is dreadful—greater than even that of the tailors? Dr. Guy tells us that no less than thirty-one in the hundred spit blood, and that every other journeyman of the low-priced bakers, who work under still worse conditions, is subjected to this most dangerous disease. We feel convinced that the public cannot be aware that they eat their daily bread at the expense of the life-blood of the producers. Parliament has refused to interfere in their behalf, but Lord Shaftesbury has taken up their cause, and we believe that ere long the force

of public opinion will lead to the abolition of the nightwork, which is at the bottom of all the evil. At all events, those who wish to assist in the emancipation of these slaves of civilisation, will see with pleasure the introduction of the aërated bread, which by the aid of machinery manufactures the loaf in a much more cleanly method than by hand-labour, and performs the whole process in less than an hour. The introduction of machinery into this trade will at once cure the evils complained of, which result in the majority of cases from the confined establishments and insufficient means of the master-bakers.

The milliners, especially of London, are nearly as unhealthy as the tailors. The evidence given before the Select Committee of the House of Lords in 1855, to inquire into the expediency of passing a bill for the protection of needlewomen, certainly is appalling in the tale it tells of the waste of youthful life. During the season of four months, the shortest time these poor young creatures work is from six in the morning until twelve at night, and when they are very hard pressed for time they are obliged to take their meals standing. At times of great pressure young girls have been worked four days and nights consecutively; and Lord Ashley publicly made mention at the meeting at Exeter Hall, July 11th, 1856, of a witness who had worked without going to bed from four o'clock on Thursday afternoon, until half past ten on Sunday night. Such toil as this in close rooms reeking with human exhalations, and further deteriorated by the excessive use of gas, is scarcely to be matched in deadliness by any occupation engaged in, even by the stronger sex; and we are not surprised to hear that it is a frequent thing in fashionable millinery establishments to find the workers faint from sheer exhaustion; as the Queen's physician emphatically says, 'a 'mode of life more completely calculated to destroy human 'health could scarcely be contrived.' Mr. White Cooper, the Queen's oculist, states in his lately published work on the eyes, that he has generally observed a great increase of patients of this class come to him, after there has been a general mourning. The Committee of the Society of Arts which some few years since made a report on the industrial pathology of trades which affect the eyes, recommend that the light should be thrown on the work rather than the eye; they also recommend that the colour of the material upon which needlewomen are engaged should be changed as often as possible, upon the ground that to preserve the tone of the organ, it should have variety of stimulus, its long application to the same colour inevitably exhausting it. The following suggestion from a traveller, which is embodied in this interesting report, is worthy of notice: —

'Needlewomen, embroiderers, and lace-makers should work in 'rooms hung with green blinds and curtains to the windows. 'When in North China, I became convinced of the very great 'advantage with which this rule has been adopted by the exqui- 'site embroiderers of that part. Their books of patterns are 'frequently called 'Books of the Lady of the Green Window.' Among the diseases affecting female workers we must not omit to mention an affection called 'Housemaids' knee,' which is peculiar to those servants who kneel much upon hard wet stones or boards. The pressure on the knee gives rise to a very painful inflammation of the bursa, or pad which nature has interposed between the skin and the patella or knee-cap.

Shoemakers live a sedentary life, like tailors and milliners, but they do not work so frequently in company, consequently they escape the destructive influence of foul air; they are subject, like weavers, however, to disease of the stomach, owing to the constant pressure made upon it, in his case, by the last. Some old cobblers are found to have a depression at the pit of the stomach of the shape of the heel of the boot, moulded in fact by the pressure of this article, which he clasps between this portion of his body and his knees whilst sewing. Like the milliners and tailors, their sight suffers through having to direct so fine an object as a needle point: patent bootmakers are particularly liable to suffer in their eyes through the brilliant blackness of the material they work upon. We perceive that sewing machines have been introduced into this trade at Northampton, much to the disgust of those whom they will benefit. The introduction of this useful machine will at once elevate this and scores of other handicrafts, such as those of tailors, milliners, glovers, and all who use the needle, to the dignity of manufacturers requiring considerable capital, the presence of which is some guarantee for the intelligence and benevolence of the masters, and for the adoption of larger and more healthful workshops for their people. As this very large class of workers numbers upwards of half a million in Great Britain, we hail the sewing machine as an emancipator from drudgery of no ordinary kind.

The compositor, who works in an atmosphere very similar to that breathed by the tailor and milliner, is, like them, subject to severe pulmonary diseases. In some newspaper offices they are planted as thickly as their type cases can stand, and they carry on their monotonous labour, which is confined to a multitude of small motions of the right hand, conveying to the left types in course of 'setting up.' Jobbing printers, who have a much greater variety of motion, are invariably healthier

than newspaper compositors; and Dr. Guy has remarked that those compositors who work in the upper stories of large establishments, and consequently in an atmosphere reeking with the impurities which have ascended from the crowded rooms below, and possibly from an engine-room in addition, are much more troubled with spitting of blood and consumption than those working beneath them. In a printing office thus foully ventilated, he was enabled to make a very instructive comparison; for instance, there were fifteen men employed on the second floor, and seventeen men in precisely the same way on the third and uppermost floor. On making personal inquiries of each of the men respecting his health, four only out of the fifteen on the second floor made any complaint; one was subject to indigestion, a second to cough, the third to ulcers of the legs, and the fourth was what might be termed a valetudinarian. But of the seventeen employed on the uppermost floor, three had had spitting of blood, two were subject to affections of the lungs, and five to constant and severe colds. Ten of these seventeen, therefore, were subject to diseases affecting the chest, while only one of the fifteen in the room beneath had a disease of this nature. In the course of his inquiries respecting the health of workers in printing offices, the same intelligent statist hit upon another fact with respect to pressmen, which appears to be of general application. Pressmen, or those who take the impressions of the types set up by the compositors, are generally located in the same building with them, and often in the same room, under precisely similar conditions as regards ventilation and quality of air; yet a series of inquiries brings out the fact that the pressmen are far the healthier of the two. The only manner of accounting for this difference lies in the nature of their labour. The pressman has to use long-sustained and somewhat violent exertions in swinging round the lever of his press, unfolding and refolding the tympan, and screwing up its bed. Compared to these varied muscular movements, the compositor's hardest work is lifting types from his case to his composing stick; yet the result is, that the pressman's liability to consumption is but half that of the compositor, and of other diseases a third less.

This is a very remarkable fact, and irresistibly points to the conclusion that foul air and a heated atmosphere can be borne with far greater impunity by those who labour hard than by those who employ themselves in a sedentary manner. The fair lady who honours us with her attention will perhaps draw a conclusion of her own from this experience, which no doubt tallies with her practice and her instinct, that it is far better to

waltz till five o'clock in the morning in a crowded ball-room than to remain for the same period a disconsolate 'wall-flower.' There appears also to be another law with respect to the two classes of workmen equally worthy of remark. The pressman, although he enjoys the best health, and the greatest green age, does not, in individual cases, live as long as the compositor. In the same manner the stalwart blacksmith, although a far healthier man than the tailor, and generally longer lived, does not yet count so many patriarchs among his ranks as Snip does. This comparison holds good between those who take much or little exercise out of doors. Mr. Neison, who has carefully worked the fact out, in his volume on Vital Statistics, gives the following highly interesting table:—

Age.	EXPECTATION OF LIFE IN			
	In-door occupation, with		Out-door occupation, with	
	Little Exercise.	Great Exercise.	Little Exercise.	Great Exercise.
20	41·8822	42·0133	37·8017	43·4166
30	35·1170	34·5022	30·1435	36·5832
40	27·9113	27·8004	23·0357	29·1284
50	20·5022	21·1805	17·2754	21·9732
60	14·0430	15·1413	11·0169	15·5635
70	8·6490	10·4407	4·5607	9·3313

Thus, between twenty and thirty, the gardener, the labourer, the thatcher, the drover, and the whole class of men who earn their bread toilfully in wind, rain, and sun, have the expectation of living at least six years longer than the coachman, the watchman, and others who are equally exposed to the weather, but whose blood is not equally circulated or sweetened by continual and active exertion. It will be remarked also, that the out-door worker with little exercise comes off but badly in the comparison with the sedentary in-door worker — in other words, the coachman's is a worse life than the shopman's. We suspect however, with Mr. Neison, that intemperance must thus kick the beam against sedentary out-door employments. We all know, for instance, that Jehu is not a teetotaller, and our suspicions are, moreover, strengthened by the fact that engine drivers, who are forced to maintain a strict sobriety, although among the class of sedentary out-door workers, and exposed to a hurricane of air and to driving wet during the greater part of their existence —are yet remarkably free from consumption — the fell disease which decimates the poor printer, who cannot tolerate the minutest draft in his place of work.

As we ascend in the social scale, it would naturally be supposed that we should find the value of life greater, and occupations more healthy. It is a great question, however, if the artisan, subject as he is to so many injurious circumstances, has not the advantage over the shopkeeper. This may appear at first impossible, but when we come to consider the life led by the tradesman, and especially by the smaller ones, who form so large a proportion of the class, we find they are subjected to an accumulation of adverse influences. In the generality of cases, the individual of this genus confines himself to the smallest possible amount of room, in which he can possibly carry on his business — the rest of his house he lets off for offices. In this confined space he lives, without taking any adequate exercise, often lying perdu in a dark inner room, through a peep-hole of which he watches for customers. At night, he inhales an atmosphere polluted by many gas-lights, and when, finally, the shutters are closed, he will often be found sorting and placing away the goods disturbed during the day. Under such circumstances, is it wonderful that he perishes at a more rapid rate than the artisan who labours all day at some noxious trade, and sleeps at night in some wretched lodging? It is well known, that there is scarcely such a thing to be found as a London tradesman of the third generation. The class is entirely kept up by the rosy-faced youths, who come up from the country full of hope and health, and then gradually subside into the pallid tradesman of middle life, taking on, as it were, the sad colour and aspect of the great city, just as hares and foxes turn white in northern latitudes, when winter brings about her snow.

There are certain classes of tradesmen who suffer from singular skin diseases consequent upon handling articles of their trade. Thus the miller, whose hands are constantly immersed in his meal, is subject to an irruptive disease of those members in consequence of the attacks of the meal mite—a small insect to be found in some kinds of flour. The grocer's itch, again, is occasioned by handling sugar infected with an animalcule peculiar to it. We have seen sugar which absolutely moved throughout its entire mass in consequence of the immense number of insects present in it, and these readily attack the hand, and produce an irruption similar to that of the ordinary itch. Chimney-sweepers, again, suffer from a more formidable disease — cancer induced by the irritative qualities of the soot upon certain portions of the skin of the body. Neither must we omit from the ranks of unhealthy town occupations the squalid race of clerks, whose monotonous occupation and posture perpetually fixed in the form of a Z, renders them a very unhealthy class of men.

Waiters in hotels and taverns sap their health by surreptitious tippling. A medical friend says, his experience of them is, that with few exceptions, they are *all rotten with perpetual imbibition.* Footmen do not drink so much, but they are so grossly over-fed and under worked, that they are always suffering from plethora. 'Jeames'' aim is to run to calves, but he pays the penalty for his ambition. They are, in fact, in the position of the convicts at Fremantle, Australia, who, during the time that our soldiers were dying for want of food in the Crimea, suffered from what was significantly called the gluttony plague. Excessive over-feeding and underworking was, it appears, the rule at the convict establishment, and in consequence no less than 1554 patients were under medical treatment in less than six months, with diseases of the digestive organs, inflammatory affections of the eyes, and cutaneous eruptions. The physic of short allowance and plenty of work soon set matters to rights. It is not often that the lower or middle classes suffer from over-feeding, but drink is the bane of many trades and occupations. The gigantic brewer's drayman, who seems built as a match for the Flemish team he drives, is but a giant with feet of clay; his jolly looks are a delusion and a snare. The enormous amount of beer and stout he is allowed by his employers—on the principle, we suppose, that you should not muzzle the ox that treadeth out the corn—so deteriorates his blood, that a scratch prostrates him, and any serious illness is pretty sure to carry him off. The common labourer, who lives under pretty much the same condition, with the exception of the temptation to drink, has an average life of 47½ years, but he is cut off at the early age of 43 years.

If we take another class of persons thrown continually in the way of tippling, we find the result is equally unfavourable. The pot-boy of the metropolis, with whose doughy face and pert leer we are so well acquainted, scarcely lives out half his days. In his case, in addition to continual potations, he is perpetually breathing, until twelve o'clock at night, an atmosphere compounded of drunkards' breath, stale tobacco, and all the impurities arising from the brilliant gas illumination of a gin palace; it is not, therefore, surprising to find that his average age is but 41½ years; while the footman may reckon upon helping himself to his master's venison until he is 44½ years old. The publican is almost as great a sinner as his man in the way of intemperance, and his life in consequence is at least 2½ years shorter than the very limited span of the tradesman.

Dr. Guy, who has taken considerable pains to ascertain the value of life in the educated classes, has worked out the extraordinary result that, the higher the step in the social

hierarchy, the greater the means of self-indulgence, the less the chance of long life. People have so long been accustomed to look upon the possession of wealth as the best guarantee for a flourishing bodily condition, that they will be surprised, perhaps, to hear that in proportion as the wholesome stimulus of labour is withdrawn from any class, in the same proportion the value of its average term of life is shortened. And yet our common experience but tallies with the results of scientific inquiry in this matter. When a man who has lived a long and active life, suddenly retires with the idea that he has earned his ease, and that it is time for him to enjoy himself, ten to one but he has taken the most effectual method of shortening his life; and much as we may smile at the taste of the retired soap-boiler, who always made a point of going down to his old shop on 'boiling days,' yet we can see that his instinct directed him rightly, for we can none of us bear idleness, least of all those who have long practised industry.

Regularity, sobriety, and activity of mind and body, are the pabulum on which vital force is fed, while, on the contrary, luxury, licentiousness, and sloth are the cankers of life. A comparison of the longevity of the different educated classes proves this in a remarkable manner. Let us take, for instance, the three learned professions. If the reader were asked whether the clergyman, the lawyer, or the physician lived longest, most probably he would say the lawyer. Accustomed to venerable age on the judgment-seat, and struck with the fact that our leading law lords have generally been, and still are, noblemen of very advanced age, he would perhaps be justified in giving the palm of longevity to them. Yet in truth, as a class, they are the shortest lived. The race is neck and neck, it is true, but they lose by a neck. The clergyman, as we should naturally suppose, enjoys a higher standard of health, and attains a greater age, than any member of the community, excepting poor Hodge, the humblest member of his flock. His average age, taking those persons only into account who have passed their 50th year, is 74·04 years, or rather better than one year longer than the physician, who lives to an average age of 72·95 years. This trifling difference, we should expect, as the latter is subject to many chances of infection, and lives more a town life than the former. If the comparison is made, however, between the highest grades of the two professions, between archbishops and bishops, and baronets who have filled the posts of physicians and surgeons to the sovereign, the latter have the advantage by four years, and in both cases the lawyer lags behind in the race with clergymen and physicians: with the latter in his ordinary rank by a few days only, and with the class of medical baronets,

as compared with judges, upwards of four years—how much hard study, alternated with tawny port, has to do with the difference, we should scarcely like to say. The gentry may be reckoned to be about as long lived as the clergy; well-housed, well-fed, and living an agricultural life with active habits, they have few diseases, and are especially exempt from consumption. Officers of the navy have slightly the advantage of those of the army—say one year of life. From this point, where the social hierarchy takes a leap, and clothes itself in the purple and fine-linen of nobility—the lamp of life begins rapidly to burn low. The aristocracy of this country are shorter lived, by more than one year, than he who works with all the cares and anxieties of the priest, the lawyer, or the physician; and members of royal houses (calculated from the ages of members of continental as well as English royalty) descend the ladder of life so rapidly, that they have three years less of existence than the peer; and, lastly, we come to the 'round and top of sovereignty itself.' The potentate who stands on the highest pinnacle of human greatness, surrounded, it would seem, with every condition favourable to comfort and longevity, fenced about from casualties which constantly beset the paths of ordinary mortals, his would appear indeed a charmed life; yet the hard fact will stare us in the face that the sands of life run far quicker with him than with any other of the educated classes. His years are on an average but 64, or 10 less than the clergy, who probably have to fight the hardest battle in the world—the fight of comparative poverty against appearances. It could be 'clearly shown,' says Mr. Neison, in his Vital Statistics, 'by tracing the various 'classes of society in which there exists sufficient means of sub-'sistence, by beginning with the most humble, and passing on 'to the middle and upper classes, that a gradual deterioration in 'the duration of life takes place; and that just as life, with all 'its wealth, pomp, and magnificence, would seem to become 'more valuable and tempting, so are its opportunities and 'chances of enjoyment lessened. As far as the results of figures 'admit of judging, this condition would seem to flow directly 'from the luxurious and pampered style of living among the 'wealthier classes, whose artificial habits interfere with the 'nature and degree of those physical exercises which, in a sim-'pler class of society, are accompanied with long life.' Truly, there is a spirit of compensation in this life, if we could only 'distil it forth.' The poor countryman of thirty years of age, who takes his frugal repast under a hedge, has a chance of thirteen years' longer life than the monarch of the same age clothed in purple, and lord, perhaps, of half the habitable world!

ART. II. — *The History of Herodotus,* a new English version, edited with copious Notes and Appendices, &c. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of Exeter College, Oxford; assisted by Col. Sir HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., and Sir J. G. WILKINSON, F.R.S. 4 vols. 8vo. London: 1859.

THE appearance of Mr. Rawlinson's long-expected translation of Herodotus will have been hailed with satisfaction by every scholar and student of ancient history. More than seven years have elapsed since the work was first promised to the public. But the causes which led to this long postponement have contributed materially to the value of the work itself, and we have no doubt that the advantage to the student will fully compensate for the delay. The main object of this book was not merely to present to the reader the 'Father of History' in an English garb, which may render him accessible to those who are unfortunately precluded from reading the original. Such a task would have presented comparatively little interest to the scholar; and we might fairly be disposed to question whether a new English translation of Herodotus was much required. Vague and unfaithful as are the renderings of Littlebury and Beloe, they would probably suffice for the purposes of the general reader, while those who may be disposed to make more critical researches into questions of ancient history or geography, without being able to consult the original text, would have several literal translations ready to their hands. No less than three English translations of Herodotus have indeed been published within the last thirty years, of which that by Mr. Laurent, of Oxford, seems to be the most popular, while one by Mr. Isaac Taylor (published in 1829), of which Mr. Rawlinson speaks in terms of commendation, was apparently so little known that Mr. Rawlinson himself was unaware of its existence until after he had completed his task; and we must confess to a similar ignorance on our own part. It is but little commendation to say that Mr. Rawlinson's translation is the best that has yet appeared in the English language; and is indeed the first that can fairly be said to meet the requirements at once of the general reader and the historical inquirer. He has endeavoured, and in general not without success, to hold a middle course between a loose paraphrase like that of Beloe, and that sort of literal rendering of the words of the original, which loses all the spirit and vigour of an author in the attempt to adhere closely to the precise form of his language.

But the original announcement of the book before us — seven years ago — promised us much more, and something much better, than merely a new English translation of Herodotus. It professed to collect for the use of the student, and bring to bear on the illustration of the author, the important results of modern researches and discoveries, both in regard to history and geography — to show us in a compendious form what light these researches had thrown on points previously obscure and doubtful, and how far they tended to invalidate or corroborate the authority of the most ancient of historians. Very much the same task had been, indeed, undertaken at an earlier period by the French translator, Larcher, whose version of Herodotus was published in 1786, with copious historical and geographical notes, and is still a useful work of reference. Many important illustrations from modern sources had also been furnished in the copious notes appended by Bähr to his valuable edition, first published in 1830. But since the time of Larcher and even since that of Bähr, the accessions that have been made to our knowledge of the East have been so extensive that it was become absolutely necessary to embody them afresh.

Not only has the geography of the countries with which the history of Herodotus is principally concerned, been more fully explored, and their monuments more carefully investigated, but new sources of historical information have been opened to us, which have already yielded many new and unexpected results, and which promise a yet more abundant harvest for the future. It is scarcely necessary to say that we allude to those two latest branches of philological research — the interpretation of the Egyptian hieroglyphics and that of the cuneiform inscriptions of Persia, Assyria, and Babylonia. To 'embody 'the chief results, historical and ethnographical, which have 'been obtained in the progress of cuneiform and hieroglyphical 'discovery,' is one of the professed objects of Mr. Rawlinson's work, and is undoubtedly the part of his undertaking the most calculated to arouse the expectations and attract the attention of the scholar; while the names of his two coadjutors, Sir Henry Rawlinson and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, are sufficient warrant that this important task has not been entrusted to incompetent hands.

Both branches of study are indeed of very recent date. For though our knowledge of the Egyptian hieroglyphics may be considered as having attained a state of comparative maturity, yet less than forty years have elapsed since the first steps in the right path were taken by Dr. Young, and for a

considerable part of this interval the successive steps of the process were slow and difficult. The other is still more modern. The first clue to the interpretation of the Persian arrow-headed characters was indeed obtained by Professor Grotefend (who has been aptly termed 'the Young of cuneiform interpretation') as early as the year 1815; but the results were for some time confined to the deciphering of a few royal names and titles; and it was not till more than twenty years later that the simultaneous researches of Major (now Sir Henry) Rawlinson in Asia and of MM. Burnouf and Lassen in Europe, opened a way to the complete interpretation of this first species of cuneiform writing. The translation of the great inscription on the rock at Behistun, containing the annals of the first five years of the reign of Darius Hystaspes, compiled and engraved by the order of that monarch himself, is certainly one of the most interesting additions to our knowledge of ancient history that has been made in modern times, and will remain a lasting monument of the learning and sagacity of its ingenious decipherer.

But there still remained the far more difficult task of unravelling the mysteries of the Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. Almost simultaneously with the discovery of the clue to the Persian characters, and before the results had been fully given to the world, the excavations of M. Botta at Khorsabad, and of Mr. Layard at Kouyundjik and Nimroud, had as it were called anew into existence that great Assyrian Empire, which had long been seen looming through the mists of antiquity, but in so vague and dubious a form that its very reality had appeared questionable. Interesting as were the sculptures thus unexpectedly brought to light as pictures of ancient life, and as the earliest contemporary records of Oriental civilisation, their highest value was still wanting, until the inscriptions by which they were accompanied could be deciphered and interpreted. This task was undertaken by Sir Henry Rawlinson, who had already borne so important a share in deciphering the Persian cuneiform inscriptions, and to whom unquestionably belongs the chief credit of the advance that has as yet been made in this second and more complicated branch of the same study. The progress of the work has been necessarily slow; the steps often uncertain; the ingenious interpreter has not unfrequently been obliged to abandon his first conclusions, and discard readings which he at first put forward with confidence; nor can we conceal from ourselves that there still hangs too much of doubt and uncertainty about many of the results to allow of their being made the subject of satisfactory historical criticism. Hence we feel almost inclined to regret that the work before us, long

delayed as it has been, was not postponed yet longer; until the results of these most recent branches of discovery had acquired a greater degree of stability, and been more generally recognised by the learned world of Europe.

But many years may perhaps still elapse before this point can be fully attained, and in the meantime Mr. Rawlinson has conferred a great benefit upon the scholar by putting him in possession, in a clear and compendious form, of the results already obtained, and the present state of our knowledge, as derived from these sources. We are thus enabled at once to compare them with what was previously known from other authorities concerning the nations and the events to which they relate. Moreover the greatly increased interest, which has of late years been directed to the countries in question, has led to a more thorough and complete examination of those authorities which we already possessed, some of which had been previously treated with unmerited neglect. The statements of Berosus and Ctesias, as well as those of Herodotus, have been more carefully sifted and scrutinised, and diligently compared with the few scattered notices of the Assyrian and Chaldæan monarchies found in the Old Testament — notices of which the historical accuracy has received a striking confirmation from the discoveries on the monuments. The result is unquestionable, that, although our knowledge of Assyrian and Babylonian history is still very incomplete, and much even of what we are supposed to know rests upon very uncertain authority,—it is still both more complete and more certain than we possessed at any former period.

But our present concern with the history of the great empires of antiquity is more immediately in reference to Herodotus. So much of our previous knowledge of all the ancient nations of Asia and Africa was derived from his authority that it became an immediate inquiry of interest how far the authentic annals of the countries in question, when recovered from the monuments, were found to tally with his statements. It was as if a witness had suddenly arisen from the grave to be confronted with 'the Father of History' to tell us how much of credit was due to the accounts we had hitherto received; to confirm their authenticity, or to compel us to discard them as fables. The testimony thus unexpectedly obtained is the more important because of the widely different estimates that had previously been formed of the great Historian of Halicarnassus.

All critics in every age have indeed agreed in doing justice to his excellence as a writer, to the wonderful power of his narrative, and to the matchless charm of his style — a charm of

which, unfortunately, no translation can convey any idea to the mere English reader. But in regard to the more important requisites of a historian, the authenticity of his statements, and the veracity of his narrative, there has been the greatest diversity of judgment. No writer has indeed been found in modern times to renew the attack made by Plutarch (or rather by some unknown author who usurped his name) upon the candour and impartiality of Herodotus in his history of the events that lay near his own time. Never was a writer more free from the 'malignity' imputed to him by the author of the tract in question. The impartial spirit in which he treats not only of the contests between the different states of Greece, but of the great war itself between the Greeks and Persians, is one of the most striking characteristics of his work. It would be difficult indeed to point out a single passage which breathes anything like a spirit of hostility to Persia. The vast superiority of the Greeks over the barbarians appears distinctly from his narrative, but he does not bring it into prominence by his remarks: he relates the facts, and leaves his reader to draw the inference. Again, as between the Greeks themselves, though his sympathies are undoubtedly with the popular party, and especially with the Athenians, he rarely allows this predilection to betray itself in any decided manner. Once only, after relating the rapid developement of the Athenian power after the expulsion of the Pisistratids, he breaks out with the noble exclamation:— 'By this we may learn, and not by this only, but by a thou-'sand other instances, what an excellent thing is freedom.'

The credit of Herodotus has undoubtedly suffered much more from the attacks of Ctesias, a writer who lived much nearer to his own time, and whose position at the Persian court, where he resided many years as a physician, seemed to give a high degree of authority to his statements. The still extant fragments of Ctesias, as well as the epitome of his work preserved to us by Photius, fully confirm the statement of that learned patriarch that 'he was almost continually contradicting Hero-'dotus, and did not scruple to tax him with direct falsehood.' The pretensions to superior information asserted by Ctesias, in regard to the early history both of Persia itself and of the still more ancient monarchies of Asia, seem to have been very generally admitted in ancient times; and though the uncritical character of his work was sufficiently apparent on the face of it, yet it is only very gradually that even modern scholars have come to estimate his authority at its real worth. Henry Stephens, by whom his remains were first brought to light, put forth the most extravagant pretensions on his behalf, and we

are indebted to the learned Scaliger for being the first to assail his authority. That great scholar saw what the earlier chronologers had failed to see, that the chronology of Ctesias was wholly irreconcilable with the statements found in the Jewish scriptures, as well as with those of Berosus, the native historian of Chaldæa, and he reasonably inclined to the authority of the latter. The 'general suspicion of bad faith' thus excited has been increased with every subsequent discovery, and at last (says Mr. Rawlinson) 'the *coup de grace* has been given to his 'small remaining reputation by the recent cuneiform discoveries, 'which convict him of having striven to rise into notice by a 'system of "enormous lying," to which the history of literature 'scarcely presents a parallel.'

But apart from the attacks of Ctesias, or the Pseudo-Plutarch, there was undoubtedly much in the work of Herodotus itself to awaken scepticism, and excite doubts as to his authority. Notwithstanding the tone of candour and sincerity that breathes throughout his pages, the modern reader can hardly fail to be startled by the marvellous relations interspersed with his accounts of foreign countries, and the stories of an obviously legendary character which he has interwoven with his more authentic historical narrative. Hence while some have been disposed to estimate his authority even above its real worth, others have rushed into the opposite extreme, and have been led to discard altogether his testimony as unworthy of belief. Both judgments in this extreme form are undoubtedly equally erroneous. It is absurd to forget altogether the state of society in which Herodotus lived, and for which he wrote, to ignore the circumstances of his life and position, and the limits which these necessarily assigned to his power of obtaining authentic information; it is equally unreasonable to condemn him indiscriminately because he was not in all things superior to his age, because he shared the belief of his countrymen in superstitions that now provoke a smile, and relates with undoubting faith statements which our improved physical philosophy shows us to be impossible. Herodotus cannot rank as a philosophical historian with Thucydides or Polybius; but still less does he deserve to be classed with the logographers that preceded him, or with such compilers of fables as Ctesias and Xanthus of Lydia.

It cannot, we think, be questioned that the progress of modern discovery, especially of those geographical researches which have gradually made us familiar with many of the countries described by Herodotus, but which had long remained unknown to our forefathers, has been on the whole eminently favourable to the character of our historian for veracity. Many statements

which had long been treated as marvellous or incredible, have been shown to be strictly true: others are found to have arisen from a misconception, natural and pardonable enough, on the part either of Herodotus himself or his informants. The case has been very much the same with him as with the great Venetian traveller, Marco Polo; and the estimate of both authors has undoubtedly risen in proportion as we know more of the countries they describe. To so great an extent indeed has this been the case with Herodotus, that there has arisen in modern times an exaggerated tendency to give implicit credit to his statements, and to assume them as true without sufficient examination of the sources from which they *could* be derived. Such a tendency, in its turn, naturally creates a reaction; and two of the latest critics who have examined this question—Mr. Blakesley in his edition of Herodotus, and Col. Mure in his History of Greek Literature—have passed into the opposite extreme, and have treated our historian with a degree of severity which appears to us altogether unmerited. Col. Mure especially has in several instances taxed him with credulity for statements which had been received without hesitation both in ancient and modern times, and which we agree with Mr. Rawlinson in thinking that there is not the slightest reason to question.

Herodotus can certainly not be altogether acquitted of a love of the marvellous; but it is principally with regard to the more remote and inaccessible countries, concerning which it was, in his day, impossible to obtain really authentic information, that he has transmitted to us stories of this character. Yet even here we do not meet with any such mere fables as were circulated by many of the earlier travellers and inquirers, especially by Scylax of Caryanda and Ctesias; we have no mention of the 'men whose heads do grow beneath their shoulders,' or of the Otolicnians, who had 'such very large ears that they do sleep 'upon one and cover themselves with the other.' Herodotus, indeed, notices the well-known story of the one-eyed Arimaspians, who 'purloined the guarded gold' from the griffins in the mountains of Scythia—a tale already familiar to the Greeks of his day, as we know from the reference to it in Æschylus; but he is careful to add that this story rests solely on the authority of the Issedones, a barbarous tribe who dwelt beyond the Scythians, and that the Greeks had derived it from them through the Scythians; while the historian himself distinctly expresses his disbelief in a *race* of people with only one eye. The story of the gigantic ants, 'somewhat less than dogs, but bigger than 'foxes,' from whose burrows the Indians procured their gold,—

one of the most obviously fabulous narratives reported by our historian — is in like manner undoubtedly a native Indian tradition, and it is curious to find it not only repeated by Nearchus (who declared that he had seen the *skins* of some of these ants), as well as by Megasthenes, Pliny, and later writers, but re-appearing in the East in the twelfth century. One of the most startling points in the narration of Herodotus is undoubtedly his statement that some of these wonderful ants were kept alive in the parks of the Persian king; but even this finds a counterpart as late as the year 1559, when we are assured by the grave historian, De Thou, that one of these very ants, 'formica Indica, canis mediocris magnitudine, animal mordax et 'sævum,' was sent by the Shah of Persia as a present to the Sultan Soliman II.

But, however favourable an estimate we may be disposed to form of the truthfulness of Herodotus as a traveller, it is evident that his authority as a historian, in the strict sense of the word, must rest upon a totally different foundation. With reference, indeed, to what may be considered as the main subject of his work, the great war with Persia, there would be abundant materials to his hand; and it is probable that this portion of his history was derived almost entirely from oral tradition, from conversation with persons who had been themselves present in the great actions of the war, or had received their information immediately from those who were thus actually engaged. Scanty and imperfect as is our knowledge of the life of Herodotus, we know with certainty that he was born a few years before the invasion of Xerxes (probably in B. C. 484); that he finally quitted his native city to accompany the Athenian colony to Thurii, about forty years afterwards; and that in this interval he had travelled extensively, not only through all parts of Greece and the Greek cities of Asia Minor, but in much more distant lands, visiting Egypt, Cyrene, Phœnicia, probably also Babylonia, and the Greek colonies on the northern coast of the Euxine; and it is evident, from his own incidental notices, that these travels were undertaken with the express purpose of obtaining information and accumulating the materials which he embodied in his immortal work.

The precise period at which he composed his history has, indeed, been a subject of great doubt, and there are strong reasons for believing that it was not completed in its present form till after the beginning of the Peloponnesian War. Some modern critics have even endeavoured to prove that it could not have been written till a period considerably later, when Herodotus was already far advanced in years. But the para-

doxical views of Professor Dahlmann, who represents our historian as first sitting down to the composition of his great work at the age of *seventy-seven* (!) have been fully refuted by Mr. Rawlinson; and we incline with him to the belief that the history of Herodotus was at least partially completed before he settled at Thurii. Be this as it may, it is certain that his materials were principally collected before that time, and therefore within less than forty years after the battles of Salamis and Platæa. Herodotus would thus find himself, as Mr. Rawlinson observes, in regard to his main subject, the Persian War of Invasion, somewhat in the position of a writer at the present day who should sit down to compose an original history of the great war with Napoleon from the commencement of the present century. The battles of Salamis and Platæa were not so far removed from him as that of Waterloo is from ourselves; and that of Marathon would be still fresh in the memory of men then living. Even the reign of Cyrus and the wars of the Lydian king Crœsus with the Ionic cities in Asia, which may be considered as the beginning of the *direct* narrative of Herodotus, preceded the birth of the historian by less than eighty years.

The portion of his history to which we have just referred affords a striking instance of the contrast in the different parts of the work, naturally resulting from the different nature of his materials. The conquest of the Greek cities in Asia Minor by Crœsus, and even their wars with some of his predecessors, were events of such a character as would be readily preserved by tradition, and were doubtless still familiar to the memories of all the Asiatic Greeks. Accordingly we find nothing in the narrative of these events that is not of a strictly historical character, or that we need hesitate to receive as historical fact. On the other hand, the history of Crœsus himself is mixed up with stories which, if not wholly fabulous, are at least disguised in a legendary garb that almost completely conceals the truth. The celebrated interview between Crœsus and Solon *may* have been a historical fact, for the chronological objections that have been brought against it are not conclusive; but the dialogue between the monarch and the philosopher has been undoubtedly dramatized by the historian, and apparently with the express view of bringing it into connexion with the story of Adrastus, which immediately follows—a story that has very much of a mythical character,—as well as with the circumstances that he relates in regard to the subsequent fortunes of Crœsus. The story of the Lydian king seems indeed to have early become a favourite subject for legend, being chosen as one of the most striking instances of the mutability of fortune; and we find that writers

subsequent to Herodotus continued to dress it up with more and more of fictitious ornament, until it appears at length in the hands of Nicolas of Damascus in the form of a complete romance.*

Very much the same thing has occurred in the case of Cyrus himself. The narrative of his birth and education, as well as of the manner in which he attained to the throne, as related by Herodotus, cannot possibly be regarded as historical. It was, indeed, as our historian tells us, only one of four different legends that were known to him, which he himself selected as the most trustworthy. The grounds of his choice are unknown to us; but it is not improbable that one of the three other versions is that preserved to us by Nicolas of Damascus, who probably derived it from Ctesias. It was natural that the founder of the Persian monarchy should soon become the subject of fabulous legends; and the circumstance that there already existed in the time of Herodotus such a variety of accounts, differing so widely not only in form, but substance, sufficiently proves that there remained no really authentic tradition upon the subject. At the same time the period was too little distant for the main events to have become doubtful; and not only is Cyrus himself as completely historical a personage as Genghis Khan or Tamerlane, but his establishment of the Persian empire on the ruins of that of the Medes, his overthrow of the Lydian monarchy, and his conquest of Babylon, are fully entitled to be received as unquestionable historical facts.

One point in regard to the history of the rise of Cyrus as given by Herodotus is especially worthy of notice. It was, as he himself tells us, a *Persian* account; and if we cannot give credit to it as authentic, we have at least the satisfaction of knowing that it was no fable of Greek origin, but a native legend current among the people themselves. And the assurance of our historian is in this instance confirmed by our finding the same legend in all its material parts reproduced by the native Persian writers at a long subsequent period. In this passage, as indeed in many others throughout his work, Herodotus clearly intimates that he had access to Persian as well as Greek authorities; and we are fairly entitled to suppose that his relations of Persian affairs where these did not bring them in contact with the Greeks are based mainly upon such authorities. Nor is it difficult to understand how this should have taken place. There were, indeed, no Persian historians; and it is

* See the extract from Nicolas of Damascus, cited by Mr. Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 383.

almost certain that Herodotus himself was unacquainted with the Persian language. But from their long rule over the Greek cities of Asia, and the continual intercourse still going on between those cities and the courts of the Persian satraps, it is evident that there could be no want of well-qualified interpreters. The expressions of Herodotus himself, 'the most learned 'of the Persians say;' 'other versions of this story are told,' &c., all seem to point to oral communication as the principal source from which he derived his information; but there are some passages of his work of a statistical character, especially the list of the satrapies under Darius Hystaspes, with the statement of the tribute furnished by each and the enumeration of the army of Xerxes and the forces of the several nations that composed it, that have every appearance of being derived from written documents. He himself alludes to the existence of one such document in the pillar set up by Darius to commemorate his Scythian expedition; and it is curious to learn that the inscription on it was written in Greek *and Assyrian* characters.* Would that some such bilingual monument had been preserved to our own days!

But though we have not been favoured with the preservation of any such convenient key to the cuneiform inscriptions, yet we possess, almost in its pristine integrity, a historical monument of the highest importance in the great rock tablet of Behistun—a monument which has been fairly termed 'the memoirs of Darius 'Hystaspes written by himself;' and, thanks to the labours of Sir Henry Rawlinson, we are now enabled to read them. Whatever doubt may still be thought to rest upon the interpretation of the Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions, the Persian cuneiform writing may be considered as now fully deciphered; and the translation of the Behistun inscription furnished by Sir H. Rawlinson is admitted both by continental and British philologers to rest upon a satisfactory basis. The comparison of this official document with the account of the same transactions given by Herodotus is the more interesting because the narrative of the revolution that placed Darius Hystaspes on the Persian throne, the usurpation of the pretended Smerdis and the conspiracy of the seven Persian chiefs against him, is one of those portions of his history that has been the most obviously *dramatized* by our author, and in which we are therefore the more curious to learn how much of truth lies hidden under this romantic disguise. That parts of the narrative cannot be received as historical must be evident to any one possessing the very first elements of historical criticism. The debate among

* Herod. iv. 87.

the conspirators as to the form of government which they would establish, their ultimate determination to refer the choice of their sovereign to the decision of a chance augury, and the stratagem by which the groom of Darius secured the throne to his master, 'all these incidents (observes Mr. Grote) may be 'found recounted by Herodotus with his usual vivacity, but 'with no small addition of Hellenic ideas, as well as of dramatic 'ornament.' The story of the horse, indeed, has very much the appearance of one of those popular legends which love to make great events depend upon trivial and accidental causes, and very probably grew up among the ignorant as an explanation of the sculptured figure which Darius is said to have erected to commemorate the event.

But when stripped of these obviously fictitious adjuncts, the main points in the narrative of Herodotus derive a remarkable confirmation from the official account by Darius himself. The general character of the revolution, the usurpation by one of the Magi who pretended to be the son of Cyrus, his acknowledgment as sovereign by the whole empire, until he was attacked and slain by the conspirators, and the occupation of the vacant throne by Darius immediately after the assassination of the pretender; all these leading facts are correctly related by Herodotus, and are found to be historically true. Even the names of the conspirators (with one single exception) are correctly given by our historian. On the other hand, they are almost all given *wrong* by Ctesias; a conclusive proof of the carelessness and inaccuracy of that author, and that his pretensions to have derived his materials from official documents in the Persian archives were unfounded.

That Darius himself should bear a more prominent part in the conspiracy, as represented in the 'memoirs,' than would appear from Herodotus, is no more than might be reasonably expected in a royal document of this character, and it is by no means improbable that in this respect the historian is the more truthful of the two. On the other hand, Herodotus passes but slightly over the period of disorder and civil war which followed the revolution; and though he more than once incidentally alludes to the 'troubles' (*ταραχή*) which followed the accession of Darius (III. 126. 150.), his direct narrative would have led us to suppose that his power was established with little opposition until the revolt of the Babylonians took place some years afterwards. But we now know from the Behistun inscription that the first five or six years of the reign of Darius were principally occupied in suppressing a series of insurrections in the different provinces of his empire, where the Medes, the Babylonians, the

Susians, the Assyrians, and even the Persians themselves, as well as the more remote provinces of Parthia, Bactria, and Hyrcania, successively raised the standard of rebellion. And it is remarkable that several of these revolts were originated by a pretender, who personated the same Smerdis, son of Cyrus, whose name had already been usurped by the Magus. The revolt in Media, on the contrary, was headed by a native chief named Phraortes, who claimed to be a descendant of the Median king Cyaxares, and thus imparted a national character to the insurrection.

This revolt of the Medes under Phraortes is a historical fact of the greatest interest, because it serves to explain a difficulty which had proved a stumbling-block to many modern critics and biographers of Herodotus, and had given rise to very erroneous notions as to the period at which his history was composed. After relating the defeat of Astyages, and the conquest of the Median monarchy by Cyrus in his first book, our historian adds: — 'At a later period they (the Medes) repented of their 'submission, and revolted from Darius, but were defeated in 'battle, and again reduced to subjection.' (I. 150.) Now the only revolt of the Medes which was historically known to the earlier editors of Herodotus, was that which is mentioned by Xenophon, as occurring under Darius Nothus, the *second* monarch of that name, in B.C. 408.* Hence Professor Dahlmann maintained that this must be the event alluded to by Herodotus, and consequently that even the first book of his history could not have been completed till after that date, when Herodotus himself was not less than seventy-six years old. Both Mr. Clinton and Col. Mure, while justly rejecting this preposterous conclusion as to the general composition of the work, still considered the notice in question as referable only to the revolt under Darius Nothus, and therefore admitted that this particular passage must have been inserted subsequently to that date. But Mr. Grote, with his usual sagacity, perceived that the Darius thus mentioned, without any distinctive appellation, could be no other than Darius Hystaspes, the only king of the name who figures in his history: and that the revolt of the Medes alluded to by Herodotus must therefore be one wholly distinct from that mentioned by Xenophon, but of which no other notice is found in any extant historian. The same conclusion had already been adopted by Niebuhr †, who placed the Median revolt immediately after the accession of Darius. The

* Xen. Hell. i. 2.

† Vorträge über Alte Geschichte, vol. i. p. 168.

sagacity of these two historians has received a striking and unexpected confirmation from the Behistun inscription; the revolt of the Medes under Phraortes, which seems to have had so decidedly a national character, being undoubtedly the one thus referred to by Herodotus.

The testimony of this remarkable monument must therefore be regarded as on the whole eminently favourable to the authority of Herodotus, due allowance being made for the difference between a formal official document, and a narrative gathered from oral tradition. But the accession of Darius was, after all, not so far removed from the time of Herodotus as that of George the Third from our own: there must therefore have been abundance of materials to be collected in regard to it from oral tradition alone, supposing only that Herodotus had access to them; and this the constant and habitual intercourse between the Asiatic Greeks and the Persians would undoubtedly have furnished him. But the case was quite different with respect to the early history of those nations whose annals were carried back to a very remote period, and especially with those who have of late years attracted so much attention,—the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Babylonians. In these instances mere tradition would be utterly worthless, and the informants of Herodotus could have themselves had no knowledge of their own history, had it not been founded on written or monumental records. Fortunately we know with certainty that it *was* based on such authority. Both the nations which inhabited the banks of the Tigris and Euphrates, as well as the still more ancient people that had occupied from the earliest ages the valley of the Nile, had been accustomed from the first dawn of civilisation among them to inscribe on rocks, and on buildings almost as durable as the rocks themselves, as well as on papyrus rolls and cylinders of clay, the records of historical events, and the names of their existing rulers. We know also with certainty that these records were still legible and intelligible to the learned of their respective countries, even at a period considerably later than that of Herodotus. The cuneiform writing was still in use in Asia as late as the time of the Seleucidæ, and the hieroglyphic characters continued to be employed in Egypt not only under the Ptolemies, but even under the Roman Empire. Shortly after the time of Alexander the Great, the stimulus given to literature by Greek influence led two native writers, Berosus in Chaldæa, and Manetho in Egypt, to collect and embody in a historical form the results which they derived from these still existing records: and their works, though known to us only by meagre extracts,—for the originals have long since perished,—have in

both instances become the basis of our chronological history of their respective countries; and have of late years received the most striking confirmation from the monuments themselves. It may indeed be safely affirmed that, while the leading result of the researches into Egyptian hieroglyphics has been to establish the authority of Manetho, the progress of our knowledge of the cuneiform inscriptions of Mesopotamia has tended in an equal degree to authenticate the historical scheme of Berosus.

It is evident then that there existed in the time of Herodotus the materials for an authentic outline at least of the history both of Assyria and of Egypt. But these materials were probably known to few, and it is a very different question how far the results were available to our historian. In the case of Egypt, indeed, we know with certainty, from his own express statements, not only that Herodotus visited that country, but that he received his information from the priests—the sole depositaries of all learning among the Egyptians—and that he repaired to different cities with the express object of hearing and comparing the accounts he received from different bodies of priests. In regard to Babylon, in like manner, Herodotus expressly refers some of his information to the Chaldæan priests of the temple of Belus, the very body of which Berosus was himself a member not much more than a century afterwards. And although a doubt has been raised by more than one writer in modern times, whether Herodotus was ever at Babylon at all, we must express our entire concurrence upon this point with Mr. Rawlinson, who regards his presence there as a clearly established fact.

Not only does the general tenor of his description appear to us throughout as conveying the impression of an eye-witness, but particular expressions occur which scarcely seem susceptible of a doubt.* Thus, in speaking of the vast fertility of the soil of Babylonia, he says, that he does not add some other particulars, though he knows them, 'because he is aware that what he has 'already related must appear incredible *to those who have not*

* There would, indeed, be no doubt upon the point if Herodotus had said what Mr. Rawlinson represents him as saying in one passage (c. 194.): 'The greatest wonder *of all that I saw in the land* 'after the city itself, I will now proceed to mention.' But the translator has here fallen into the very natural mistake of expressing what he himself believed that Herodotus *meant* to say, instead of what he actually says. The words of the original are, 'The greatest wonder 'of all *that are* in the land,'—which cannot be considered decisive either way, though we think that the natural construction is certainly that put upon them by Mr. Rawlinson.

'*visited the country*.' (I. 193.) Again, after describing the temple of Belus with a minuteness which certainly seems to bear the stamp of personal observation, and adding several particulars for which he expressly cites the authority of the Chaldæan priests, he mentions that in the time of Cyrus there was in the temple a figure of a man, twelve cubits high, entirely of solid gold; but he adds, 'I myself did not see this figure, but I relate what is 'stated by the Chaldæans.' (I. 183.) He then proceeds to explain the reason *why* he did not see the figure, namely, that it had been carried off by Xerxes. This express mention of one remarkable thing that he did *not* see, appears to us conclusive evidence that he *did* see the others. Had Herodotus not himself visited the temple of Belus, the words would have no intelligible meaning.

It has, indeed, been contended that the description of Babylon given by Herodotus is so improbable and extravagant, and so entirely at variance with the evidence of the existing remains, that we cannot possibly suppose it to be derived from personal observation, and we must either believe him to have been misled by erroneous information concerning a place which he never saw, or admit him to have been guilty of such gross and unpardonable exaggeration, as would altogether weaken our faith in his general veracity. It cannot be denied that it is much more difficult to reconcile his account of the great monuments of the Chaldæan capital with their still extant remains than in the parallel case of Egypt; and we must frankly admit that we find it impossible to give credit to his statements of the vast extent of the city, and the gigantic size of the walls by which it was surrounded. The idea of a city forming a regular square of four hundred and eighty stadia (more than fifty-five English miles!) in circuit, and surrounded throughout this whole extent by a wall more than ninety feet in thickness and three hundred and seventy feet high — rather more than the extreme height of St. Paul's! — is simply preposterous; and if we suppose Herodotus to be speaking as an eye-witness, such an assertion would certainly tend to throw discredit upon his testimony.

But it is certain that in both respects the *general* result is confirmed by the concurrent testimony of later writers, and the popular belief of antiquity. The enormous extent of Babylon is referred to as an acknowledged fact by Aristotle, who speaks of its walls as calculated to contain a nation rather than a city (Polit. iii. 3.); and the story told by Herodotus himself, that the inhabitants of the interior of the city did not know of its capture until long after its outermost quarters were in the hands of the enemy, and continued feasting as if nothing

had happened, is in itself a sufficient proof of the popular belief of its vast extent. Nor do we see any reason to doubt the fact of this enormous size, however we may mistrust the actual numbers reported to us. These numbers, indeed, cannot be supposed to be the result of any actual measurement, but were in all probability founded upon some popular tradition, adopted by the priests; and we know from numerous instances how vague such estimates generally are, even under much more favourable circumstances.

It would be much more difficult to account for the statement of Herodotus concerning the vast *height* of the walls, of which the mere passing traveller might have formed an approximate estimate, were it not probable that in this instance he is reporting not what he had himself seen, but the tradition preserved by the Chaldæans of what the walls *had originally been.* Herodotus describes the city as it existed in the time of Cyrus; but he himself tells us that the walls had been to a great extent dismantled by Darius after the second capture of the city, and it is probable that they were then reduced to the condition in which they were still existing in the time of Alexander. But the tradition remained that they had once been far larger, and it was open to the priests to exaggerate at their pleasure the original dimensions which there was no longer any power of verifying.

With regard to the topographical objections that have been urged against the authenticity of our historian's account of Babylon, it cannot be denied that there is the greatest difficulty in reconciling some of his statements with the existing remains of the mighty city. But when we consider how completely in its infancy is our knowledge of the topography of Babylon — even a good survey of the site and existing ruins being still a desideratum — we must hesitate before we admit any conclusions drawn from our present information on this obscure subject, as decisive against the testimony of Herodotus.

It is certain that if we pass from Babylonia to Egypt, where the monuments have been more thoroughly explored, and where their singular state of preservation renders it far easier to compare the existing remains with ancient descriptions, the result is eminently favourable to the character of Herodotus as an accurate and observant traveller. Few countries were so calculated to excite the wonder and curiosity of an intelligent stranger as Egypt; and Herodotus himself tells us that he dilates more fully upon it, 'because it contains more marvels than any other 'land, and exhibits also a greater number of monuments of such 'a character as to surpass all description.' (II. 35.) It might

therefore have been expected that that love of the marvellous with which our historian has so often been reproached, would here have found full scope: and it affords the strongest evidence both to his conscientious good faith and to his diligence as an inquirer, that such a tendency is not found more developed in this portion of his work. His account of the pyramids,— those stupendous monuments of antiquity which were so well calculated to become the subjects of exaggeration and fable,—is singularly accurate: even his statement of their dimensions is a very fair approximation to the truth, being indeed, as he expressly tells us, the result of his own measurements. In like manner his description of the temple of Bubastis,—the only one of which he gives any detailed account, for, singularly enough, he omits all notice of the great temples of Thebes, which are the wonder of all modern travellers,—is found by recent observers to be at once accurate and characteristic.

In other cases where earlier travellers had been unable to identify with clearness the localities which he described, or were led to impugn his accuracy, the most recent researches have fully justified his descriptions. The celebrated Labyrinth of Mœris, which had been sought in vain by Belzoni and other visitors to the district where it is situated, has been fully explored by the Prussian commission under Dr. Lepsius, and found to correspond in almost all respects with the account given by Herodotus, and confirmed more than four centuries later by the accurate and observant Strabo.

A still more striking instance is that afforded by the Lake Mœris itself, which, according to Herodotus, was so called from the king of that name, to whom he distinctly ascribes its *construction*, 'for it is manifestly (he adds), an artificial excavation.' Yet, until very lately, all travellers were agreed in identifying it with the natural lake called Birket el Quorn, situated in the fertile basin of the Fayoom, though they could not avoid being struck with the entire dissimilarity of its aspect from the lake described by Herodotus. Mons. Linant, a French engineer, in the service of the Pasha of Egypt, was the first to discover that the lake in question, which is undoubtedly natural, was *not* the Mœris of Herodotus, and that the latter was, as the historian correctly inferred, an *artificial* reservoir of vast size, secured by dams of the most massive construction, the course of which may still be distinctly traced, though the basin itself has been filled up by the alluvial deposits of the Nile, and has long formed part of the cultivated plain. This great work was evidently designed to supply the waters which were conveyed from thence in artificial channels throughout all parts of the Fayoom; a purpose

still partially served by a small reservoir near the modern town, which may be regarded, says Sir Gardner Wilkinson, 'as a very 'humble imitation of the Lake Mœris.'

But however careful and trustworthy Herodotus may have been, so far as his own powers of observation extended, he must undoubtedly have been very much at the mercy of his informants in all that related to the interpretation and history of the monuments which he saw. His account of Egypt may be divided, as he himself distinctly indicates (II. 99.), into two portions; in the one he speaks as a traveller, in the other as a historian, in the stricter sense of the word; the former rests mainly upon his own observations, the other on what he learnt from the Egyptians. In one respect, indeed, he would enjoy unusual advantages in Egypt, from the existence in that country of a distinct class of interpreters—men who had been expressly taught the Greek language, with a view to promote that intercourse with Greece, which, from the time of Psammetichus downwards, had become a settled principle of policy with the Egyptian rulers. There is no doubt that Herodotus was not himself acquainted with the Egyptian language, nor, even if he had been, could he have interpreted the mysteries of the hieroglyphics—the meaning of which was doubtless known only to the priests, and probably confined to a small number even of that body. He was therefore obliged to have recourse to the services of a professional interpreter, or dragoman, as is the case at the present day with most travellers in the East. He himself mentions in one case that the purport of an inscription on the Great Pyramid was communicated to him by one of these interpreters, and we cannot doubt that he was accompanied by such a dragoman throughout his travels. Even the information which he obtained from the priests of the different temples must have passed through a similar medium.

It has, indeed, been asserted by a distinguished modern critic that the Egyptian priests 'were in the habit of practising upon 'strangers a systematic course of deception;' and that 'if we 'except what Herodotus himself saw, or learned from his fellow 'Greeks settled in the country, there is scarcely in his work a 'single piece of information concerning Egypt, its past history, 'or actual condition, that can be relied on.'* Fortunately we possess at the present day the means of verifying the information thus obtained, and of testing the accuracy of the traditions reported by Herodotus, by comparison with the very sources from which they professed to be derived. The Egyptian

* Mure's History of Greek Literature, vol. iv. p. 888.

monuments are still standing — many of them almost as fresh and perfect as in the days of Herodotus; while papyrus rolls similar to those produced by the priests are preserved in the museums of Europe. Only a few years ago these were still a sealed book to us, as they had been to the Greek historian; but the researches of recent times have laid open to us their mysteries, and we now find ourselves in the position, not of the inquisitive traveller, but of the priests who informed him.

What then is the result? Do we find ourselves justified in the sweeping condemnation pronounced by Colonel Mure; or is there reason to believe, on the contrary, that the traditions collected by Herodotus contained at least as large a basis of truth as from the nature of the materials could reasonably be expected? The last conclusion is that adopted by Mr. Rawlinson, and in which we entirely concur.

It is obvious, indeed, on the most cursory inspection that the history of Egypt presented to us by Herodotus is fragmentary: it omits all notice of those monarchs who had left no remarkable monuments of their greatness, while it dilates especially upon those whose colossal works were apparent to the eyes of all. These monuments served as it were as pegs upon which to hang the legends and tales with which his narrative is interspersed. The long legend of King Rhampsinitus, for instance — a story which Herodotus himself treats as a fable, and warns us that he only 'tells the tale as it was told to him' — is prefaced by the statement that that monarch left as monuments, the great western gateway of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis, and the two colossal statues which stood in front of it. In fact, the only kings of the earlier dynasties of Egypt whom we find mentioned by Herodotus are such as were directly connected with the monumental remains of Memphis and its neighbourhood. Menes, the reputed founder of the city, who was represented as the first mortal king of Egypt; Mœris, the excavator of the great lake which bore his name, who also built the northern gateway of the temple of Vulcan at Memphis; Sesostris, the mighty conqueror, who left as memorials of his reign the stone statues which stood in front of the same temple; his son Pheron, who erected two great obelisks at Heliopolis; Rhampsinitus, already mentioned, and the builders of the three great pyramids, Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinus, together with Asychis, who built the eastern gateway of the temple of Vulcan.

It is impossible to mistake the nature of the history which we have here before us. It is essentially *monumental*, that is to say, it was derived from, or adapted to, the existing monu-

ments, and to those of Memphis in particular. It is, in fact, very much such a history as we might suppose a foreigner to acquire, who, without any previous knowledge of English history, should visit Westminster Abbey, and make particular inquiries as to all the monarchs who had made material additions to the building, or whose tombs were shown within it. It would be idle to expect completeness from a narrative thus put together, and it would not easily happen that the chronological sequence should be correctly preserved. Still, if the traveller had met with a respectable *cicerone* and faithfully reported what he heard, the names of the individual kings would be authentic, as well as the leading historical events associated with them; we should have a gallery of real personages, connected with real events, though the series in which they were arranged might be erroneously put together.

Now this is precisely the result that we find in the case before us. If we compare the historical notices of Herodotus with the chronological lists of Manetho, confirmed and illustrated as these have been by the evidence of the still existing monuments, we are struck with the general coincidence of the two.

'The kings mentioned by Herodotus (observes Mr. Rawlinson) appear, with but one or two exceptions, in the lists of Manetho, and upon the monuments; the chronological order of their reigns is preserved, with a single dislocation; the periods of prosperity and oppression are truly marked; the great works are assigned for the most part to their real authors; even the extravagance of the chronology is not without a historic basis, marking as it does the fact, confirmed by Manetho [and by the Turin papyrus], that the Egyptians could produce a catalogue of several hundred persons who had borne the title of king in their country, between Menes and the Rameside monarchs.'*

The remarkable chronological 'dislocation' alluded to in the above passage deserves some further notice on account of its close connexion with the most celebrated of all the Egyptian monuments. There occurs in the earliest history of Egypt a remarkable group of sovereigns, who may be characterised as 'the pyramid kings.' They were the builders of those gigantic piles, designed only as their own tombs, which still remain not only unsurpassed, but unapproached, in their massive and grand solidity. The three largest of these are ascribed by Herodotus to three monarchs, whom he calls Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinus, and places comparatively low in the series, after Rhampsinitus and several generations after the great conqueror Sesostris. The result of all recent researches, on the contrary, has been to

* Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 64.

throw back the construction of these stupendous works to a period anterior to all the other extant remains of Egyptian greatness. It was long, indeed, before any clue could be obtained to the actual period at which they were built, or the monarchs by whom they were constructed. Sir Gardner Wilkinson, writing in 1836, observes, 'The oldest monuments of 'Egypt, and probably of the world, are the pyramids to the 'north of Memphis; but the absence of hieroglyphics, and of 'every trace of sculpture, precludes the possibility of ascertaining 'the exact period of their erection, or the names of their founders.' Later researches have however fully established the fact that they were built by three kings named Chufu or Shufu, Chafra or Shafra, and Menkere, in which old Egyptian forms we readily recognise the names transformed by Herodotus into Cheops, Chephren, and Mykerinus. It is now also clearly established that these monarchs belong to the fourth dynasty of Manetho, the earliest of which any monumental record has yet been discovered. 'It would seem (says Dr. Lepsius) as if 'the builders of the great pyramids were determined to maintain their prerogative as the founders of monumental history.' Not a single tomb, not a single building, has been found which can be referred with certainty to an earlier period. The shadowy kings of the three first dynasties are still to us as meaningless names as those of the three hundred and thirty kings which the priests at Memphis read out from a roll to Herodotus.

In the celebrated Turin papyrus we possess, though unfortunately in a much mutilated condition, a roll in all probability almost precisely similar to that of the priests at Memphis; and it is interesting to observe that it begins, after the reigns of the Gods to which Herodotus elsewhere alludes, with the same name of Men, or Menes, whom our historian places at the head of Egyptian history. The name of Nitocris, mentioned by Herodotus as the only queen in the list, is found in the same document, under the genuine Egyptian form of Neitakri; a circumstance the more worthy of notice, as a queen of the same name is mentioned by Herodotus as reigning at Babylon. The Mœris of Herodotus can in like manner be clearly identified with the king called on the monuments *Amun-m-he,* or Amenema, the original builder of the labyrinth, and placed by Manetho as the last king of the twelfth dynasty.

The determination of the Sesostris of Herodotus is far more difficult, and has long exercised the ingenuity of modern inquirers; but the conclusion seems now to be fairly established, that our historian (or his informants) had confounded under that name the reigns and actions of more than one warlike mo-

narch. 'The original Sesostris (says Sir G. Wilkinson) was the 'first king of the twelfth dynasty, Osirtasen or Sesortasen I., 'who was the first great Egyptian conqueror; but when Sethos 'and his son Rameses II. surpassed the exploits of their prede- 'cessor, the name of Sesostris became confounded with that of 'Sethos, and the conquests of that king and his still greater son 'were ascribed to the original Sesostris.' Thus the *name* of Sesostris was in all probability a corruption of Sesortasen, and a part of the exploits ascribed to him undoubtedly belong to that monarch, who was really the first king that conquered Ethiopia, while the monuments which Herodotus assigns to him were erected by Rameses II., the great monarch of the nineteenth dynasty, and the most celebrated of all the Egyptian conquerors. The narrative of these conquests given by Herodotus has of late years received, in one particular, a striking confirmation. A curious account is given by him of the inscriptions set up by this monarch wherever he carried his arms, some of which, 'in Palestine of Syria,' he had himself seen. (II. 106.) It is interesting to find that one of these very inscriptions is still extant, cut in the rock by the side of the road to Beyrout, close to the river Lycus, and that the name of Rameses II. is still distinctly legible on the royal tablet which accompanies it.

The most remarkable deficiency in the Egyptian history of Herodotus is undoubtedly the omission of all mention of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos, or 'Shepherd Kings,' who, according to Manetho, held possession of the country for a period of more than five hundred years. Whatever may be thought of this date, the *fact* of the subjugation of Egypt by these foreign rulers—most perversely identified by Josephus and many later writers with the Jews, who were in Egypt as bondsmen, not as rulers—is clearly established, and we can only account for the silence of Herodotus in regard to it by supposing that it was intentionally concealed from him by the priests, who sought to ignore this period of the degradation and oppression of their country. It has indeed been suggested, that a trace of the tradition concerning the Hyksos remains in the story told by Herodotus himself, which connects the construction of the pyramids with the name of 'a shepherd Philition.' (II. 128.) But the place assigned by Herodotus to the builders of the pyramids does not at all correspond with that of the rule of the Hyksos; and whatever may have been the source of his strange chronological error in regard to the former monarchs, it is one of which we are now unable to determine the origin.

It is certain that the same cause which would seem to have

led the Egyptian priests thus to falsify their early annals by concealing the periods of disaster and confusion, may be traced in operation throughout the later periods of their history. The conquest of Egypt, by an Ethiopian dynasty commencing with Sabaco, could not indeed be altogether ignored, as had been done with the earlier conquests by the Hyksos; but its duration was materially shortened, and only one Ethiopian king is mentioned by Herodotus, while we learn from Manetho that there were two kings of the name of Sabaco, besides Tarachus,—the Tehrak of the monuments, and the Tirhakah of the Scriptures—a monarch who has left many monuments of his greatness. The mythical account given by the priests of the defeat of Sennacherib, king of Assyria, whose expedition was in fact directed against Tirhakah, was evidently intended to conceal the prominent position assumed by the Ethiopian king; and they even represented Sethos, a priest of Vulcan, as being king of Egypt at the time, though it is certain from the monuments that Tirhakah was the sole ruler of the land. Sethos could at the utmost have been only the governor or viceroy of Memphis and the Delta under Tirhakah. The rule of the twelve kings, which Herodotus represents as following the reign of Sethos, must in like manner have been of a merely local character; and it is possible that they were the governors of certain nomes, or districts, who may have been the first to shake off the yoke of the Ethiopians. But it is certain from the monuments that no considerable interval elapsed between the reign of Tirhakah and that of the first Psammetichus. It may indeed be taken as a general rule (observes Sir G. Wilkinson) that whenever the Egyptians represented a blank in their history, or the rule of ignoble kings, we may infer, or at least suspect, that a foreign dynasty was established in the country.

We must refer our readers to the valuable notes appended by Sir G. Wilkinson to Mr. Rawlinson's translation, and especially to his historical summary in the Appendix to the second book, for a fuller investigation of this question; but even the brief comparison which we have been here able to institute between the Egyptian history of Herodotus and the same history as established by recent researches, appears to us highly favourable to the credit of the Greek historian. His narrative, indeed, bears unquestionable evidence of the source from which it was derived, both in its merits and its defects. The authenticity of particular portions is as striking as its incompleteness as a whole. Chronological accuracy was hardly to be expected, and will certainly not be found. But any one who has attempted to follow the disquisitions of modern writers into

the maze of Egyptian chronology, and has seen how uncertain its earlier periods still remain, even with all the assistance that we now derive from the monuments, will hardly be forward to reproach Herodotus with not having found his way through that labyrinth. On the other hand, one of the most learned and able of the labourers in this field — Baron von Bunsen — has borne the strongest testimony to the 'solid and sterling' character of the notices preserved to us by Herodotus, as contrasted with the confused medley of the 'bewildered and bewildering' Diodorus.

If we now return from the banks of the Nile to those of the Euphrates, and examine what has been transmitted to us by Herodotus of the early history of Babylonia and Assyria, we shall find a very similar result. Unfortunately, in this instance, the historical notices which he has preserved to us are so few and scanty that we have not the means of instituting any elaborate and continuous comparison, such as is possible in the case of Egypt. It was not that the great empires which had arisen at such an early period on the banks of the Euphrates and Tigris attracted less of the attention of our historian. Their close connexion with the Persian empire was indeed calculated to give them a still stronger claim on his consideration, and it is evident that he himself attached to them a corresponding importance. But unfortunately for us, he reserved the greater part of what he had to tell concerning them for another occasion. In several passages of his extant work he refers to his 'Assyrian history' for fuller information in regard to particular points. It is indeed a disputed point whether the phrase he thus uses must be understood as applying to a distinct treatise, or may refer to a separate portion of his greater work, forming a distinct episode like the Egyptian history. It is still more uncertain whether, if he intended to compose a separate book upon the history of Assyria, that intention was ever carried out; it is certain only that in whatever form he designed to embody the full results of his researches into Assyrian and Babylonian history, those results are lost to us; and from the absence of all reference to them by later Greek writers, it would appear that (if ever composed) they must have perished at a very early period. Hence we are reduced to the few historical facts which Herodotus has preserved in connexion with his description of Babylon, together with some incidental notices in other portions of his work. But even these notices, few and scanty as they are, are sufficient to show that in this case as in that of Egypt the historian must have had access to valuable and authentic materials.

The most important of these passages is undoubtedly his

chronological statement concerning the duration of the Assyrian monarchy, to which he distinctly assigns a period of only 520 years from its commencement to the revolt of the Medes, which was the precursor of its downfal. It is well known to all scholars that there existed in antiquity a totally different version of this history, originating with Ctesias, and adopted from him both by Diodorus and Trogus Pompeius, according to which the Assyrian empire had lasted above thirteen hundred years, when it ended with the capture of Nineveh under Sardanapalus. And although the Assyrian history, as given by Diodorus from Ctesias, bears on the face of it every mark of being either purely fabulous, or at best a mere collection of mythical legends, his chronology had been generally adopted by modern writers (as it was by almost all the Greek chronologers) in preference to that of Herodotus; and even Colonel Mure censures our historian for thus departing from 'the re-'ceived version' of Assyrian history. But already before the late researches in Assyria and Babylonia, a recently discovered extract from Berosus, preserved in the Armenian version of the chronicle of Eusebius, had afforded a striking confirmation of the chronological statement of Herodotus. It appears from thence that Berosus, who, as a native of Chaldæa, had certainly the means of access to the best authorities, represented the Assyrian dominion over Babylon as lasting 526 years, a coincidence with the number given by Herodotus much too close to be accidental.

The agreement in this important point between Herodotus and the native historian of Chaldæa affords a very strong additional argument to prove that the former really received his information from the Chaldæan priests, and therefore that he had himself visited Babylon. A definite chronological statement of this kind was little likely to have been remembered or communicated to him by any ordinary traveller or merchant with whom he might have conversed in the ports of Ionia or Phœnicia. The statement is at the same time wholly inconsistent with the historical scheme of Ctesias and Diodorus, and we find ourselves compelled altogether to discard the Assyrian history of these authors if we adopt that of Herodotus and Berosus. And this is the conclusion to which the progress of cuneiform research unquestionably leads us. 'Each succeeding discovery (observes 'Sir H. Rawlinson) has tended to authenticate the chronology 'of Berosus, and to throw discredit upon the tales of Ctesias and 'his followers. It is now certain, whatever may have been the 'condition of Babylonia in the pre-historic ages, that at the 'first establishment of an empire in this part of Asia the seat

'of government was fixed in Lower Chaldæa, and that Nineveh 'did not rise to metropolitan consequence till long after.'

We know indeed but very little of this early Chaldæan monarchy beyond the bare fact of its existence from a very remote period. The monuments do not in this instance, any more than in that of Egypt, furnish us with any regular chronological scheme; and no clue has yet been obtained from the cuneiform inscriptions to the precise period of the first establishment of the Chaldæan empire. But a remarkable sequence of numbers, which appears to be fairly deducible from existing records, establishes the fact that a certain king named Ismi-dagon, whose brick legends are found in Lower Chaldæa, was reigning there as early as the middle of the nineteenth century before Christ, a date which lends at least considerable probability to the statement of Berosus that the primitive Chaldæan empire dated as far back as the twenty-third century B.C.*

The earliest monarchs of this ancient dynasty are considered by Sir H. Rawlinson to be two whose names he reads, though, as he admits, almost conjecturally, as Urukh and Ilgi. Various other kings are also proved to have reigned in the same district at a very early period, but their names are almost equally uncertain with those just cited, and nothing else is known of them. The most remarkable fact which appears to result from all recent researches in this part of the country is, that Babylon was not in these earliest times the capital of the Chaldæan monarchy. Several other cities in the more southern portions of the district—Mugheir, supposed by Sir H. Rawlinson to be

* The sequence in question is as follows. An inscription engraved on the rocks of Bavian by King Sennacherib, records the recovery by him, in the tenth year of his reign, of certain images of the gods which had been carried to Babylon by Merodach Bahadan, after his defeat of Tiglath Pileser, 418 years before. Again, the record inscribed by the Assyrian king, Tiglath Pileser, on the cylinders found at Kileh Shergat, states that he rebuilt a temple in the city of Asshur, which had been taken down sixty years before, having been originally founded 641 years before its demolition by Shamas-iva, the son of Ismi-dagon. Now the date of the accession of Sennacherib being fixed with certainty at B.C. 702, we thus obtain B.C. 1110 for the defeat of Tiglath Pileser, and about B.C. 1820 for the building of the temple by Shamas-iva. His father, Ismi-dagon, may be presumed to have ascended the throne at least thirty years earlier. (Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 433.) It is not, indeed, certain that the Ismi-dagon here mentioned is the same as the king of Lower Chaldæa, whose name is found on the bricks of Mugheir, but there is much to render the identification probable.

the 'Ur of the Chaldees;'* Warka, which he is disposed to identify with the scriptural Erech; Niffer; Senkereh; and other places whose ruins still exist in that now desolate tract—were in all probability more ancient than the far more celebrated Babylon; and the bricks in the basements of these ruins for the most part bear the name of the primeval king Urukh. So far indeed as monumental evidence goes, there appears to be no proof of the existence of Babylon under this earliest dynasty, or even down to a much later period. The boast of Nebuchadnezzar, 'Is not this the great Babylon *which I have built?*'—an assertion so entirely at variance with the traditions preserved by ancient writers, which carried back its foundation to the most remote antiquity—has derived the most remarkable and unexpected confirmation from the discoveries on the monuments. Almost every brick hitherto obtained from the vast ruins of the city is inscribed with the names and titles of 'Nebuchadnezzar, 'the son of Nabopolassar;' while the cylinders lately brought to light by Sir H. Rawlinson contain a fuller description by that monarch himself of the gigantic works which he had erected on the site.

It is no doubt possible, if not probable, that Babylon may have *existed* from a much earlier period, and that it was *rebuilt*, rather than originally founded, by Nebuchadnezzar. We may perhaps hereafter find evidence of some earlier foundations beneath the immense mounds that are composed mainly of the crumbled ruins of the monuments left by this monarch. But the coincidence with the Scriptural account is scarcely the less striking. It must be observed also that this result, though wholly at variance with the traditions reported by Ctesias and his followers, which assigned both the foundation of Babylon and the erection of the colossal works that adorned it to the fabulous Semiramis, is not directly opposed to any statement of Herodotus. Our historian has not indeed in his extant work given us any hint to what period or to what monarch he assigned the foundation of the city; but he speaks of the seat of government as transferred thither after the fall of Nineveh in a manner that certainly seems to imply that it then first rose to the importance of a metropolis. Nor is there anything in his description of the great works at Babylon that is inconsistent

* This identification appears to us to rest upon very inconclusive arguments. We certainly incline to the views of those who regard the biblical Ur as the name of a district or province (as it was rendered by the Septuagint translators), not of any particular city. In the cuneiform inscriptions themselves the name of *Hur* is often employed apparently as a general designation of Lower Chaldæa.

with the supposition that these were mainly, if not exclusively, constructed by this later dynasty. The name of Nebuchadnezzar, indeed, is nowhere mentioned by him, and it is not a little singular that he ascribed several of the great works of that monarch, especially the massive embankments of the Euphrates and the vast reservoir constructed for purposes of irrigation, to a queen, who bore the *Egyptian* name of Nitocris. The origin of this confusion it is now impossible to trace; but we are certainly not entitled to draw any inference from the omission of the name of Nebuchadnezzar by Herodotus, as he himself refers us to his other work—'the Assyrian history'—for the list of the kings of Babylon. On the other hand, the name of Labynetus, the son of Nitocris, whom he represents as the monarch of that city at the time of its capture by Cyrus, and consequently the last king of Babylon, may be clearly identified with the Nabonedus of Berosus, called by other Greek writers Nabonidus and Nabonadius, whose name appears in the inscriptions as *Nabu-nahit.*

Another statement of Herodotus, which had caused much perplexity to all former editors and chronologers, has been at once confirmed and explained in a remarkable manner by one of the recent discoveries in Assyria. It is well known that our author, in the only passage in which he mentions the far-famed name of Semiramis, speaks of her as a queen of Babylon who reigned over that city *five* generations before Nitocris, whom we have just seen reason to assign to the latest period of the Babylonian monarchy. An assertion so entirely at variance with all the more detailed accounts given by Ctesias and his followers of the celebrated queen, as well as with the popular tradition which seems to have connected her with the foundation both of the city and the empire, was a complete stumbling block to those critics who sought to reconcile the two. Scaliger, with characteristic boldness, cut the knot by proposing to read 'fifty' instead of five; and various other emendations were proposed by other commentators. Wesseling more judiciously suggested that the Semiramis of Herodotus was not the same with the semi-fabulous Semiramis of Ctesias, but that there must have been a later queen of the name; and the same view was adopted also by Bähr. This explanation has been of late curiously confirmed by the discovery of a votive statue of the god Nebo, now in the British Museum, which is dedicated by the artist to 'his 'lord Iva-lush and his lady Sammuramit.' The monarch in question is probably the *third* king of the name, whom there is much reason to identify with the Pul or Phul of Scripture, and whose reign must be assigned to the first half of the eighth

century B.C. Hence the 'lady Sammuramit' will coincide well in point of time with the Semiramis of Herodotus. It is still more remarkable that though Iva-lush was undoubtedly king of Assyria (properly so called), he appears to have been in some especial way connected with Babylon*; and hence it is not improbable that Semiramis was really a Babylonian princess, which may account for her name being preserved in the Babylonian traditions reported by Herodotus, as if she had been the sole queen of the land.

Whether Herodotus had any knowledge of the earlier and more famous Semiramis, we have no means of determining: but we certainly are not entitled to assume the contrary from the absence of any mention of her in his existing work. That the history of her reign and conquests as related by Ctesias is absolutely and purely fabulous, and that Semiramis herself is as mythical a personage as her husband Ninus, the reputed founder of the Assyrian Empire, may we think be fairly assumed: but we confess ourselves unable to discover on what grounds Mr. Rawlinson unhesitatingly pronounces the legends concerning them 'mere inventions of the Greek writers, not belonging to 'Assyrian tradition at all.'† It seems much more probable that they were based upon native traditions, though dressed up and disguised by the Greeks till they had lost all semblance of historical character. The statement cited by Eusebius from Abydenus (an author of very dubious authority), that the *Babylonian* historians knew nothing of the existence of Ninus or Semiramis, certainly does not prove that they were equally unknown to *Assyrian* tradition.

The leading result of all the recent researches and discoveries in Assyria and Babylonia, is undoubtedly that of the true relations between the two countries, and the several monarchies which successively rose and fell upon the banks of the Tigris and the Euphrates. Of these by much the oldest, as we have already seen, was the early Chaldæan monarchy, the duration of which, according to Berosus, extended from the middle of the 23rd to the 13th century before the Christian era. The existing remains in Lower Chaldæa, though still imperfectly explored, suffice to establish the fact that there existed at this early period numerous cities, and buildings of a character which unquestionably indicate a considerable amount of civilisation. There is indeed no reason to believe that the ancient dynasty extended its dominion over any distant countries: but the circumstance that a temple at

* Rawlinson, vol. i. p. 467.
† Vol. i. p. 456.

Kileh Shergat, about sixty miles south of Nineveh, was erected by one of these Babylonian kings, — Shamas-iva, the son of Ismi-dagon, — seems to prove that they ruled over the upper country of Assyria, as well as the lower regions of Chaldæa.

Nothing is known of the circumstances that led to a change in these relations, but the conclusion seems to be fairly established that at some time in the thirteenth century B. C.,—the year 1237 may be assumed as a probable approximation to the actual date,—the upper provinces, or Assyria Proper, threw off the yoke of the Babylonian kings, and not only established their own independence, but became by degrees one of the leading states of Asia, and extended their dominion, in their turn over their former rulers in Chaldæa. This is the event which is regarded by Herodotus as the commencement of the Assyrian Empire, and from which he computes the period of its duration. But we must not construe too strictly his expression that from this time forward the Assyrians 'ruled over Upper Asia;' still less must we entertain the vision of an empire so extensive and so suddenly established as we find it represented by Diodorus or Justin. The evidence now derived from the monuments shows clearly that the first monarchs of Assyria exercised no real dominion beyond the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris; it was not till a later period that they carried their arms beyond the mountain ranges which separated them from Media and Armenia, or extended their conquests in the direction of Syria. The earliest historical document that has been brought to light in connexion with this Assyrian Empire is the cylinder of Tiglath Pileser, on which that monarch has recorded the annals of the first five years of his reign—a record which has attracted even more than ordinary interest from its having been recently selected as a kind of test, or *experimentum crucis*, to try the accuracy of the system of cuneiform interpretation. But apart from this adventitious interest the document is in itself highly curious as the earliest authentic and contemporary record of oriental history. The reign of Tiglath Pileser may be assigned, with reasonable confidence, to the latter part of the twelfth century B.C.; and he himself mentions the names of his four immediate ancestors in an ascending series. The earliest of these is represented as 'the king who first organised the 'country of Assyria,' and who 'established the troops of Assyria 'in authority,' expressions which appear to indicate that, if not actually the founder of the independent Assyrian monarchy, he was the first who raised it to power.

The capital of the Assyrian kingdom, at this period, appears to have been at Kileh Shergat, where the cylinder in question

was found, the ruins at which place are considered by Sir H. Rawlinson to be those of the ancient Asshur. It was not till a later period that the seat of empire was transferred to Calah, the site of which is still marked by the ruins of Nimroud; and still later to Ninus or Nineveh itself. This transference of the capital seems to have been coincident with a great extension of the power and dominion of the Assyrian monarchs, and it appears certain that the three first sovereigns who reigned at Calah were really great conquerors and powerful monarchs. The first of these claims a peculiar interest, not only because a large part of the sculptures now in the British Museum are taken from his palace at Nimroud, but still more because in his Assyrian name Asshur-dani-pal, or Assar-don-pal, we seem at once to recognise the origin of the Greek Sardanapalus. The name of this semi-mythical personage has become so familiar as an almost proverbial instance of sensuality and luxury that we are apt to forget that the original legend, as related by Ctesias, represented him as sunk indeed at first in sloth and effeminacy even beyond his predecessors, but suddenly rousing himself on the news of the Median revolt, throwing off at once his luxurious habits and coming out as a spirited and daring warrior. The palpable inconsistency of these statements seems to have led some Greek writers to separate the two characters, and we learn that Callisthenes* distinguished the warlike king Sardanapalus from the voluptuary of the same name, whom all accounts concurred in representing as the last of the kings of Assyria. Whether this view was really derived from more authentic information we know not, but it is certain that the Sardanapalus who built the great palace at Nimroud, one of the largest and most magnificent of all the Assyrian edifices, was a successful warrior, and even a great conqueror, who carried his arms further than any of his predecessors, and boasts of having subdued all the nations 'from the upper passage of the Tigris to Lebanon, and 'the Great Sea,' and reduced under his authority 'the countries 'from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof.'

Unfortunately in the case of Sardanapalus, as in those of Ninus and Semiramis, we are left wholly in the dark as to the view which Herodotus took of his legendary history. We know indeed from an incidental notice in the second book that he was familiar with the *name* of Sardanapalus as a king of Nineveh who had accumulated vast treasures; but whether the notice in question refers to the powerful and warlike monarch, or to the voluptuary, we have no means of determining.

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* Suidas, s. v. Σαρδανάπαλλος.

There seems every reason to believe that the Assyrian empire continued in the same powerful and prosperous condition under the son of Sardanapalus — the monarch whose exploits are recorded on the celebrated black obelisk in the British Museum — as well as that of his successor, Shamasiva; but about half a century afterwards (so far as our imperfect chronology enables us to judge) a great change took place. A new dynasty was placed on the throne of Assyria, and many of the subject or tributary nations seem to have taken the opportunity to throw off their allegiance. It was evidently this revolution which is described by Herodotus as a general revolt of the nations of Asia, in which the Medes led the way, and set the example of independence. He appears, indeed, to have entertained an exaggerated notion of the immediate effect on Assyria itself; for we know with certainty, both from the historical records of the Jews, and from the evidence of contemporary monuments, that in the interval between the revolt of the Medes (which may probably be placed about B.C. 750), and the capture of Nineveh by Cyaxares in B.C. 625, the Assyrian monarchy continued to flourish under successive rulers, whose names are familiar to us from the Scriptures — Tiglath-Pileser, Shalmaneser, Sargon, Sennacherib, and Esarhaddon — and whose power and greatness is attested by the remains of their splendid palaces at Nimroud and Kouyunjik. But it seems probable that the revolution which produced this dislocation in the line of Assyrian monarchs was really an important movement, and that on this occasion Babylonia, as well as Media, again asserted its independence. It did not, indeed, maintain its freedom through the whole period, for it was certainly again subdued by the powerful king Sennacherib, who established one of his sons as viceroy of Babylon; but it was never again permanently incorporated with the Assyrian monarchy. Hence we find the later Babylonian writers apparently dating the commencement of the new dynasty from the period of this revolt of Babylonia from the Assyrians, an event which seems to have closely followed that of the Medes, and may with much probability be assigned to the year B.C. 747 — the date well known to chronologers as that of the era of Nabonassar. We are thus enabled to establish the *historical* meaning of this well-known epoch; a conclusion that we regard as one of the most interesting results that has yet been derived from the recent researches into Babylonian and Assyrian history.

But it was not till after the capture and destruction of Nineveh by the Median king Cyaxares, more than a century later than the period just referred to, that the Babylonian king-

dom rose to a sudden and short-lived splendour under Nabopolassar, and his son Nebuchadnezzar. The short reigns of their successors were comparatively inglorious, and the later Babylonian monarchy appears to have been only another instance of what we so often find in oriental history, the sudden developement of a powerful state under an able monarch, only to sink with equal rapidity under his more feeble successors. The few notices of these Babylonian kings to be found in Herodotus have been already adverted to, and it would be foreign to our present purpose to dwell upon the many interesting points in connexion with the Scriptural history which recent researches have brought to light concerning them.

We derive still less information from Herodotus concerning that later Assyrian dynasty which, as we have already seen, continued to reign at Nineveh from the first revolt of the Medes down to the destruction of the city. The siege and capture of Nineveh are noticed by him in connexion with the rise of the Median power; but he expressly reserves all details for 'another 'place.' In his extant work he has confined himself to the history of the Medes as the immediate precursors of the Persian power; and from the time of their revolt drops all notice of Assyria. But the mention of Sennacherib in connexion with the Egyptian history seems to prove that he was not ignorant of the existence at least of these later Assyrian monarchs, nor of their being powerful enough to carry their arms to the Egyptian frontiers, and threaten the very existence of that monarchy.

Herodotus has indeed preserved to us so few memorials of the history, either of Assyria or Babylon, that we should feel some apology to be due to our readers for having dwelt so long upon the subject, were it not for the great interest which it has of late years attracted. The same excuse may be fairly urged by Mr. Rawlinson for the great amount of space which he has devoted in his first volume to the illustration of these topics. The long appendices upon Babylonian and Assyrian history and mythology which occupy so large a portion of that volume may seem out of proportion with the place which they assume in the work of Herodotus himself. But few readers will be disposed to complain of the extension thus given to a branch of illustration which has above all others the merit of novelty; and if the chapters in question have but little connexion with the history of Herodotus, they will not the less be regarded by many as the most interesting portion of Mr. Rawlinson's work.

In availing ourselves of the summary which he has presented to us of the actual results of cuneiform research, and the conclu-

sions at which its votaries have at present arrived, we do not conceal from ourselves the degree of uncertainty which still hangs about those results. It is impossible to compare the views actually put forth by Sir H. Rawlinson and the readings which he now advances with confidence with those contained in his former memoirs upon the same subject, without feeling that, as many of his earlier conclusions were based upon imperfect induction, and have had to be discarded with the progress of his knowledge, the same result may still attend many of his present views. We are very far from being disposed to share the scepticism of those who question altogether the results derived from the recent interpretations of the cuneiform inscriptions. But when we consider the peculiar difficulties which beset the inquirer into the Assyrian and Babylonian records, we cannot but regret that fuller materials for testing the soundness of the conclusions arrived at have not yet been placed at the disposal of the public. In the case of the Persian inscriptions this has been fully done, and every scholar has now the means of determining for himself the degree of confidence to which they are entitled. The result has been highly satisfactory, and the general accuracy of the translation is admitted by the learned world of Europe. But in the far more complicated and difficult case of the Assyrian inscriptions no similar publication has yet taken place; and the consequence is that while the results are admitted by many with a blind and unreasoning confidence, they are rejected by others with a hasty and sweeping scepticism. We believe both extremes to be equally unfounded. But it cannot be denied that the changes in the readings proposed by different interpreters, and even by Sir H. Rawlinson himself at different times, are such as to excite no unreasonable doubts. When we find, for instance, that the name of the king who erected the black obelisk now in the British Museum has been successively read by Sir H. Rawlinson himself as *Temen-bar*, *Divanubara*, and *Shalmanubara*, while Dr. Oppert now reads it as *Shalmanu-sar* or Shalmaneser; and that again the names now generally admitted to be those of Shalmaneser and Sennacherib were distinctly maintained by Sir H. Rawlinson in 1850 to read as *Arkotsin* and *Bel-adonim-sha*; we cannot but ask for some better evidence than we now possess that our present interpretations rest on a more secure basis than those which have preceded them.

It is true that from the peculiar mode of writing adopted in the case of proper names they are subject to much more uncertainty than the other portions of the inscriptions. Thus the names of the earlier Assyrian monarchs, and still more the

early kings of Babylon, are admitted by Sir H. Rawlinson himself to rest in many instances on little more than conjecture, or at least on very vague and imperfect inferences. But, unfortunately, it is precisely these proper names that it most concerns us to know. The fact that some unknown king, nearly three thousand years ago, carried his arms against an unknown people, swept off hundreds or thousands of them as prisoners, and compelled their prince to acknowledge his supremacy, can have but little interest for us; but if we know that the invading monarch was Sennacherib or Sardanapalus, — if we can recognise in the names of those whom he assailed the well-known appellations of Hezekiah, of Jehu, or of Benhadad, — the dead record seems at once to start into life and reality; and we hail the discovery as a real contribution to the history of the past.

There is perhaps nothing more striking in the general impressions derived from all that we have yet learnt from these sources than the strong similarity of the records thus preserved to us. From the earliest to the latest—from the wars of Tiglath-Pileser in the twelfth century before the Christian era to those of Sargon and Sennacherib in the seventh, and Darius Hystaspes in the fifth,—the resemblance is equally strong. The names of the tutelary deities are changed, as well as those of the nations and tribes who are attacked and subdued and the cities that are taken; but there is a constant recurrence, not only of the same forms of expression, but of exploits and events that seem to repeat themselves in a never-ending series. Something of this singular sameness may doubtless be attributed to the circumstance that the official or diplomatic style of the Persian scribes was in all probability borrowed from that of the Assyrians or Babylonians; but the real similarity lies deeper than this, and arises from the inherent uniformity of all Oriental history, a conviction that cannot fail to impress itself on the mind of every student of these, its earliest records. The wearisome monotony of that history is as unlike the annals of the fertile, active, ever-varying Greek people, as is the formal style of the official inscriptions to the lively, gossiping, and poetical narrative of Herodotus.

ART. III. — *Essays on the Coal Formation and its Fossils, and a Description of the Coal Fields of North America and Great Britain, annexed to the Government Survey of the Geology of Pennsylvania.* By HENRY DARWIN ROGERS, State Geologist. Edinburgh and Philadelphia: 1858. 3 vols. 4to. with Plans.

WE had occasion to refer in a recent Number, for another purpose, to the magnificent and elaborate work which Mr. Rogers, under the liberal patronage of the state of Pennsylvania, has recently given to the world. Our present object concerns exclusively the Essays on the Coal formations of various countries, which are by no means the least interesting and important portion of these volumes. The history of Coal affects, in the highest degree, the entire social condition of our species; and we propose to consider it in the following pages, not so much with reference to its geological characteristics, as in connexion with the prodigious services which this mineral renders to civilisation. In those seams of combustible matter, which the industry and ingenuity of man have discovered and worked in various parts of the globe, lies the latent force which gives life to the steam-engine. Heat, motion, power, and that wonderful energy which propels in a thousand forms the mechanism of modern society, are all concentrated here; and the geological revolutions which reduced the primeval forests and morasses of the globe to this condition, were preparing, in the incalculable distance of past ages, that new element which was one day to make man the master of earth, of water, and of fire. To our mind there is nothing more indicative of the eternal forethought which framed the structure of the world, than the fact, that perishable organisations, which flourished thousands of years before the existence of man, should have become subservient to the latest applications of human skill. The power of calculation can hardly sound the stupendous addition made by this force to the dynamic power of man; but we may borrow the estimate given by Professor Rogers, of the value of the coal fields of this small island — a very small portion, as we shall presently see, of the vast coal fields which stretch across the globe.

Each acre of a coal seam, four feet in thickness, and yielding one yard net of pure coal, is equivalent to about 5000 tons, and possesses, therefore, a reserve of mechanical strength in its fuel equal to the life-labour of more than 1600 men. Each square

mile of one such single coal-bed contains 3,000,000 tons of fuel, equivalent to 1,000,000 of men labouring through twenty years of their ripe strength. Assuming, for calculation, that 10,000,000 of tons, out of the annual produce of British coal mines, are applied to the production of mechanical power, then England annually summons to her aid the equivalent of 3,300,000 fresh men pledged to exert their fullest strength through twenty years. Reducing this to one year, we find that England's actual annual expenditure of power, generated by coal, is represented by that of 66,000,000 of able-bodied labourers. This is a representation of what really exists in another form; but if we proceed so far as to convert the entire latent strength resident in the whole annual produce of our coal mines into its equivalent in human labour, then, by the same process of calculation, we shall find it to be more than the labour of 400,000,000 of strong men, or more than double the number of adult males now upon the globe!

An element in the above calculation is one of the most humiliating comparisons that can be drawn between human and mechanical power. If we estimate a lifetime of hard human work at twenty years, giving to each year 300 working days, then we have for a man's total dynamic efforts 6000 days. In coal this is represented by three tons; so that a man may stand at his own door while an ordinary quantity of coals being delivered, and say to himself: 'There, in that waggon, lies the 'mineral representative of my whole working life's strength!'

In such aspects as these, how momentous to ourselves is the natural possession of coal—of the fuel ever ready at a moment's preparation to generate a power the very opposite of its own nature—a power that transcends all others yet known to be applicable to mechanical movements; that disdains narrow imprisonment, and wings us or wafts us over land and sea—that daily draws up from the deepest pits more and more of the mineral fuel that gave it birth and impulse—that makes tens of thousands of wheels and spindles to revolve incessantly,—that causes raw materials to be wrought into airiest fabrics or solidest structures—that transports navies and armies, changes the character of warfare by accelerating the transfer of men and the munitions of war, decides the fate of battles, and determines the destiny of nations. How momentous, we repeat, is the possession of the generator of all these movements! In our extensive beds of coal we have, in fact, the motive power of the world, stored up for us in the most compact and suitable form. In coal we have the world-moving lever of Archimedes, and it may be said that the steam engine is the fulcrum. Few econo-

mical inquiries, therefore, can assume greater importance and higher interest than those which are connected with our coal deposits. Under what geological conditions do we find them in our own and other countries? what approximation can we form to the amounts possessed by the principal countries of Europe and America? More particularly, what are our British coal possessions, at what rate have we mined, and are we now mining them, in what directions and for what purposes are our supplies distributed, and can we arrive at any approximate estimate of the vast quantities we contribute to domestic use, to manufactories, and to foreign countries? Finally, directing our attention to the qualities of certain coals, what are the conditions of a good steam coal; to what extent are steam coals possessed by ourselves and other nations; and how far does the possession of such qualities of coal affect the conditions of naval warfare and the prospects of victory?

The great Carboniferous series of rocks which derives its name from the coal found in them, is both geologically and economically important, and we may add, as regards our own country, artistically interesting; some of the sweetest river and valley scenes in our land are indebted to the character of these rocks for their scenic beauty and even grandeur. They occupy an immense tract in Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, and South Wales; and in Ireland, the greater part of its plains, and of the broadly undulated interior, consist of the mountain limestone, covered in some places by the coal measures, and in others supported by the old red sandstone. Although mineralogically the same rock is termed Carboniferous or coal-bearing, yet this is chiefly because it is the principal rock associated with the series of coal-bearing beds, or as they are called, the *coal measures*. The Carboniferous limestone itself, in South-western England and South Wales, includes no coal of consequence or amount; and except in some rarer and higher parts of this limestone formation, not even small coal seams can be traced in it in the districts named. It contains, however, a rich assemblage of organic remains which are essentially of marine character, and the whole is evidently a marine formation. The same general conditions appear to have prevailed in the British Islands, as far north as Derbyshire and North Wales; but as we advance further northward, the coal beds become more intermingled with the mass of supporting calcareous deposits, from which we may infer that in the northern portions of this area, the natural conditions favourable to the growth and entombment of the vegetation from which coal was

produced, commenced at an earlier geological period than in the southern parts of the area indicated.

The coal measures themselves, or the series of beds intimately associated with the seams of coal, consist of a number of strata of alternating sandstones, shales, and coals. But the pure beds of coal in this great aggregate are insignificant in comparison, for in all they only amount to a thickness of 47 feet 9 inches, and are, therefore, merely in the proportion of 15 of coal to 38 of rock-measures. Later researches give an aggregate of 76 feet of coal. Now as none of the seams of coal separately exceed 6 feet of available thickness, while many of them are not more than as many inches, the stranger who for the first time sees a Newcastle coal seam underground, can scarcely bring himself to apprehend that the vast expenditure he beholds, and the array of machinery and labour in action, are all directed to the excavation of a thickness of a few feet of coal, and least of all, when the seam is barely 6 inches thick. In tracing this great series of rocks through our own country, we, in fact, trace the coal; for the pure bituminous coal has never with us been largely found apart from that series; that is its true geological position. The exceptions in the oolitic coal seams of Brora in Sutherlandshire, and at Gristhorpe in Yorkshire are of trifling importance. Had this now familiar fact been previously recognised, many thousands of pounds vainly expended in the search for coal, would have been saved, and many ridiculous inquiries as to the possibility of finding it in particular places would have been spared.

The original formation of coal is one of the most interesting inquiries in theoretical geology. That coal was composed of primeval vegetation is demonstrated by the experiments of such chemists as Liebig as well as by the evidences it carries in its own existence, and in its neighbouring sandstone. A coal bed is in fact a *hortus siccus* of Old-World vegetation,—and this is the more strikingly seen when some diligent collector, like Mr. Hutton in the north, gathers together in the course of years a cabinet of coal plants. To inspect such a collection is to behold compendious evidence of the existence of a most ancient and luxuriant flora, from the remains of which we are at this day deriving heat, light, and power. Careful research into the character of the coal plants enables us to restore in imagination the standing and growing plants of that remote era. We may depict huge trees of strange forms; thick hedges of tall reeds, with glossy stems and radiating pointed leaves; gigantic club-mosses and innumerable ferns, overtopped by trees like pines; and a strange plant resembling an immense coach-wheel

within its rim, so that the boughs shoot out horizontally on all sides like spokes from the nave, — the central portion of a *Stigmaria ficoides*, once floating near what is now Newcastle; and in our own Scottish coal field of Fife a fossil trunk, supposed to have belonged to a gigantic Araucaria has been extracted from the earth at no great distance from the richly wooded hills of Raith.

The more we can discover concerning the fossil plants in and near the coal beds, the nearer shall we approximate to a solution of the problems connected with the formation of the coal itself. Much knowledge on this subject has been gradually accumulated. Erect fossil trees have been found in some parts of Europe as well as in our own country. Five examples of fossil roots and trunks were discovered erect, as they grew, on the Bolton and Manchester Railway, and above them was a seam of coal two feet in thickness. In the extensive coal field of South Wales, Mr. Logan affirms that there is no instance of a seam of coal occurring without a bed of underclay which abounds in remains of the marshy plant *Stigmaria ficoides* (now considered to be the roots of a *Sigillaria*, or probably other plants), and he conceives, from its abundance, that it must have been the chief component of the bed of coal. He found the same kind of underclay and the same plants in the Pennsylvanian coal fields. Moreover vertical stems of plants are found at more than one geological level, and in coal districts in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, in several of the planes of vegetation stems are still seen standing in their places of growth above each other, to the extent, it is supposed, of fifty or even one hundred ancient forests buried one above another.

A glance at the beautiful plates of Professor Rogers' work recalls to us very nearly the same fossils from the coal formation of America, as may be seen in the plates of the plants *Fossil Flora* of Lindley and Miller. We could find many or even most of the American fossils, with slight specific differences, paralleled in our British cabinets. The variations in the vegetation are evidently only such as might be found at great distances under similar conditions of climate. Two hundred and twenty species of plants from the coal measures and carboniferous rocks of Pennsylvania, yielded more than one hundred species which were entirely identical with species already recognised in the European coal fields. Fifty others showed differences so slight that a fuller comparison with better specimens may result in their identification; while even the new species, which seem to be restricted to that foreign field, bear in every instance a close relationship to European forms. It is, there-

fore, upon the best evidence that we pronounce a remarkably near affinity to exist between the carboniferous fossil flora of North America and of Europe. This is but another confirmation of the closely analogous conditions of the ancient coal era; and we might even show how very close the affinity is in other particulars, as that the most common species of plants in the coal flora of Europe are probably so in America, while scarcity in the one continent corresponds to scarcity in the other. It is also confirmatory of this view that the fossil flora of the oolites of Scotland, to use the words of Hugh Miller, 'in 'its aspect as a whole greatly resembles the oolite flora of 'Virginia, this separated in space from the locality in which 'the latter occurs by a distance of nearly four thousand miles. 'There are several species of plants common to both; both too 'manifest the great abundance in which they were developed 'of old by the beds of coal into which their remains have been 'converted.'

The abundance and vast size of certain coal plants have formerly been thought to imply an extremely hot as well as a moist and equable climate; but further investigations of the structure and relations of these plants rather indicate a very different climate from the present in that period than a very hot one. The prevalence of ferns points to an extremely humid, and at the same time an equable and even temperate climate, without severe cold. Such is the view of many eminent geologists at the present day, and it is derived from observation of the conditions now favourable to similar tribes of plants, as for instance in the islands of tropical oceans, and of the southern temperate zone. An opposite conclusion, at least as far as regards tropical climate, has been arrived at by M. Lesquereux, who assisted Professor Rogers, and also by Professor Brook. That gentleman affirms that 'nothing can authorise us to admit these 'atmospheric influences as very different from what they are 'now.' With reference to the immense trunks of trees, perhaps of fern trees, to which we now find an affinity only in the tropical regions, it may be said, how is it possible to account for their growth in our latitude if we do not admit of a great change of temperature? M. Lesquereux replies that in the peat bogs of northern countries, of Denmark and Sweden, much larger trunks of trees may be found than those which have been discovered in ours; but the true fern trees (*caulopteris*) are very scarce in the coal; and that as to presumed difference of temperature, the clearing of valleys and the drainage of lands may cause a climate not really to become colder, generally speaking, though the extremities of temperature are more distant; that is, it is colder

in winter and hotter in summer. The degree of this difference regulates the vegetation of a country; and it is sufficient to afford us the reason of the difference of the type of vegetation between the coal period and our own, if we 'admit that 'the continents were less extended, and only low islands entirely 'covered with marshes.' Further, it is thought that all the physical phenomena of our time were then in activity. There are in parts of the American beds evident marks of drops of rain and of hail, and also cracks caused by dryness under a burning sun. In layers of coal, the thickness of which scarcely exceeds the twelfth part of an inch, there are the proofs of an annual decay, and of annual heaping of the plants exactly as may now be traced in peat-bogs. In the bituminous coal of Ohio the annual growth of the coal is well marked by the thin layers, which are about one-twelfth of an inch in thickness.

If this could be accepted as a chronological unit, we should be enabled to arrive at some conception of the lapse of time demanded for the formation of seams of coal, and of the vast abundance, as well as bulk, of the vegetation of the carboniferous era. Not only were there arborescent plants which attained a height of sixty feet, but the immensity of the mass must have equalled, if not surpassed, the luxuriance of growth. What an amount of vegetable matter must have been required for the total seams of any of our coal fields, and particularly for the Staffordshire 'thick coal,' which attains a thickness of thirty, and sometimes nearly forty feet! Calculations have been made by Mr. Maclean respecting the quantity of woody matter which may be supposed to have entered into the composition of a given bulk of coal; the result of which is that one acre of coal, three feet thick, is equal to the produce of 1940 acres of growing forest; and that if the wood all grew on the spot where its remains now exist as fuel, the coal bed of the above dimensions would be the consequence of a forest growth of 1940 years. Even if we grant a rapidity of vegetation like that of a tropical climate, still we should demand at least 1000 years for the formation of one such coal-seam; and for the thirty-six yards of coal in the Mid-Lothian coal field, a period of at least 36,000 years. What time, then, would be requisite for the aggregation of such a coal deposit as that at Saarbuick, where one hundred and twenty beds are superposed on one-another, exclusive of many which are less than one foot thick; and what time untold must we allow for the formation of the vast deposits of America and Nova Scotia? As Hugh Miller observes: 'All the forests of America gathered into one mass 'would fail to furnish the materials of a single coal-seam equal

'to that of Pittsburg.' And as Sir C. Lyell remarks, with reference to the great beds of anthracite coal, between forty and fifty feet thick, quarried at Mauch Chunk (the Bear Mountain), in Pennsylvania: 'The accumulation of vegetable matter now 'constituting this vast mass may, perhaps, before it was con-'densed by pressure, and the discharge of its hydrogen and 'oxygen, and other volatile ingredients, have been between 200 'and 300 feet thick.' Confining ourselves even to the estimated total quantity of coal contained in the entire known deposits of our own country, in what words or figures can we represent to ourselves the vegetation requisite to compose our 5,400 square miles of coal area, which is calculated to contain 190,000,000,000 tons of coal. Our minds are baffled in aiming to comprehend the bulk of original material, the seasons of successive growth, and the innumerable years or ages which passed while decay, and maceration, and chemical changes, prepared the fallen vegetation for fuel. In descending the shaft of a coal pit we shoot down in five minutes through a succession of beds, which represent a duration immeasurably surpassing the whole period of man's existence upon this globe. Mark off man's terrestrial duration upon a vertical scale composed of a dozen seams of coal, and the whole human age would form but an unit, though you should divide the scale minutely. Yet it is for this creature of a day that the primeval forests grew, the mighty ferns waved their fronds, the marshy plants spread their succulent leaves and stems, the favouring sun shone, the heavy rains descended, the hurricanes uprooted trees, solid growth succumbed to slow decay, and all the secret but sure resources of the laboratory of Nature were brought into activity to reduce the fallen or crippled vegetation into a carbonaceous and bituminous condition, and to prevent its admixture with arenaceous and deteriorating ingredients, to run it out into long and level or gently curved deposits, to pack it into solid sandstone cases and under huge shady covers, and to store it in the smallest compass by the mighty pressure of ponderous rock-presses!

We have before us, then, the ascertained facts that immense accumulations of vegetation were collected: that this vegetation consisted largely of *Sigillariæ*, the rootlets of which are met with in great abundance in the clays representing the floors on which the coal seams rest; also of reed-like plants, such as calamites and lepidodendra; that coniferous trees (those of the fir tribe), do not form a considerable element in the composition of coal; and that the conditions under which the coal plants flourished appear to have belonged to such swamps as were covered to a great extent with water, rather than to anything in the form of peat bogs.

As to the particular mode of aggregation, we may find modern and existing illustrations in the timber which is drifted down by great rivers, and is often arrested by lakes. This may sink after being water-logged, and may become imbedded in lacustrine strata, if any be forming in the locality. A portion, however, will float on and reach the sea. We have an example of a vast accumulation of vegetable matter now in progress under both these conditions in the course of the Mackenzie River, in America, as noted by Sir C. Lyell. Again, in an arm of the Mississippi, drift trees, collected in thirty-eight years, formed a continuous raft ten miles in length, and eight feet deep.

Dr. Richardson* describes a still more illustrative instance in the enormous annual amount of drift timber brought down in the Slave Lake, which vies in dimensions with some Canadian lakes. There the trees retain their roots, and being loaded with earth and stones, readily sink, especially when water-soaked. They there accumulate in eddies, and form shoals, which ultimately enlarge into islands. A thicket of willows covers the new-found island as soon as it appears above water, and their fibrous roots serve to bind the whole family together. Sections of these islands are annually made by the river, assisted by the frost; and it is interesting to study the appearance of the trees, according to their different ages. The trunks gradually decay, until they are converted into a blackish brown substance resembling peat, but which still retains more or less of the fibrous structure of the wood. Layers of this substance often alternate with layers of clay and sand, the whole being penetrated to the depth of four or five yards by the long fibrous roots of the willows. A deposition of this kind, made with the addition of an infiltration of bituminous matter, produces an excellent imitation of coal, with impressions of the willow roots. One of the most interesting resemblances to our coal measures observed in this place was the horizontal slaty structures presented by the old alluvial banks, and the *regular curve* which the strata assumed from unequal subsidence. The Slave Lake itself must, in process of time, be filled up by the matter conveyed into it daily from the Slave River.

Other situations are known where vast vegetable accumulations occur. In Iceland an immense quantity of birch, trunks of pines, fir, and other trees, are thrown upon the northern coast of the island, especially upon north Cape or Cape Langaness, and are carried by the waves along these two promontories

* Geognostical Observations on Franklin's Polar Expedition: cited by Sir C. Lyell in his 'Principles of Geology.'

to other parts of the coast, so as to afford sufficient wood for fuel and for constructing boats. The bays of Spitzbergen are in like manner filled with driftwood, which accumulates also upon those parts of the coast of Siberia which are exposed to the east. This wood consists of larch trees, pines, Siberian cedars, firs, and other woods; and the trunks appear to have been swept away by the great rivers of Asia and America. Scientific travellers are adding other observed phenomena of the same kind to our store of illustrations.

The mode and vastness of aggregation being in some measure explained, the next problem is the original formation or transportation of the immense bulk of vegetation thus gathered together. The two leading opinions on these points have been what are termed the 'drift' and the 'peat-bog' theories, and fierce geological battle has been done for both of them during the last thirty or forty years. According to the peat-bog theory, forests and jungles grew in the present coal localities, decayed into peat mosses, suffered subsidence with the land, which thus became the basin of a lake or estuary into which broad rivers conveyed mud and sand, out of which were gradually consolidated the now overlying and underlying shales and sandstones: and, during this period, the vegetable material became bitumenised and mineralised into coal. The same area was again raised from the waters, was the ground for luxuriant vegetation, was again submerged, and again covered with successive depositions of shale and sandstone. An alternating subsidence and elevation are, in this view, presumed to have taken place for every seam of coal we find; so that the coal seams in any of our deposits may be regarded as so many land wastes, and the sandstones and shales as river wastes, and in both of these we now possess a kind of amphibious chronology, a well-marked scale on which we may read off the successive periods of sunshine and flourishing vegetation, of decay and desolation, of disappearance and submergence, of reappearing and returning luxuriance, and of another era of upshooting tree-ferns, outspreading club-mosses, and broad flag-like foliation.

The drift theory, however, does not permit us to indulge such visions to the full extent. It admits of partial and limited submersions and elevations of land, such indeed as are now taking place on our earth, and also of dense jungles and peat mosses experiencing the same submersions; but its distinctive features are that the main bulk of the coal measures were deposited as drift and silt on lakes and estuaries, that the chief constituent vegetation was imported by rivers and inundations into such estuaries, and that numerous rivers might discharge

their several freights of plant-remains or of mud and sand, into one estuary. These transporting rivers were themselves exposed to periodical inundations like the Nile and the Ganges; during the intervals between which the vegetation rank and rapid grew and closed up the deltas, and then furnished an important addition to the inland drift, the whole finally travelling down to form coal in the lakes or estuaries.

It has been felt that the objections to either theory are formidable. For the one theory the submersions and elevations supposed are too numerous, and the layers or 'partings' of sandstone or shale in some beds of coal, together with fossil shells and fishes, are too apparent and frequent to allow of only super-aqueous growth. Against the other theory there are, perhaps, still stronger objections, such as the evenness, general regularity, and frequently unmixed purity of coal seams. A combination of both theories, and an admission of the occasional prevalence of the phenomena peculiar to each, has been entertained as a solution of many difficulties; but there still remain some which perhaps our present knowledge does not suffice to remove. Ingenious but now perhaps untenable speculations have been offered to account for such remarkable facts as the uniformity of external condition over the extensive areas now occupied by coal fields in both hemispheres; the similarity of vegetation at that era over wide regions now temperate, tropical, and arctic; the prevalence, in short, of not a few conditions which now appear to be almost incompatible with known existing agencies and ascertained causes.

To account for some observed facts which the theories just adverted to do not exactly meet, Professor Rogers puts forth a modified theory of his own, which is in substance as follows:— The period of the coal measures was characterised by a *general* slow subsidence of those coasts on which the vegetation flourished. This vertical depression was, however, interrupted by pauses and gradual upward movements of less duration and frequency. These nearly statical conditions of the land alternated with great paroxysmal displacements of the level. During periods of rest or gentle depression, the low coast was fringed by great marshy tracts or peat-bogs, derived from and supporting a luxuriant growth of *Stigmariæ*, while along the landward margin, and in drier parts of these sea morasses, tree-ferns, conifers, and other arborescent plants grew profusely. In this condition, constant decomposition and growth of the meadows of *Stigmariæ* produced a uniform and extended stratum of pulpy peat. To this scattered trees contributed occasional deposits of leaves and fronds and fallen portions which lodged in the marshes,

passed to the pulpy state and ultimately formed coal, or preserved in several instances their vegetable structure. This view of gradual accumulation from *Stigmariæ* and from deciduous contributions accounts for the marked infrequency and yet occasional occurrence of fossil *trunks* standing upon or in the coal, an instance of which in Lancashire we have previously mentioned.

Now suppose an earthquake, with undulatory movements of the crust of the earth, disturbs the level of the wide peat morasses, and adjoining flat tracts of forest on one side and the shallow sea on the other. The ocean, as in all earthquakes, draws off its waters for a brief time from the great Stigmariæ marsh, and from all the swampy forests which skirt it, and by its recession stirs up the muddy soil, drifts away the fronds, twigs, and smaller plants, and spreads them together with the mud over the surface of the bog. Hence come our laminated shales composing the immediate covering of the coal seams. Presently the sea rolls in with impetuous waves and prostrates everything on land. The entire forest is uprooted and borne off upon its foaming surges. Spreading inland, it washes up the soil, abrades fragmentary materials, takes them up and rushes out again with irresistible violence towards its deeper bed, strewing the products of the land in a coarse promiscuous stratum. It alternately swells and retires with surpassing energy, it oscillates tempestuously, spreads a succession of coarser or fine strata, and at each inundation entombs a new portion of the floating forest. Once more the earth is quiet, the sea becomes tranquil, holds only fine sediment and buoyant parts of vegetation. These at last precipitate themselves together by a slow subsidence and form a uniform deposit, exhibiting few traces of any horizontal currents. Thus we account for the constant reproduction of the peculiar soil of the coal seams and for the preservation of the *Stigmariæ*. Thus too we have the necessary substratum of another coal marsh. The marine savannahs again become clothed with their matting of vegetation, and are fringed on the side towards the land with vast forests of arborescent ferns and other trees; and in this way we have all the essential conditions that constituted this wonderful cycle in the statical and dynamical processes belonging to each seam of coal and the beds enclosing it. Should this theory be correct, then in opening a coal field we unclasp a whole volume of hydrographic charts, displaying, for a long succession of epochs, the ever-changing relations of the land and waters.

Whatever may be the fate of these theories, we have results in the position, form, arrangement, and even in the sub-

sequent disarrangement, of our coal fields, which are to us of the utmost practical importance.

The natural disposition of coal in detached portions (which frequently assume a basin-shape, and are hence called coal-basins, and which very generally have a tendency to an elliptical configuration), is not simply a phenomenon of geology, but it also bears upon national considerations, and enables us to arrive at some knowledge of the amount of our coal. It is remarkable that this natural disposition is that which renders the fuel most accessible and most easily mined. Were the coal situated at its normal geological depth, that is, supposing the strata to be all horizontal, and undisturbed or upheaved, it would be far below human reach, and at least several miles under the earth's surface. Were it deposited continuously in one even superficial layer, it would have been too readily, and therefore too quickly mined, and all the superior qualities would be wrought out, and only the inferior left. Were it all in one uniform bed, similar consequences would follow; but, as it now lies, it is broken up by geological disturbances into separate portions, each defined and limited in area, — each sufficiently accessible to bring it within man's reach and labour, — each manageable by mechanical arrangements, and each capable of gradual excavation, without being subject to sudden exhaustion. Selfish plundering is partly prevented by natural barriers; and we are warned against reckless waste by the comparative thinness of coal seams, as well as by the ever augmenting difficulty of working them at increased depths. By the separation of seams one from another, and by varied intervals of waste sandstones and shales, such a measured rate of mining is necessitated as precludes us from entirely robbing posterity of the most valuable mineral fuel, while the fuel itself is preserved from those extended fractures and crumblings and falls, which would certainly be the consequence of largely mining the best bituminous coal were it aggregated into one vast mass. In fact, by an evident exercise of forethought and benevolence, in the Great Author of all our blessings, our invaluable fuel has been stored up for us in deposits the most compendious, the most accessible, yet the least exhaustible, and has been locally distributed into the most convenient situations. Our coal fields are so many Bituminous Banks, in which there is abundance for an adequate currency; but against any sudden run upon them, nature has interposed numerous checks; while reserves of the precious fuel are always locked up in the bank cellars under the invincible protection of ponderous stone beds. It is a striking fact that, in this nineteenth century, after so long an inhabitation of the

earth by man, if we take the quantities in the broad view of the whole known coal fields, so little coal has been excavated, and that there remains an abundance for a very remote posterity, even though our own best coal fields may be then worked out. This will be made evident when we come to speak of quantities and of particular coal fields.

In our own kingdom we are wonderfully favoured by the number and local distribution of our coal fields. Furthest north we see the considerable deposits of Scotland extending from the coast of Fife to the valley of the Clyde. In England north of the Trent we have the coal fields of Northumberland and Durham, with Cumberland and those of Yorkshire, Nottinghamshire, and Derbyshire. After these comes the large field of Lancashire, or, as it is sometimes named, the Manchester Coal field. Looking to the central districts, we see the coals of North and South Staffordshire and of Leicestershire. In the north-west we have the field of North Wales; in the more central west the deposits of the Plain of Shrewsbury, Coalbrook Dale, and the Clee Hills; and in the south-west we find the great coal field of South Wales, and the minor ones of the Forest of Dean, of Somersetshire, and of Gloucestershire. By the inspection of a good geological map, we see how advantageously for commerce these several coal stores are distributed; and they have exercised a greater influence upon the locality of men's residences than might at first be supposed. What has made, for example, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Leeds, Manchester, Sheffield, Birmingham, and Glasgow what they are, but contiguous coal fields? What has decided the locality of our vast factories and iron works, but coal fields? What has, therefore, determined the courses of our principal lines of railway? primarily our great coal fields. What has doomed some formerly populous and otherwise convenient and venerable cities to languor or decay? What has retarded the increase of Salisbury, Winchester, and Canterbury — all cathedral cities or towns, and all otherwise favourably situated: what but the absence and distance of coal fields? What, lastly, is to determine the re-distribution of political power in our representative system, according to the scheme of Mr. Bright? Evidently the existence of coal, which attracts populations, concentrates industry, and must at length draw to the coal-bearing sites a numerical majority of the nation.

Take a geological map of a new and thinly populated country, and if it be marked by coal fields, the locality of future cities can be safely predicted from our own experience.

Men and manufactories *will* follow coal. The two former are the moveables, the latter is the fixed attraction.

Of our own coal fields, not all have been carefully examined and surveyed, yet all are known generally, and all are more or less wrought; so that we are acquainted with their extent, larger features, and most important contents. When we are so far informed we may, by accumulating a mass of detailed observations, approach to a numerical computation of the amount of coals we possess. A survey of every coal field by some one intimately acquainted with its seams and their character, with their dislocations and denudations, and with the various geological phenomena of the whole, yet remains to be made; and the accuracy of the surveyor's knowledge of all these particulars of course determines the value of the survey. This proceeds upon a computation of the number of seams (the superficial denudation of any of them being allowed for), and their extent. The result is commonly expressed in acres with relation to particular districts, and square miles with relation to whole countries. Professor Rogers gives the total quantity of Great Britain as 5400 square miles of coal; which nearly coincides with the latest estimates made in this country.

In these estimates nothing further is attempted than a conjecture of *coal areas;* and it is an additional step to endeavour to present an estimate of *solid contents.* This can only be done by averaging the very unequal thicknesses of all the known coal seams. Now, the total average of the thicknesses of our coal seams may be taken at from 35 to 40 feet. This total is in most fields divisible into twenty or more beds, alternating, as we have already explained, with numerous beds of sandstone, grit, and shale. Adding together the solid contents of the coal seams of the British Islands, and assuming the average thickness of the coal to be 35 feet, we obtain the vast amount of 190,000,000,000 tons of coal. Respecting all such estimates it must be remarked that, however carefully calculated, they do not represent the amounts of coal actually available to us, but only those which are supposed to be deposited in the coal fields.

Amongst our own coal basins none can compare in importance and notoriety with the great northern one, shipping its coals by the three rivers—the Tyne, the Wear, and the Tees; or, as it is commonly termed, the Newcastle coal field. It has long been famous as the source of the best household fuel for our own country, and also for no small part of Europe. We shall, therefore, select it as the best example for detailed consideration, omitting any lengthened notice of other British deposits, except

the Preston and Welsh coal fields. It is bounded on the north by the river Coquet, and extends southward nearly as far as Hartlepool, on the river Tees, that is a distance of about 48 miles. Its extreme breath is about 24 miles, and its area has been stated as 800 square miles; but more careful measurements would leave us to adopt the calculation which affords little more than an area of 700 square miles. The lowest working seams are at Monkwearmouth, near Sunderland, where the celebrated shaft of Pemberton's Pit has been sunk 1,710 feet before the Hutton seam of coal was reached; a depth which is feebly conceived by a mere inspection of figures, but which can be strikingly represented by saying that this shaft exceeds in depth the Monument of London piled eight times upon itself, and nearly equals St. Paul's piled upon itself five times! This for a long period was regarded as the deepest perpendicular shaft in the world, but some foreign mining shafts now dispute with it the palm of depth, and a shaft near Ashton-under-Lyne approaches to it. As a mining enterprise, however, and a mining triumph it has not its superior in any locality. Undertaken by a few private individuals, in ignorance of the depth of the coal, they might well have been daunted by its apparently hopeless nature, and by the fearful expenses incurred. Ill prophecies were not wanting, —blacker than the coal they could not reach—and many professional opinions were against them. Hopeful, fearless, and unusually enterprising, they persevered; at a cost, it is said, of little less than 80,000*l.* Success crowned their efforts, and that valuable coal, the Hutton seam, was won.

A very important question has from time to time been discussed with particular reference to this great coal field, viz., is the present rate of excavation such as to lead to any well-founded apprehension of a scarcity of coal within a period not very remote? A reply to this question can only be afforded when we have something like a true knowledge of the real areas, number, and solid contents of the several coal seams, and also of the present produce of the existing mines. It is in the consideration of this inquiry, so interesting to all, that even the minutest details of the mining of our best coal becomes valuable. Former estimates have been found baseless for lack of accurate elements of computation. Thus, in 1830, Dr. Buckland limited the future supply, at the then existing rate of waste of small coal and consumption, to a period of 400 years. He was nearly right upon wrong data, for he erroneously thought that there was no coal beneath the limestone, a once prevalent opinion. Another estimate, founded upon the assumption of an area of 837 square miles of coal in this district, and an already ex-

cavated portion of 150 square miles, protracts our lease to 1700 years to come. Other calculations give us a future of 1184 years, or, as a minimum, 1000 years.* We believe, however, that not more than one or two inquirers have thoroughly investigated this matter in connexion with our present knowledge of details. We now learn from the observations of local colliery managers that there are about 57 different seams of coal in the Great Northern or Newcastle field. These vary in thickness from 1 inch to 5 feet 5 inches and 6 feet, and they form an aggregate of about 76 feet of coal. Some, however, of these seams being so thin would not be remunerative to work, at least at present. Experience proves that, to defray the cost of mining, and to have a fair return for risk and interest of capital, no seam can be worked, at any considerable depth, which is less than two feet in thickness. Three estimates have been made of the saleable coal acreage of this field; and they are as follow:—

Estimate of	Mr. Hugh Taylor . . .	535,680 acres.
„	Mr. R. C. Taylor . . .	499,200 „
„	Mr. T. Y. Hall . . .	471,680 „ †

We have only to ascertain the annual extraction from this field in order to conjecture its duration to us. Now in 1854,

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* The prophets of our prospective impoverishment in coal perhaps deserve distinct mention. Their prophecies are curious, if not correct. In 1801, Mr. Bailey predicted the supply of the Durham and Northumberland fields would only last 200 years; in 1792, Dr. M'Nab named 375 years; in 1830, Dr. Buckland granted us 400 years; in 1830, Professor Thomson extended our good fortune to 1000 years; and in 1830, Mr. Hugh Taylor exceeded all previous calculators by granting 1727 years.

† In another shape, the quantities contained in the ten principal seams of this coal field have been computed by Mr. Greenwell separately, and he finds the result to be as follows, in Newcastle chaldrons (53 cwt.):

	Chaldrons.
Gross chaldrons in the whole	2,180,551,561
Deduct quantity supposed already extracted .	303,702,805
Quantity now remaining in the field . . .	1,876,848,756
Deduct loss by underground waste, $\frac{1}{6}$. . .	312,808,126
Quantity remaining to be raised below surface	1,564,040,630
Deduct loss by present mode of screening, say one fifth	312,808,126
Total merchantable round coals . . .	1,251,232,504

the annual produce of coal from Northumberland and Durham was 16,221,001 tons. Abate this to an annual average of 10,000,000 tons (it will, in all probability, be half as much more), or 3,773,585 Newcastle chaldrons of round coal; and then we can easily reckon that the reduced amount will be exhausted in 331 years. Should the demand and supply increase, as they have done of late years, we may affirm, in round numbers, that three centuries will see this great coal field exhausted or hopelessly impoverished. To confirm the authority of the figures, it is remarkable that a mining engineer (Mr. Greenwell) arrived, in 1846, at the same result as Mr. Hall has arrived at more recently, namely, 331 years. Both these gentlemen have assured us that after trying various methods of computation, they have come to very nearly the same final figures. We have only given the results, but having looked over the details of each seam, we are disposed fully to rely upon their statements.

Some of our other principal coal fields might be the subject of similar prophecies. For instance, the immense consumption of coal in the iron furnaces and foundries of Staffordshire will probably lead to an exhaustion of that coal field even before Northumberland and Durham; for its area is scarcely more than one half of the area of the Northern coal field. It has, indeed, one very thick seam of coal of from 30 to 40 feet; but this will not alone counterbalance the difference. Wherever coal fields are situated amongst numerous iron works and manufactories, as well as large populations, there is a continual and increasing demand upon the produce of the mines; and thus even Yorkshire, Lancashire, and Derbyshire are more than living up to their income of coals. The quantity for supply being fixed, and the quantity demanded being continually on the increase, the actual period of exhaustion is not difficult to predict, though it may be unwelcome to anticipate.

We shall, however, have resources at that period which will prevent a bituminous bankruptcy; and these will be found in one or more coal fields not at present so largely worked as those previously named: particularly the great coal field of South Wales will afford an abundant supply for many years to come. We prefer to speak in detail of this field when we come to treat of steam coal, of which it is the great repository, not only for ourselves but also for foreign markets.

In all departments of activity and ingenuity the advance has been commensurate with the demand and supply of coal. Indeed, we doubt, whether any equal space in the world, not occupied as building ground for towns and cities, has witnessed such a rapid development of human labour and resources. Few sights

of a commercial kind are more impressive than those which may be every day and night witnessed in these districts, where coal waggons are carcering in successive trains over far-stretching railways, and hurrying down to rivers and ocean, until they are unloaded, and their contents shipped by gigantic machinery. Steam engines are unceasingly at work drawing coals and pumping out water. Thousands of men are underneath our feet cutting down the coal by severe and peculiar labour. Thousands are around us receiving loads and despatching them by railways, and screening the coals by dashing them upon huge screens standing in long rows, whence fly up black clouds of impalpable coal dust, filling ears and eyes and throats with microscopic specimens of coal.

Go where you will, there is a network of small railways leading from pit to pit in hopeless intricacy, but all having a common terminus on the river's bank, or the ocean's shore. Go where you will, tall chimneys rise up before you; and here and there a low line of black sheds, flanked by chimneys of aspiring altitude, indicates that you are arriving at a colliery. As you draw nearer, men and boys of blackest hue pass you and peer at you with inquiring glances. Now trains of coal waggons rush by more frequently, noises of the most discordant character increase, and you know that you are at the pit's mouth when you behold two gigantic wooden arms slanting upwards, upon which are mounted the pulleys and wheels that carry the huge flat wire ropes of the shaft. For a moment the wheels do not revolve, — no load is ascending or descending, — but the next minute they turn rapidly, and up comes the load of coals, or human beings, to the surface. Perhaps the most impressive sight is a large colliery fully engaged at night work, with burning crates of coal suspended all around; and after this a view, from some neighbouring eminence, of all the far-flaming waste coal heaps, burning up the accumulation of waste and small coal not worth carriage, ever added to the ever-consuming mound, until the whole district appears like the active crater of some enormous volcano.

It is difficult to form anything approaching to a correct estimate of the produce, the destination, and the consumption of coal; but if sixteen million tons be the present annual yield from the Northern coal field, we are assured that the total annual produce of our three thousand British coal mines is (as the maximum) no less than *sixty-eight millions of tons!* — a quantity more than double of what had been conjectured, but now confirmed by careful researches and unquestionable authority. It is very difficult to convey an adequate conception of this

vast produce; but if, as a collier has calculated, these sixty-eight millions of tons were excavated from a pit-gallery six feet high and twelve feet wide, such a gallery must be 5128 miles and 1090 yards in length. Or if, instead of this tunnel of more than five thousand miles, we prefer the conception of a solid globe, then the diameter of a globe containing this annual produce must be 1549·9 feet. Should a pyramidal form be chosen, then this quantity would constitute a pyramid, the square base of which would extend forty acres, and the height of which would be 3,356·914 feet.*

It has been doubted whether it be possible to form any adequate conjecture of the extent and amount of coal in the principal countries of the world.† But although geological

* The annexed table has been prepared to show, in a compendious form, the aggregate distribution of coal over the United Kingdom, in one recent year, 1854. In the year 1858 the total produce was rather less, as previously stated.

Counties and Districts.	Annual Yield.	Quantities Shipped.	Used for Iron Working.	Used for Sundries.
	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.	Tons.
1. Durham and Northumberland	16,221,001	8,688,551	4,300,000	3,232,450
2. Cumberland, Yorkshire, Derbyshire; in all seven counties . . .	15,811,670	719,913	3,862,780	11,228,977
3. Eight counties . .	16,189,366	587,000	3,734,693	11,867,673
4. North and South Wales, Scotland, and Ireland .	17,239,750	8,824,047	10,650,000	2,765,703
Totals . .	65,461,787	18,819,511	22,547,373	29,094,803

From these totals it will be seen how large a proportion of our annual yield of coal (more than one third of the whole) is absorbed by iron works. This, again, is chiefly appropriated to a limited area, where iron works are situated. Thus we find that in 1854 Staffordshire and Worcestershire yielded 7,500,000 tons of coal, out of which they consumed for their manufacture of pig iron alone 3,415,200 tons. So also, six Welsh counties unitedly produced nearly 10,000 tons of coal, and consumed more than 5000 tons in their iron works. In Scotland nearly five sevenths of the annual coal produce was applied in the same way.

† It has been found impossible to arrive at true statistics of coal in almost any country, nor was our own an exception until very recently. Mr. Richard C. Taylor was the first who made the attempt, and he published in the United States, a laboriously compiled volume entitled 'The Statistics of Coal,' which we reviewed in the XCth volume of this journal, page 525, and we refer our readers to that article for an abridgment of Mr. Taylor's interesting calculations and diagrams. The first edition appeared in 1845, and a second edition, somewhat enlarged by others, appeared in 1855.

surveys of many foreign coal fields remain to be made, and authoritative statistics are very imperfect, yet enough has been done by geologists, and by public and personal research, to enable us to arrive, at least, at an approximative estimate of this nature. As Professor Rogers has not hesitated to put forth an estimate of American and European coal fields, we will adopt it, and arrange it for our present purpose in a note. Doubtless advancing knowledge will lead to an amendment of some figures, nor are we confident that some of them should not be reconsidered; but admitting such possible defects, the statement is highly interesting aud suggestive.*

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* *Summary view of American and European Coal Fields.*

The aggregate space underlaid by the vast coal fields of North America amounts to nearly 200,000 square miles, or to more than 20 times the area, including all the known coal deposits of Europe, or indeed of the whole Eastern continent.

Comparing the assumed areas and solid contents of the coal fields of other countries with those of North America, we have the following results :—

I. *Estimated Areas of Coal in Principal Countries.*

			Total Square Miles.
United States	196,650 square miles of coal area		200,000
British Provinces of N. America	7,530	ditto	
Great Britain	5,400	„	8,964
France	984	„	
Belgium	510	„	
Rhenish Prussia, Saarbrücker coal field	960	„	
Westphalia	380	„	
Bohemia	400	„	
Saxony	30	„	
Spain	200	(?) „	
Russia	100	„	

II. *Estimated Quantities of Coal in Principal Countries.*

	Tons.
Belgium (average thickness, 60 feet of coal)	36,000,000 000
France (about the same thickness)	59,000,000,000
British Islands (average thickness, 35 feet)	190,000,000,000
Pennsylvania (average thickness, 25 feet)	316,400,000,000
Great Appalachian coal field (same thickness)	1,387,500,000,000
Indiana, Illinois, Western Kentucky (25 feet)	1,277,500,000,000
Missouri and Arkansas Basin (10 feet in thickness)	739,000,000,000
All the productive coal fields of North America (assuming thickness of 20 feet of coal over 200,000 square miles)	4,000,000,000,000

It will be perceived at once that no characteristic of the northern continent of America is more remarkable than the unbounded fields of coal which it possesses. Nearly 200,000 square miles of coal fields can scarcely be grasped at first thought; and if we should go back to the growth and accumulation of vegetable matter necessary to their formation, can anything that we now behold on the surface of the globe afford us a parallel in an equal space? Our own coal fields, in the aggregate, would form but a black speck beside them, upon any map. The possession of such an amazing deposit leads us to forecast a future of almost boundless enterprise and production for that wonderful country. We must however wait, before we prophesy, to learn more of the character of the North American coal. At present it has been but little worked compared with its extent, and what has been brought to market cannot be regarded as equal to our own best household coal. The total produce of America, for the whole thirty-five years from 1820 to 1855, did not exceed the produce of Northumberland and Durham for four years, from 1851 to 1855, while it was less than the total annual yield of the United Kingdom by seven millions of tons. The total United States' produce, in 1855, was 7,600,000 tons; and the same amount was, in the same year, yielded by Scotland alone.*

III. The *Ratio of the estimated quantities of coal* in the more important of these several coal countries is shown approximatively in the following series of numbers, making the coal of Belgium, or 36,000,000,000 tons, our unit of measure:—

Amount of coal in Belgium	. . . . .	1
,,	France, less than	2
,,	British Islands, rather more than . .	5
,,	Pennsylvania, a little less than . .	9
,,	Appalachian coal field, about . . .	$38\frac{1}{2}$
,,	Illinois, Indiana, Western Kentucky Basin	$35\frac{1}{2}$
,,	Missouri and Arkansas Basin . . .	$20\frac{1}{2}$
,,	Entire coal fields of North America . .	111
,,	,, of all Europe . . .	$8\frac{3}{4}$

* The great coal deposit of Pennsylvania (though itself comparatively small) is anthracite, and the immense coal fields in the valley of the Mississippi, are composed of slatecoal, which is of a similar character.

It has been observed by Professor Rogers (who personally pointed this out to us, upon an unpublished geological map of America,) that there is a geological feature of high interest, connected with the position of the comparatively small anthracitic basins of America. They lie bordering upon a long ridge of contorted strata, highly metamorphosed, and the metamorphic action seems to have so affected the adjacent coal, as to convert it into anthracite, by burning out the

That the Americans have not yet derived full benefit from their extraordinary coal deposits, may be supposed; but it is not commonly known that, owing to the distance of their great coal fields from the centres of residence and commerce, and the absence of railroads and canals, and all but the most costly means of carriage, together with the situations of some of the coal basins behind mountains, the country has but little beneficial advantage at present in its rich natural possession. Last year the comparatively limited coal fields of Great Britain exported 363,628 tons of coal to North America, of which the United States received at ports of the Atlantic, 284,869 tons. These issued chiefly from our northern ports and from Liverpool; the former shipping 115,147 tons. These figures prepare us for the fact that a considerable proportion of the coal consumed in the houses of New York, Boston, and other chief cities of the United States, is British, and that at a cost to the consumer very consolatory to the exporters. We are informed that the English coal going from Liverpool to American factories costs about 2*l.* per ton there. The most luxurious classes demand our Cannel coals (a Lancashire product), which burns with a fine clear flame, whence its name of candle or cannel coal, and this costs, in New York and Boston, nearly 4*l.* per ton. An American invalid assured us, that having to burn a certain proportion of cannel coal, his annual charges for coal, in a moderate-sized house at Boston, amounted to 50*l*; upon removing to reside in a British coal county, he found that he saved nearly 40*l.* a year in coals. The general custom in American cities is to burn

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bituminous constituents, and so far coking the coal, which becomes less and less coke-like or anthracitic in proportion as it recedes from the great ridge of contorted rocks, and finally, far away, is found pure bituminous coal, in great natural basins. The great hilly ridge has acted like a lengthened range of fire, partly coking the coal nearest to it, and exciting less and less influence in the ratio of distance. Nor is there any igneous rock near to explain this action upon the acknowledged principle elsewhere observed; and the whole effect is attributed by the professor to volcanic heat, steaming up from old volcanoes, and causing the observed phenomena. From a similar cause, in comparatively recent earthquakes, near the Mississippi, it was found that a long line of the snow, then lying upon the ground, had been melted, while the mass of snow was unaffected.

We believe that we can find an analogous phenomenon (if not due to the same cause) in our own South Welsh Coal Field, where the change from bituminous coal to anthracite seems to have been produced by the intense lateral pressures to which it was subjected when the long ridges dipping in opposite directions, like the roof of a house, and geologically termed *anticlinals*, which bound and intersect it, were originally formed.

anthracite, which can be delivered at New York at prices varying from 16*s.* per ton and upwards, in large stoves placed in the cellar, from which regulating pipes convey the heat to different parts of the house. Those who cannot bear this dry, unwholesome heating, burn, in addition, good bituminous coal, probably English, in the open grate, and thus the heat radiating from the open grate, in some degree counteracts the dryness of the stove warmth.

The reports of the results of experiments carried on for Government in relation to supplying coal for the steam navy, greatly favours the South Welsh steam coals. The consequence has been a rapid development of the produce of this coal field, and such an increased interest in its extent and products as will justify a brief notice of both.

The area of the South Wales coal field has been determined, from computations upon the ordnance and other geological maps, to be about 1,055 square miles. It commences on the east in the county of Monmouth, and extends westward through Glamorganshire, Brecknockshire, and Carmarthenshire, to the western boundary of the county of Pembroke. It lies parallel with the Bristol Channel, the numerous harbours of which afford great facilities for exportation, and the railways now constructed in the principality will have the effect of diminishing the expense of carrying the coal from the collieries to the shipping ports and markets for home consumption. The coal is distributed over the included counties, thus:—In Monmouth it is found in the western part of the county, abutting on Glamorganshire in the north-west, and on Brecknockshire in the north. Here its length is about 7 miles, and its breadth 15½ miles; the whole area being 110 square miles, and the coal itself bituminous and free burning. It is extensively employed in the smelting and manufacture of iron, at the Tredegar and other large works on the northern boundary, while considerable quantities are shipped at Newport. Four-fifths of the entire county of Glamorgan are covered by coal. This area contains every kind and quality of coal found in South Wales, and embraces an extent of 546 square miles; of which 462 square miles are bituminous and free coal, and 84 miles are anthracitous coal. Out of the above-named amount 26 square miles lie under the sea in Swansea Bay. Large quantities of the bituminous coal are used in copper-smelting, and in the manufacture of tin plates. In Brecknockshire there are only 78 square miles of coal, which are principally situated on the south-west corner, adjoining the counties of Glamorgan and Carmarthen. The whole is called anthracitous. Carmarthenshire possesses 241 square miles of coal, 105 of which run under the sea in Carmarthen Bay. Of this entire district, 117

square miles are styled bituminous, and 124 square miles anthracitous. Both in this and the previous county much of the anthracitous coal is employed in the smelting and manufacture of iron, and a considerable amount is shipped at Llanelly. Passing on, the coal continues westward through the whole length of Pembrokeshire, in a strip which narrows as it proceeds, to St. Bride's Bay, at the extremity of the county; and there it holds on its course along the bay, at right angles to its former direction. Its whole area in this county is but 80 square miles, and the whole is anthracite, of which some is of superior quality. It is preferred to bituminous fuel in the agricultural counties, to which it is exported, and where it is used in stoves, for drying hops and malt and burning lime. Thus, out of this whole field of 1055 square miles, we have 689 square miles of bituminous, and 366 square miles of anthracitous coal, as respects coal superficies or area. When we spoke, some pages back, of prospective impoverishment in the North of England, we alluded to this great store, and here we have the counterbalancing prospective abundance—in quantity —though not in equal quality. The present returns from all the collieries of South Wales under government inspection, give, for 1858, the amount of 7,495,289 tons, not quite half the produce of Durham and Northumberland for the same year.

But our chief interest, at present, is in the steam coal of South Wales. Highly bituminous coal not only produces a small percentage of coke, on account of the large proportion of volatile matter which it contains, but its quality is much inferior to that produced from kinds less bituminous. Being, also, specifically light and spongy, and much honeycombed, it is soft, easily crumbles, and therefore greatly wastes. The coal named semi-bituminous, however, is very valuable, and is suitable for almost every purpose except making gas. Sufficiently bituminous to be easily kindled, it makes a bright, cheering fire, and gives out great heat with very little smoke. It is also important to notice that its smoke, instead of being black and dense in large volumes, as in the highly bituminous coal, is inconsiderable in quantity, brown in colour, and productive of little soot. The anthracite of South Wales burns without emitting flame or smoke, does not 'bind' or cake, or soil when handled, and has a general metallic lustre. Its ash is of a light pink and sometimes of a dark grey colour. Properly speaking, it does not form a coke in the usual acceptation of that term; for the water and hydrogen are expelled in small quantities during the distillation, and a slight diminution of bulk takes place, yet no new arrangement, as is usual in the transition of coal into coke, is formed; the fracture remains the

same, and there is not that cellular structure which every one may observe in common coke.

The employment of anthracite in our steam ships is a subject of great importance; and if it should be found that it can be successfully adopted, part of the space now occupied by the stowage of coal might be saved and appropriated to an increased cargo, as anthracite, bulk for bulk, is of the greatest density of any coal. Taking into account the greater specific gravity of anthracite, a saving of one third of the space now occupied by coal might be saved; and it has been proved that 100 tons of anthracite will do the duty of 144 tons of bituminous coal. It is probable that by the use of the best and best-picked anthracite, the necessity for calling during long voyages at coaling stations might be in a great measure avoided; and in the event of a naval war, such provision for fuel might be made as to give a decided superiority to the steam-ships so furnished. At present, during the year 1858, the anthracite district of South Wales yielded 737,590 tons. Anthracite might, we believe, be rendered serviceable for locomotive engines by admixture with other coals, but its decrepitation, or flying to pieces when heated, will, we fear, prevent its exclusive adoption in this way. It was, indeed, tried in the engines on the Liverpool and Manchester Railway about 1839, but the draught up the chimney was so strong that the coal was projected into the air in fine powder, and the carriages were covered with it.

The American Government have been more alive to the importance of possessing proper surveys of their anthracitic deposits than our own. Professor Rogers was particularly instructed to accomplish this task with especial relation to commerce, and one of the tables in his book shows the developement of the Pennsylvanian anthracite mines from the commencement, in 1820, through all the stages of growth. In 38 years the trade advanced at the rate of 184,000 tons per annum, and from 1839 to 1849, the produce doubled itself in each five years, while it has again doubled itself in eight years, so as to attain in 1857 the aggregate of 6,431,378 tons of hard anthracite. Vast as our British coal trade is, it has only doubled itself in about twenty-four years. Anthracite is extensively used in the States as a manufacturing coal. For iron-smelting and iron-melting in the foundry, it has been employed during the last dozen years, and the iron works have been carefully adapted to its use. We learn, also, that it is in extensive employment as a steam coal in the steam boats of the American rivers, and in the American lines of Atlantic steamers, as well

as in the steam navy of the States. In fact, this kind of coal is now generally employed in the United States for most purposes for which a mineral fuel is required.

If we examine the little that has been reported respecting the coal fields of France, Belgium, Germany, and Russia, we do not learn that as yet any considerable amount of good anthracite or steam coal has been discovered in those great countries. The mean annual produce of coal in France, deduced from returns for five years, is only 5,490,702 English tons (of 2,240 lbs.); that is, about the thirteenth part of British produce at present. In five years France has not extracted the half of our last year's amount, and in five years she has produced of anthracite only 3,597,220 tons. It is doubtful whether her anthracite forms a good steam coal, while the experiments on fuel which have been made in the French Navy have demonstrated the superiority of British coal over the produce of the coal fields of France. An attempt has obviously been made to provide against the evil day by accumulating large stores of British coal in the French ports. Last year we exported to France 1,344,342 tons of coal, of which 354,364 tons issued from ports on the Severn, and the remainder from Northern ports. But the effect of a prohibition of the export of coal during hostilities would be speedily to exhaust the stores of this essential combustible, and not only to embarrass the operations of foreign navies, but to interrupt to a very great extent the manufacturing power and the supply of coal gas on the continent.

In conclusion we must remark that in the official and concerted survey of their mineral fuels the Americans have surpassed us. When we look at such a work as this of Professor Rogers, — laborious in statistics, accurate in surveys, and magnificent in form and embellishments; when we bear in mind that this is merely the survey of one State and mainly the results of one man's personal labours and studies; we may well turn and inquire of our own scientific authorities what we possess of a similar character? The answer must be humiliating: we have simply nothing worth a moment's comparison. We are the first coal-mining and coal-producing country in the world. If we assume the entire annual coal produce of the chief coal fields in the world to be 100,000,000 tons, we ourselves contribute more than three-fifths of that quantity, and the estimated money value of our annual coal produce amounts to the amazing sum of *sixteen millions and a quarter*. We have deposits of the most varied character and the most valuable qualities; we have a very far larger amount of capital invested in coal mining than any other nation; we employ above two

hundred thousand persons of all ages in this kind of labour; we have some of the deepest and largest mines, and the most stupendous accumulations of steam power for pumping out water and drawing up coals; we have the most expeditious and ingenious methods of shipping the produce; we have at this hour, in our coal-mining districts, scenes of activity above ground, and galleries of mining industry under ground, which astonish all foreigners who care to glance at the one and dare to descend to the other; we have mining engineers of large experience, and even wealth and social position; and we have a national stake in the whole of at least as great importance as we hold in any department of British industry; but we have no adequate publication on the subject—we have as yet no complete surveys of our coal fields—no uniform and official maps of the whole—no compact and continuous account of their mineral character and contents. Here are Professor Rogers' three beautifully illustrated quarto volumes on one American State, and we have not three illustrated quartos on the whole of our British coal fields. It is only a few years ago that we learned what our annual produce of coal really was, and it was then found to be so much in excess of what had been previously conjectured as to appear incredible. At this very time, with the exception of mere statistics officially published, we have no means of tracing some of the most interesting and important circumstances connected with supply and demand. That these are facts, no one can deny; that our ignorance is indefensible, every impartial inquirer will acknowledge. One popular book alone, 'Our Coal Fields,' has been recently published on the Newcastle and Durham pits and pitmen, and all that we are likely to learn in addition, is from similar publications. Nearly all that has been officially made public of our coal fields and our colliers is to be found in the generally unread, and we might add, generally unknown, 'blue books' of several indefatigable commissioners, whose primary objects of inquiry were philanthropic and educational. Such a deficiency is a literary reproach to our nation.*

* In these remarks we do not attach blame to the Geological Survey of Great Britain, which is doing its work well, though tardily. Such a survey ought to have been commenced long since, and to be near completed. The recent annual Report of the Director-General of this survey shows that much has been accomplished, considering the means at his command.

Art. IV. — *Narrative of the Earl of Elgin's Mission to China and Japan in the years* 1857, 1858, *and* 1859. By Laurence Oliphant, Esq., Private Secretary to Lord Elgin. 2 vols. 8vo. Edinburgh: 1860.

Lord Elgin's mission to the courts of Pekin and Yedo has been extremely fortunate in its historiographer; and although these volumes have not the pretensions of the stately quartos which recorded the embassies of Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst to the Court of China, they are infinitely more agreeable, from a more familiar admixture of personal adventure, and from the increased knowledge we have now acquired of the habits of these singular nations. Few men of our time have seen more of the globe than Mr. Oliphant, or have described what they have seen with more *apropos.* He visited the steppes of Southern Russia, and the arsenal of Sebastopol, before the Crimean war. He has explored the distant confines of Minnesota in the Western World, and the Caucasian tributaries of the Euxine in the East. Attached as he was to the personal service of our late ambassador to China, conversant with his political designs, and an eye-witness of all that occurred in this strange medley of peace and war, no one could be better qualified to preserve the record of this mission. Several circumstances conspired to give Lord Elgin and his suite greater opportunities of exploring some of the great lines of river communication in China than ever were enjoyed before; the successful excursion of the ambassador to Japan is beyond all comparison the most curious and important addition yet made to our imperfect knowledge of that most remarkable country; and although we are afraid it cannot be said that Lord Elgin's treaties have permanently established our relations with the furthest empires of the East on a secure and peaceful footing, there is no doubt that the narrative of his lordship's proceedings is highly instructive as to the best mode of conducting them hereafter.

The spring of the year 1857 was a crisis of no common danger to many of the most important interests of this country in Asia; and those who for the purpose of a factious attack on the Ministry of the day, lent themselves to a false cry of 'justice to 'China' were, as it has since turned out, as ignorant of the real situation of our countrymen at Canton at that moment, as they necessarily were of the terrific tempest which was about to sweep over British India in the summer of the same year. In

truth, a series of untoward events had contributed to extinguish the respect felt by the Chinese authorities for the power which fourteen years before had extorted from them the treaty of Nankin. All experience has proved that our treaties with China cease to be worth more than the paper on which they are written from the moment that the Chinese think they can be evaded with impunity; and whatever may be thought of the legal merits of the 'lorcha' question, Sir John Bowring and Mr. Parkes were perfectly right in the conclusion at which they arrived, that British interests in Canton could no longer be sacrificed with impunity to the arrogance and obstinacy of Commissioner Yeh. Unfortunately their judgment was not equally correct as to the means at their disposal for enforcing their demands. The result showed that Yeh was perfectly able to resist them. A reward of thirty, and afterwards of a hundred, dollars was offered for the head of every Englishman. Mr. Cowper was kidnapped from Whampoa; the 'Thistle,' postal steamer, was seized, and eleven persons murdered; supplies were interdicted; trade was stopped; an attempt was made to poison the whole foreign community at Hong-Kong; the very urchins in the street, says Mr. Oliphant, considered a Briton a fit subject for 'chaff,' while their respectable parents took a mercenary view of his head; and at length the Admiral was compelled to abandon all the forts in the Canton river, except one at Macao, to write to India for 5000 troops, and to wait for instructions from England. Such was the state of our affairs in China when the House of Commons engaged in that most discreditable debate on Mr. Cobden's motion; and when, in fact, had the exact truth been known, every Englishman would have agreed that we must above all things rescue our countrymen from so dangerous and ignominious a position. This state of affairs had not much altered when Lord Elgin reached China; nor could it materially improve for some considerable time afterwards, because in the interval the Indian mutiny drew to itself, as to some great *mael-strom*, the interest and the available resources of the British Empire. With the utmost judgment, resolution, and disinterestedness, Lord Elgin at once diverted the forces on their way to China, and sent them to Calcutta, where they powerfully contributed to restore our authority in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. He himself followed in the 'Shannon,' and that magnificent frigate, with her intrepid commander, William Peel, was thus withdrawn from the Chinese expedition altogether; and, in short, many weary months elapsed before it was possible to assume the attitude and language of a British plenipotentiary at Canton. That these things were not unknown to

the Chinese, appears from the draft of a report from Yeh himself to the Emperor, which was probably sent about the commencement of December, 1857. The paper was found among those captured in Yeh's yamun, on the last day of the year, and it deserves to be quoted as a specimen of that mixture of fact and fiction, good sense and puerility, which commonly occur in Chinese state documents. It also throws some light on the Chinese notions of French interference.

(Yeh, &c.) 'presents a Memorial to the effect that the English barbarians, troubled at home, and pressed with daily increasing urgency by other nations from without, will hardly attempt anything further; that they are reported to have had several consultations upon the opening of trade, and earnestly desire the suggestion of some means to that end; that in consequence of the English chief not returned to Canton. A respectful memorial (of which particulars) he forwards by courier, at the rate of 600 li a day, and looking upward, solicits the sacred glance thereon.

'On the 6th of the 9th moon (23rd October 1857) your servant had the honour to forward to your Majesty various particulars of his administration of barbarian affairs during the 7th and 8th moons (August and September), as it is recorded.

'Since the engagement of the 10th of the 5th moon (1st June), a period of more than six months, the English barbarians have made no disturbance up the Canton river.* (It should be known), however that in the defeat sustained by Elgin at Mang-ga-ta† in the 7th moon, he was pursued by the Mang-ga-la (Bengal) barbarian force to the sea-shore. A number of French men-of-war, which happened to be passing, fired several guns in succession, and the force of the Bengal barbarians falling back, the Chief, Elgin, made his escape. The Chief, Elgin, was very grateful to the French force for saving his life, and on the arrival of the French minister, Lo-so-lun‡, who in the beginning of the 9th moon had also reached Quang-Tung, he, the Chief, Elgin, fêted the Chief, Gros, at Hong-Kong (*lit.* merrily feasted and prayed him [to drink] wine), and consulted him upon the present position of affairs in China.

'The Chief, Gros, said: "I was not an eye-witness of last year's affair, but the story current among people of different nations who

* The affair of the 1st June is the destruction of Heoang's fleet up Fatschau Creek, doubtless reported to Pekin as a victory. The manner in which the next sentence is introduced, shows that Lord Elgin's return had been already announced, but without full particulars.

† Mang-ga-ta is clearly a compromise between Mang-ga-la, Bengal and Calcutta.

‡ The French ambassador's name is elsewhere given as Go-lo-so (Gros); his title of baron is evidently taken to be his name, and is put in Chinese fashion after his surname — *lun* representing, doubtless, *pa-lun* for *baron*.

were by at the time, has made me familiar with the whole question. You see, when the forts were taken, the Chinese Government made no retaliation; when the houses of the people were burned, it still declined to fight. Now, the uniform suppression, three years ago, of the Quang-Tung insurrection, in which some hundreds of thousands were engaged, shows the military power of China to be by no means insignificant. Will she take no notice of her injuries? (No.) She is certain to have some deep policy which will enable her so to anticipate us, that before we can take up any ground she will have left us without the means of finding fault with her, while she, on the other hand, will oblige the foreigners to admit themselves completely in the wrong. On the last occasion that your nation opened fire, it was but for some days, and people came forward (as mediators), but this time you did your utmost for three months. (You fired) 4000 rounds and more from great guns, as well as 3000 rockets. The high authorities of Canton, it is plain, have all along made their minds up (or have seen their way). They understand the character of all classes, high and low, in our foreign states. This is the reason why they have been so firm and unswerving. When I was leaving home the instructions my own sovereign gave me, with affectionate earnestness, were these: —

'"'There is a quarrel with the English in Quang-Tung; when 'you go thither, confine yourself to the observance of the treaty 'and pacific communications. You are not to avail yourself of the 'opportunity to commit acts of aggression or spoliation. Do not 'make China hate the French as a band of hostile wretches who 'violate their engagements. The circumstances, too, are so dif-'ferent (from those of the last war of the English with China), 'that it is essential you should judge for yourself what course to 'pursue. There is no analogy, I apprehend, between the present 'case and the opium question of some ten years since, in which 'they had some wrong to allege.'"

'It appears that in the country of the five Indies appropriated by the English barbarians, they have established four tribal divisions — three along the coast, and one in the interior. One of the coast divisions is Mang-ga-la (Bengal), the country in the extreme east; one is Ma-ta-la-say (Madras), south-west of Bengal; and one is Mang-mai (Bombay), on the western limit of India. That in the interior is A-ka-la (Agra), lying midway between east and west. About the end of last summer, it is stated, twelve marts (or ports) in Bengal which had revolted, were lost. Since the 8th moon, the marts in Bombay have all been retaken (*sc.* from the English) by (Indian) chiefs; and since Elgin's return after his defeat, the leaders of the English barbarians have sustained a succession of serious defeats. The Indian chief drove a mine from bank to bank of a river, and by the introduction of infernal machines (*lit.* water-thunder) blew up several large vessels of war, killing above 1000 men. On shore they enticed (the English) far into the country, and murdered above 7000 of them killing a distinguished soldier named Pu-ta-wei-ka-lut, and many more.

'Elgin passes day after day at Hong-Kong, stamping his foot and sighing; his anxiety is increased by the non-arrival of despatches from his government.' (*Oliphant*, vol. i. p. 143.)

The time was, however, at hand when a very different aspect was about to be given to affairs. Reinforcements at length arrived; Baron Gros, the French Commissioner, actively co-operated with Lord Elgin; an ultimatum was sent in; the bombardment of Canton opened on the 28th December; the Braves were routed and the walls carried by the allied troops; and on the last day of the year Lord Elgin himself ascended by a scaling ladder the south-east angle of the city wall, and entered the streets of that proud Canton which had never been trodden by an European. A few days later Yeh himself was seized, and the city was placed under the joint authority of its Chinese magistrates and a military commission. These events have already been narrated with so much spirit by another eye-witness, that Mr. Oliphant has passed over them with greater brevity than their importance would otherwise deserve; but, not to linger over a twice-told tale, we shall at once accompany him to the mouth of the Peiho, where the principal objects of the mission were to be attained.

No sooner had the blockade of Canton been raised and the trade re-opened, at the urgent entreaty of the Chinese authorities as well as of our own merchants, than a letter was despatched by Lord Elgin to Yu, the senior secretary of state. This communication, dated the 11th February, 1858, informed the Court of Pekin of the events which had occurred at Canton, and announced the intention of the Allies to continue the occupation of that city until their demands were satisfied. At the same time the Chinese were invited to send an Imperial Plenipotentiary to Shanghai before the end of March, and they were told that the non-arrival of such a negotiator would be held at once to justify the British Plenipotentiary to proceed nearer the capital, and to have recourse to such measures as he might think fit to adopt. Mr. Oliphant and M. de Contades were despatched with this mission and its French counterpart; and their successful expedition from Shanghai to Soochou for the purpose of delivering these despatches, is one of the most interesting chapters of the present work.

Soochou lies on the Imperial Grand Canal, which at the period of Sir H. Pottinger's expedition was the great artery of the internal commerce and navigation of the empire. But Mr. Oliphant speaks of it as that *once* celebrated channel of commerce.

'For since the bursting of its banks by the Yellow River, and the destruction in consequence of a section of this canal, it has not been

used for the last five years. The vast supplies of grain which were annually conveyed along it to the capital are now sent in sea-going junks from Shanghai, and other ports of the Yan-tse-Kiang, round the promontory of Shantung, and up the Peiho river. The expenses incidental to the rebellion have prevented the Government from spending any money in repairing this magnificent work. The consequence is. that the enormous imperial grain junks formerly employed now line the bank in a rotting condition.'

This sudden and extraordinary change in the line of communication of the grain fleet, on which Pekin depends for its subsistence, increased the importance attached by Lord Elgin to the command of the mouth of the Peiho, and he was especially anxious that a sufficient naval force should be assembled there to interrupt, if necessary, the junks which bring their innumerable cargoes to that stream immediately after the monsoon. With this view, as early as the 2nd March, he had called upon the Admiral to collect before the end of that month at Shanghai as large a naval force as possible, especially of gunboats drawing little water; and in the Admiral's reply to this requisition the Ambassador was assured that measures had already been taken to meet his wishes, and that Sir Michael Seymour himself would sail for Shanghai in the 'Calcutta' on or about the 16th March. On the 3rd April intelligence was received from the south that the Admiral had postponed his departure for ten days; but on the 10th April Lord Elgin, in company with Baron Gros, and such vessels as had been collected, resolved to proceed to the mouth of the Peiho, convinced that any appearance of wavering at so critical a juncture might entail the most serious consequences, and defeat the main objects of the Mission. The weather was lovely, and nothing impeded the advance of the squadron up the Yellow Sea, until it reached the bar at the mouth of the Peiho, which was scarcely within sight of land. Although at that time the British squadron had no less than eighteen gunboats in the Chinese seas, adapted for this particular service, and although the speedy appearance of Admiral Rigault de Genouilly with the whole French force demonstrated that the voyage could be made with ease and safety, it was not till the 20*th May* that Admiral Seymour had brought up his forces. *Five weeks* were spent by the Ambassador and by our allies in deplorable inaction at the mouth of the Peiho, in consequence of the non-arrival of the British gunboats; during the whole of this period the Chinese were actively engaged in constructing stockades and abattis to strengthen the forts which might have been taken in April without a blow. Nine hundred grain junks were computed to have passed the spot where the 'Furious' lay, and to have entered the river; and at one time it

seemed probable the allied squadron might have entered the Gulf of Pechelee without an attempt to force a passage. As it was, although the blow was eventually struck and the treaty of Tientsin signed, yet the most favourable season for operations in China was lost, and it became impossible to complete the design of Lord Elgin by advancing to Pekin—a circumstance which has doubtless powerfully contributed to the renewal of hostilities by the Chinese, and the subsequent disastrous result of Admiral Hope's attack on the Peiho forts.

Mr. Oliphant has touched very lightly on these facts; and he has not made the remarks upon them which they are well calculated to call forth, probably from a laudable desire to bury in oblivion acts of misconduct, which must have occasioned the deepest annoyance to Lord Elgin. We think these acts have not yet been visited with the reprobation they justly deserve in this country. We are aware that Admiral Seymour, having been called upon to explain his conduct, did so in a despatch to the Admiralty, in which he alleges the dangers of navigating the Chinese seas in the monsoon, and similar excuses for his procrastination. This explanation was accepted by the Admiralty; but, having carefully weighed all these circumstances, we must be permitted to retain and to express our opinion that the unjustifiable delay of Sir Michael in bringing up the gunboats as he had promised to do, was in the highest degree detrimental to the objects of the Mission and to the public service, and that it placed our squadron in a position of humiliating contrast with that of our allies: we may add that the ulterior consequences of our apparent vacillation and weakness on that occasion, have probably contributed to encourage the Chinese to fresh acts of resistance, which will render necessary another campaign. We are the more desirous to call the attention of the country to this subject, because it is not the first time that the naval authorities at home have shown what we must consider a very culpable disposition to screen the shortcomings and misconduct of admirals employed on active service abroad; and more than one such officer has received a ribbon who would in former times have been arraigned before a court-martial. We hear, with great regret, complaints of the relaxed state of discipline in the British Navy; but that discipline is nowhere so much at fault as when it fails to visit officers of the highest rank. To them, especially, several of the disappointments and reverses which the Navy has of late years sustained may be distinctly traced.

The principal concessions obtained by the treaty of Tientsin were, the right to send a Minister Resident to Pekin, and permission for British subjects to travel and trade in all parts of

the empire. The new ports of Teng-chow in the province of Shantung, and of New-chwang in Manchooria, were opened to foreign commerce, as well as the important trading posts on the Yang-tsi-kiang, after the rebels are expelled from its shores. The onerous transit duties on merchandise were commuted for a pass or certificate to be purchased once for all, by a payment of $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. *ad valorem;* and an indemnity of about 1,300,000*l.* sterling was stipulated for losses at Canton and the expenses of the war. These remarkable and satisfactory results, obtained within a year from Lord Elgin's first arrival in China, and obtained under many discouraging circumstances, were due in great measure to the spirit and judgment of the Ambassador; and although subsequent events have unhappily shown that our future prospects in China are less clear and brilliant than they appeared to be when this treaty was signed, it still remains the basis of the rights we may have to enforce.

We cannot, however, take leave of this part of the subject without remarking that there appears to be something radically erroneous in the attempt to place our relations with the Chinese on the footing of our relations with states which acknowledge the obligations of international law. Mr. John Stuart Mill observes, in the course of some pages on our foreign policy which have recently proceeded from his able pen, that to suppose the same rules of international morality, and the same reciprocity of international obligation, which obtain between one civilised nation and another, will also obtain between civilised nations and barbarians, is a grave error. The history of our treaties with the Chinese authorities demonstrates that the conditions we have attempted to impose on them by a diplomatic instrument have no binding force at all; and that they will be evaded and broken the moment it appears that their stipulations can be set at nought with impunity. Probably a Chinese statesman thinks that when concessions galling to the national pride, or adverse to the national policy, have been extorted by force of arms, and as it were under duresse, he is doing no more than his duty in regarding the treaty as a nullity, when the force that imposed it is removed. Accordingly, the more extensive the concessions are which we think we have obtained, the more certain is it that they will be violated, and the less practical benefit shall we derive from them: thus the opening of Canton promised in 1843 was never obtained till the place had been reduced and occupied by force; and the stipulation for sending a Resident Minister to Pekin will be either resisted or rendered nugatory, unless he be accompanied by an army. As for the engagements of Mandarins with blue buttons, or even the strokes of the

Vermilion Pencil, they are absolutely without binding force, and the formalities of diplomacy become ludicrous if they fail to constitute a substantial engagement. We find ourselves, therefore, in a vicious circle; for when one expedition has exacted and obtained certain concessions, another and more powerful expedition is required to enforce them; and our diplomacy stands for nothing when we have not a fleet on the spot to back it. The conclusion we draw from these facts is, that far from seeking to bind the Chinese government to greater concessions, and consequently to interfere still more directly in their internal affairs, the wiser course both for them and for us, in the interests of peace and commerce, would be to confine ourselves strictly to that superficial contact on certain points of the coast, which the trading propensities of both nations will keep up under any circumstances. Lord Elgin himself is known to have arrived at the conclusion that the principal value of the right of sending a British Minister to Pekin is the dread which the bare possibility of the execution of such a threat inspires in the breast of every thorough-bred Mandarin; and recent experience has proved that the presence of a permanent European *corps diplomatique* in Pekin would be a constant source of irritation and outrage; indeed, far from being a pledge of peace it would probably give rise to incessant disputes and hostilities. Although, therefore, it is probably necessary to avenge the recent defeat of the squadron at the mouth of the Peiho, we trust that we shall not find ourselves hereafter fettered by additional liabilities under the name of privileges and rights.

Notwithstanding the events which have occurred, we are by no means disposed to rely on force as the best, or the sole, mode of placing our relations with China on a more satisfactory footing. On the contrary, the destruction of semi-barbarous forts, and the discomfiture of Mantchou soldiers — nay, even the military occupation of great cities by a handful of troops, can have but a transient effect. The Chinese are a crafty and sagacious people, on whom a more lasting impression may be made by their interests than by their fears; and we believe that the opinion we express is precisely that to which Lord Elgin's own experience and good sense have led him, in deprecating any hasty and violent attempt to destroy what it would be impossible for us to restore, and scarcely less difficult for us to replace.

The spirits of Lord Elgin and his companions, both civil and naval, appear to have risen when a happy combination of circumstances, of which the Ambassador promptly availed himself, enabled the Mission to pass from the wearisome and oppressive

scene of their labours in China to the unexplored island-empire of Japan. Accordingly Mr. Oliphant's work rises rapidly in vivacity and in interest: his second volume is in every respect more entertaining and more curious than the first. He finds himself on new, and one may almost say enchanted, ground — so unforeseen are the incidents, so beautiful the scenery, so bewitching the reception which awaited the Mission in Japan. There at least war had not preceded the messengers of peace, and the engagements contracted by the Japanese rulers were not accompanied by humiliation or extorted by fear. A long series of quarrels and mutual injuries had not tainted either side with animosity or distrust; and in treating with the Japanese, the British Ambassador was forcibly struck by their immeasurable superiority to the Chinese in all that constitutes the government of a great nation and the dignity of the human character. The ministers of Japan, acting under the most singular political constitution that exists in the world, and in the name of an emperor who realises one of the fanciful conceptions of the Abbé Sièyes, showed themselves to be men of a high sense of personal dignity; they resorted to none of those puerile equivocations and artifices which are common to most of the Asiatics, and pre-eminent among the Chinese; their administration is singularly free from corruption; their great ingenuity and acuteness are not applied, as in China, to surround themselves with an imaginary halo of unapproachable superiority, but on the contrary, to penetrate with singular rapidity the intentions and habits of the foreigners with whom they were thus suddenly brought into contact; and the effect on Lord Elgin's Embassy was that during the whole period of his visit, every incident that occurred tended to heighten the wonder and interest and respect which the conduct of the Japanese was calculated to inspire in our countrymen.

China was long ago selected by M. de Tocqueville as the most striking example of the degradation a nation would probably arrive at, in which an entire equality of conditions prevails, and the absolute power of the sovereign predominates over a purely democratic state of society. Japan is, on the contrary, as far as we can judge from the slight knowledge already acquired there, an aristocratic State, not without some admixture of popular municipal institutions. Its hereditary nobles are its real governors, for the authority of the spiritual and temporal Emperors is purely formal. Accordingly the policy of the country is not determined by the caprice or ignorance of a Court, but by the will of a body of men, whose interests, convictions, and passions act upon and control each other. The

entire action of the administrative power is not that of pure despotism, but of mutual checks; and the demeanour of the Japanese statesmen is not that of the mere slaves of a barbarous absolutism, but that of the members of a national government. It is long since any spectacle has been disclosed to the observer of politics and of manners so novel and so interesting as that which Mr. Oliphant affords us of the internal condition of Japan; and we cannot lay down his second volume without in some degree sharing in the enthusiasm and astonishment the aspect of the Japanese Empire appears to have excited in his own mind.*

Let us accompany the Mission, in the first instance, as the 'Furious' steamed up the bay of Nagasaki, and caught its first view of Japan.

'The distance from Shanghai to Nagasaki is not above 450 miles; but if oceans rolled between the two empires, Japan could not be more thoroughly isolated than it is from the rest of the world. We steamed smoothly and rapidly over this narrow strip of sea, so rarely traversed by craft of any sort. There was not a speck of foam to ruffle its glassy surface, scarce a fleece of cloud to checker the deep blue overhead: well might we imagine ourselves gliding across these solitary waters to some dreamland, securely set in a quiet corner of another world, far away from the storms and troubles of this one. On the afternoon of the 2nd of August we first saw symptoms of land, and passed close to some high pointed rocks of picturesque form, in places covered with verdure, but not affording standing ground for an inhabitant. These bold land-marks are out of sight of the Japanese coast, and are called the Asses' Ears. Early on the following morning the highlands of Japan were in sight, the nearest land being the islands of Iwosima. As we approached it, the first object visible was an evidence of civilisation unknown among the Chinese; on its highest summit a flagstaff at once telegraphed our appearance to the mainland. We did not then know that cannon, placed at intervals the whole way to the capital, were noisily repeating this signal, so that intelligence of our approach was even then reverberating almost from one end of the empire to the other; and his majesty the Tycoon at Yedo, six or seven hundred miles away, was informed that we had entered the Bay of Nagasaki by the time that we had dropped our anchor in it.

'The high green islands of Iwosima conceal from view the entrance to the bay until you round their westernmost point: even then other islands and projecting promontories make it somewhat uncertain.

* For a succinct but animated account of what was known of Japanese government and institutions previous to Lord Elgin's visit, we may refer our readers to our own pages. (*Ed. Review*, vol. xcvi. p. 348.) And we rejoice to find that the prognostications expressed in that article have been so speedily fulfilled.

The overhanging promontory above us is crowned by a battery of guns, round which a few soldiers are grouped, gazing curiously; beyond it more batteries appear on sundry other projections of the shore, which is here and there indented with bays, from which deep-wooded valleys run up into the island. They seem thickly populated, for the cottages, with their high thatched roofs, cluster up the hill-side, and peep out from under the dark foliage. In places the islands are precipitous, and masses of towering rock deny even to the hardiest shrubs holding ground.

'In charming contrast with these sterner features are grassy slopes and rice-fields rising in terraces on the green hill-sides, and shady groves with blue smoke curling above them, denoting the existence of snug hamlets. Securely moored in secluded creeks, or hauled up on little patches of sandy beach, are quaint-shaped native craft; others are glancing about these calm inland waters, ferrying across from islands to the main passengers and cargo, or lying motionless as though asleep on the water, their sails "folded like thoughts in a "dream," while the occupants are fishing. These sails are composed either of strips of matting or of cloth. These are generally black and white alternately, each strip not being above two feet wide, and hoisted perpendicularly. Some of these passenger-boats passed close to us for the purpose of a closer inspection. Those within manifested no fear, but a good deal of interest and curiosity; numerous flags fluttered from small flag-staffs in the stern, each device having its appropriate signification, unknown to us. The colours were generally black and white, and the form square or angular. A black circle on a white ground, or black and white triangles, were the commonest; but often they were complicated, and presented to the uninitiated the appearance of an elaborate collection of the emblems of freemasonry.

'Steaming gently on, we presently open the mouth of the long narrow harbour, with the conical wooded island of Pappenberg guarding its entrance; beyond which, formerly, foreign ships were not allowed to penetrate, and which must ever hold an unenviable notoriety in the historical annals of Japan, as the Tarpeian rock, down the precipitous sides of which hundreds of Christians, during the fierce persecution which had for its object the utter extermination of all who professed the creed, were hurled into the deep-blue waters which eddy round it. The moral of the sad story is written on the face of the steep hills which enclose the bay: tiers of cannon rise one above another; battery succeeds battery, as point after point is revealed to view. These guns are pointed not so much against the stranger as against the Christian, who, while he is dreaded, is no less despised, and the principal result of whose intercourse with the Japanese has been to furnish them with weapons by which they can the more effectually resist his encroachments. Notwithstanding this, Japan is once again open to the Christian: it will remain to be proved how far the estimate which former experience led the authorities of that empire to form of his practice and his profession, will be justified in the course of his renewed intercourse with its inhabitants.' (*Oliphant*, vol. ii. p. 1.)

The contrast which we have already indicated between the character and demeanour of the Chinese and Japanese statesmen occurs in almost every form that can strike the eye of a foreign observer. Indeed, oddly enough, the populace of Yedo seeing in our own countrymen something peculiarly unlike themselves, but never having heard that there existed any other foreigners beside the natives of the Celestial Empire, took the members of our Mission for Chinese, and pursued them with the cry, 'Chi-'naman, Chinaman, what have you got to sell?' The compliment was undeserved, and, to those to whom it was addressed, most unwelcome. The traveller who lands in a Chinese town finds himself in a dense congeries of wooden houses, built without order and often extremely neglected; the filthy habits of the people offend him at every turn; beggars and homeless wretches in every form of disease and misery infect the public ways, and may even be seen dying by the roadside; the sense of smell is outraged by the most detestable odours, while the whole aspect of things is that of a swinish confusion, in which, with great pretensions to arbitrary authority, the legal and methodical protection of the public interests and conveniences is scarcely known. Enter the city of Yedo, or even an outlying seaport like Nagasaki—a town of 60,000 inhabitants—and everything bears marks of a peculiar but most elaborate form of civilisation. On reaching the landing-place, a wide spacious street, about a mile in length, flanked by neat houses of two stories, opened before our travellers. A paved way ran down the centre of the street, on each side of which it was carefully gravelled to the gutter. The footways were animated by numerous passengers, but no wheeled carriages or beasts of burden were to be seen. Beyond the street, this vista terminated in the foliage of the adjacent temples and tea-houses, or the white-washed walls of some fire-proof storehouse. Everything indicates careful control and ingenious forethought. Scarcely a beggar was to be seen, except here and there a religious mendicant; and not a drunkard was ever met with.

With regard to personal cleanliness, the Japanese are the most active bathers and washers in the world. The 'tub,' which may elsewhere be regarded as one of the peculiar institutions of Great Britain, flourishes in all the light of publicity in Japan:—

'Light wooden screens, neatly papered, and running on slides, are for the most part pushed back in the daytime, and the passer looks through the house, to where the waving shrubs of a cool-looking back-garden invite him to extend his investigations. Between the observer and this retreat there are probably one or two rooms, raised about two feet from the ground; and upon the scrupulously clean

and well-wadded matting, which is stretched upon the wooden floor, semi-nude men and women loll and lounge, and their altogether nude progeny crawl and feast themselves luxuriously at ever-present fountains. The women seldom wear anything above their waists, the men only a scanty loin-cloth. In the mid-day, during the summer, a general air of languor pervades the community: about sunset the world begins to wash, and the Japanese youth, like copper-coloured Cupids, riot tumultuously.' (Vol. ii. p. 19.)

So exact is the control exercised by Japanese authority over the whole people, that every street has its magistrate, who is expected to settle all disputes, to know the most minute details of the private and public affairs of every creature within his jurisdiction, as reported to him by spies, and to keep an accurate record of births, deaths, and marriages. He is responsible for the good conduct of the street generally, and is elected by the popular voice of the inhabitants of the street; he is assisted in his duties by small companies of the principal male-householders, who also patrol at night.

Even the dogs of Japan live and flourish under the protection of the law: —

'The streets of Yedo are infested with dogs — not the wretched mangy curs of Constantinople or the pariahs of India, but sleek, well-fed, audacious animals, who own no masters, but who seem to thrive on the community, and bid it defiance. They trot proudly about, with ears and tail erect, and are most formidable to meet in a by-lane. These animals are held in as high veneration and respect as they were in former times in Egypt; the most ancient traditions attach to them, and it is a capital crime to put one to death. There are even guardians appointed for their protection, and hospitals to which they are carried in case of illness. Certainly a long experience has taught them to profit by the immunity from persecution which they enjoy. It is only due to them to say that, as a race, they are the handsomest street-dogs I ever saw. The only large animals in Japan are horses, oxen and cows, and buffaloes; but milk, butter, and cheese are unknown as articles of consumption. There are no asses or mules, and scarcely any pigs. The largest wild animals are deer, of which, however, there are very few.' (Vol. ii. p. 141.)

To this concluding sentence it should be added that sheep, as well as pigs, are unknown, and that the British residents in Japan must prepare to forego the use of mutton — a privation which seems to have been already very severely felt by the American consul at Simoda. It is, however, a most extraordinary fact, that in these islands, where the population is dense, and no supplies are drawn from foreign countries, the domestic quadrupeds chiefly used for the production of animal food and of manure are almost entirely wanting, and that even the use of

preparations of milk is unknown. We wish Mr. Oliphant had been able to furnish us with a scheme of the rotation of crops on a Japanese farm. It would seem as if farming were reduced in such a country to rearing poultry and market gardening.

The same nicety which thus provides for the street police, may be traced in a thousand different shapes in the arts and manufactures, the manners and customs, the laws and government of Japan. Although it turned out that the manufactured products of Japan, which have been obtained by the Dutch at Desima and Nagasaki, are extremely inferior to the articles exposed for sale in the bazaars of the capital, yet the display at Nagasaki at once astonished our countrymen. In bronzes, the Japanese far excel the Chinese, the design and workmanship being infinitely superior. Excellent telescopes, clocks, magnifying glasses, and glass ware, all of native manufacture, were to be met with; and the Japanese have shown extreme aptitude in applying all they have learnt of European arts from the Dutch factory. Their country abounds in metallic wealth, and they have great skill in the manufacture of cutting blades of steel, whether for arms or for tools; a circumstance which alone gives them an immense superiority over the clumsy implements of China and Hindostan. The most remarkable proof of this mechanical skill is that, on arriving at Yedo, the Mission found there a very neat steamer built by Japanese artificers under the direction of a Dutch engineer. Prince Satsuma, one of the principal nobles of Southern Japan, has an electric telegraph at work from his capital city to his palace; and he employs 800 native workmen in glass factories and cannon foundries. And Mr. Oliphant found that —

'Under Captain Katendyke's direction, the Japanese were at that time carrying out some extensive public works in the harbour. These principally consisted of a machine-shop and foundry, with all the appurtenances necessary for the building and repairing of steamers, which the Emperor had recently determined on establishing at Nagasaki. For the last six months prior to our arrival, the Dutch engineers had been engaged collecting machinery; a large quantity had already arrived.

'The spot selected for the erection of the various buildings is in a beautiful valley, sloping down to, and terminating at, the left bank of the harbour, entering from seaward opposite Nagasaki. We observed a boat-load of Dutch artificers and engineers cross to it daily, but had not time to inspect their progress ourselves. It was calculated that two years would elapse before the works could come into operation. A pier, several hundred feet in length, and extending out sufficiently far to insure twenty feet at low water, was being built immediately in front, and as a part of the establishment. In the construc-

tion of this pier, the Japanese workmen, under Dutch direction, were making constant use of a diving-bell and Nasmyth's hammer.

'Japanese are allowed to enter these works as apprentices, in order to perfect themselves in engineering and mechanics, and so strong are their acquisitive propensities, where knowledge is concerned, that several princes have sought and obtained permission from the Emperor to place themselves under instruction, and are to be seen daily at the works, busily engaged at the lathe, the vice, or the forge, as the case may require, while others may be found in the drafting-room, preparing the necessary drawings for the various departments. Besides this, there has been for some years a naval school. By accounts we have received from Nagasaki, dated April last, we learn that an imperial decree has been received from Yedo, directing that the naval school be removed from Nagasaki to the capital, the Government believing that their officers have attained such proficiency in navigation as to enable them to dispense with further instruction in that department. This conclusion appears to have been arrived at from their screw steamer "Yedo" having lately made a successful passage from Nagasaki to Yedo in nine days, unaccompanied by any foreigner. The school of engineers, however, above alluded to, is still to be continued, as well as one of medicine and surgery, which has been for some time in existence, and very well attended.' (Vol. ii. p. 65.)

In immediate connexion with this part of the subject, the following passage is extremely worthy of attention:—

'Although we took leave to doubt the existence of professors of European languages at Yedo, there is no question about the advanced state of education, and its wide diffusion throughout the empire. Dutch is certainly taught at Yedo as well as at Nagasaki; and pupils who have studied the latest mechanical and scientific inventions at the latter place under the Dutch, come to the capital as teachers. Thus they are competent to manage their own steam-engines, and to navigate their own ships, working their course by observation. They are extremely sensitive at being supposed incapable of acquiring any branch of knowledge which is possessed by others, and have a very high estimate of their powers in this respect. This was amusingly illustrated in a discussion which took place as to the language which should hereafter be the medium of official correspondence. "Oh," said one of the commissioners, "you had better make English the official language; there is no telling how long it will be before you will be able to write a despatch in Japanese; but give us five years, and we shall be quite competent to correspond with you in English." This affords a striking contrast to our experience at Tientsin, where we found such difficulty in inducing the Chinese to accept the English as the official language, even as a prospective arrangement—one, indeed, which I have little hope of ever seeing carried out; for even if a Chinaman could be induced to study a foreign language, he is so utterly destitute by nature of the faculty of acquiring any tongue but his own, that a lifetime would be spent in the vain attempt. During the whole period of my stay in China, I did

not meet a single native who could speak, read, and write English correctly.

'In Japan, on the other hand, there is a rage for the acquisition of every description of knowledge. A Chinaman thinks that any study but that of the Confucian books is degrading, and treats every modern invention with an air of calm contempt. A Japanese, on the other hand, is full of zeal and curiosity. He examines and asks questions about everything within his reach, carefully noting the answers.' (Vol. ii. pp. 177–8.)

In spite of this eagerness for information, and this readiness to dispose of their manufactured produce, indications were not wanting, even here, of the vigilant control of a jealous government. Thus, although book-stalls were numerous, it became evident that no books were to be sold to the foreigner: a scramble instantly took place, and they disappeared. So again, no person whatever was allowed to receive any foreign coin. The money of the different members of the Mission was solemnly exchanged by the government changers, for the currency of the country, and we have seen a Japanese 'itzibus' as well struck as a franc piece, except that it happens to be *square*. But not a sou would the people receive, even in charity, that was not stamped with their own standard of value. They preferred to do the stranger's bidding without payment, so great was their dread of being detected in the crime of handling foreign money.

These are two trifling examples of the principle which seems to pervade Japanese society, namely, that of universal *espionage*, and mutual control. Every man lives in fear of being reported by his neighbour. Every office is filled by two individuals, that one may preserve the other from backsliding. Even the letter-carriers (for there are letter-carriers if not a penny post in Yedo) run in couples. No one is so great or so insignificant as not to have his own double watching him and watched by himself. Even the Emperor is said to be as narrowly watched by spies as any of his subjects. In fact, the more we investigate the extraordinary system under which Japan is governed, the more evident does it become, that the great principle upon which the whole fabric rests, is the absolute extinction of individual freedom: to arrive at this result, resort is had to a complicated machinery, so nicely balanced, that, as everybody watches everybody, so no individual can escape paying the penalty to society of any injury he may attempt to inflict upon it. When the Saimios or titular princes, who are the next in degree to the Daimios or hereditary princes (of the rank, as we might say, of privy councillors below the peerage) came off to meet Lord Elgin,

'They were plainly dressed, and accompanied by the usual retinue, the use of which we now began to perceive. Most of them were engaged during the whole period of the interview with Lord Elgin in reporting in note-books precisely every word that passed. I even caught one fellow, as I glanced over his shoulder, making a sketch of his Excellency.

'When no conversation was actually taking place, they noted down observations of surrounding objects. Most inquisitive were they in their inquiries about everything, and ready in booking the answer. The people who had no note-books were spies, whose business it was to see whether those who had, did their duty properly; also to keep an eye on the princes, and report any indiscretion of which they might be guilty. So when everybody was watching everybody else, it was only natural that the Japanese should wonder who was watching us. They solved this difficulty in an amusing way. Finding that there was only one British minister on board, but observing also that his letter had been signed Elgin and Kincardine, they gave us to understand, in the least offensive way possible, that Kincardine, who was nowhere visible, they supposed to be engaged in keeping his eye on Elgin. It was some time before we made them understand how two titles could be vested in one and the same person.' (Vol. ii. p. 98.)

There are now in Japan three hundred and sixty feudal princes of greater or less importance, each of whom is compelled to have a residence in Yedo, to live in the capital six months of the year, and during the remaining six months to retire to his principality, leaving his wife and family at Yedo, as hostages for his good behaviour. But their territorial rights in their own possessions are by no means absolute, as most of them are compelled to submit to the supervision of two government secretaries, who take it in turn to administer their affairs. There are besides three hundred smaller territorial divisions, so that the empire consists of upwards of six hundred fiefs. Political power seems chiefly vested in the hands of this oligarchy, and they control the Council of State, consisting of five members of the highest grade of the aristocracy, who are chosen by the Tycoon himself, and a minor council consisting of eight of the titular princes. All these are under the strict surveillance of private spies, who report to their own masters; and from the evident difficulty the Commissioners found in conceding certain points to which the kamis or princes were avowedly hostile, the Government probably stand in awe of that influential body. This Venetian constitution, as it may fairly be termed, naturally inspires the Japanese, and especially the members of the governing class, with a prodigious respect for rank; and one of the causes of Lord Elgin's success among them, was that they acknowledged in him a rank equal to their own. When Her

Majesty's Commission was read upon the exchange of powers, and translated by the interpreter into the language of the country, upon hearing the words 'trusty and well-beloved 'cousin,' addressed by the Crown to Lord Elgin, the Japanese immediately rose with great courtesy, to mark their respect for Queen Victoria and her envoy, and then inquired whether he was indeed a cousin of the Queen of England, and what was his actual rank? To this Lord Elgin replied that the words were those customarily applied in instruments of state to a British earl, and that a British earl might in fact, according to the Japanese notions of rank, be termed an hereditary prince. No man on this side of the border will dispute the claim of the Bruce to be styled a Scottish Daimios; but it is a singular incident in the fortunes of that illustrious house, that one of its chiefs should have obtained immediate recognition of his rank from the peers of Japan, and that it should have contributed, as it undoubtedly did, to the success of his mission. This anecdote is not related by Mr. Oliphant, but we have it from another member of the Embassy, who was present on the occasion. Lord Malmesbury committed a great mistake when he entrusted the chief management of our affairs in Japan to a mere consul-general, whom the native nobles could not fail to regard as a trading agent, and Lord John Russell has very properly done what he could to repair this blunder by raising Mr. Rutherford Alcock (of whose personal qualifications we entertain a high opinion) to the rank of Minister Plenipotentiary.

It does not very clearly appear from Mr. Oliphant's narrative what were the decisive motives which induced the ruling powers of Japan suddenly to relax the highly prohibitive system by which they had excluded all foreigners for more than two centuries. Undoubtedly, they were well acquainted with the progress of our arms at Canton and at the mouth of the Peiho. Perhaps, also, they thought that as partial relations had been opened with some Christian states, and as the Russian settlements on the Amour are drawing to a dangerous proximity with the northern coasts of the empire, they were more likely to find safety and independence in treating with several foreign powers on terms of equality. However this may be, the sumptuous abodes of the grandees who inhabit the Grosvenor Square of Yedo, were impenetrable to the members of the Embassy. They belong to a class who are for the most part unfavourable to the introduction of foreigners into Japan. With few exceptions, the old aristocracy of Japan dread the foreign element as possibly subversive of that influence which they at present exercise in the government of the country; and the Tories of

that empire take precisely the same view of the 'foreigner' as the Tories of our quarter sessions and our House of Commons. It was, therefore, with great apprehension that Lord Elgin learned, on arriving at Yedo, that the enlightened Prime Minister, Bitsuno-kami, whom we take to be an advanced Whig in the scale of Japanese parties, and who had just before concluded the American treaty with Mr. Harris, was no longer in office; a crisis had occurred in the cabinet, and the Tories had just come in. Nothing could be more unpromising than such a revolution in the direction of affairs: but here again, we have fresh occasion to admire the flexibility of the Japanese character and their native readiness to adapt themselves to the exigencies of constitutional government. The Tories, it is true, were in; but so was Lord Elgin. Prohibition was the basis of the constitution of Japan; once gone, the sun of the empire set for ever. But the fatal preliminaries had already been opened. The Daimios and the Saimios had already surrendered the approaches of the capital to the insidious stranger. In a word, the Japanese conservatives did precisely what Lord Derby and his colleagues were doing at about the same time. They hastened to assure Lord Elgin that he would get a much better treaty from them than from that rascally Whig, Bitsuno-kami; and to do them justice, they surrendered the bulwarks of Japan with a grace of which Mr. Disraeli himself is not yet a master.

Mr. Oliphant's account of the negotiation is amusing, and increases our liking for this people, whose motto really ought to be *seria ludo* — they laugh over serious things, instead of making laughable things very serious.

'Before proceeding to work, our guests sat down with great readiness to luncheon, and made formidable inroads upon the ham, the dish of all others which they most highly appreciate. They also indulged freely in champagne; indeed, so conscious were they of the risk attending these libations preparatory to entering upon business, that Higo facetiously expressed a hope that the Treaty would not taste of ham and champagne.

'After luncheon we adjourned to Lord Elgin's sitting-room, where his Excellency and the Commissioners seated themselves round the table and mutually exhibited their full powers.' . . .

'Now that we had really settled down to work, everybody lighted a pipe or a cigar, and although, as regarded from a red-tape point of view, the general aspect of the scene may have been somewhat informal, a great deal of business was accomplished. It was necessary, however, to get over a difficulty in the first instance, arising from the necessity which the Commissioners felt of being watched. It was an unnatural thing for them to transact business except in the presence of government and private spies, so they formally requested

that a certain number of these gentry should be allowed to be present during the conferences. This was of course objected to by Lord Elgin, his Excellency remarking that there were already six Japanese Commissioners to one English Minister, and that any further accession of force on the other side would be manifestly quite unfair. On which the Commissioners neatly enough replied, "that it did indeed "take six Japanese heads to cope with such an English head as they "saw before them, and that, in fact, they felt quite unequal to the "task." The matter was ultimately compromised by the presence of one secretary being allowed in addition to the indispensable Moriyama.

'We were now able to enter upon the body of the Treaty, and very soon discovered that the Commissioners manifested the greatest acumen in the discussion of points of detail, never resting satisfied until they thoroughly comprehended the *rationale* of every question raised. Once, indeed, so serious a difficulty arose, that, to create a diversion, some one proposed that we should have some cha (tea), upon which Lord Elgin suggested cha-*pagne*, an amendment which caused infinite merriment, and which was carried by acclamation. The Japanese have a keen appreciation of the ludicrous, and many a knotty point was solved by *bon mot;* indeed, to judge by the perpetual laughter in which they indulge, they are for ever making jokes. Higo was the wit of the party, and was often in consequence not only inattentive himself, but apt to distract the attention of the others. It was evident in the twinkle of his eye when he was meditating a pun. His observations, nevertheless, upon business matters, whenever he condescended to make them, were always shrewd and to the point.' (Vol. ii. pp. 37.)

Mutato nomine de te — the resemblance to the Derby Administration is nearly perfect.

Upon the final signature of the Treaty a dinner was given by Lord Elgin to the Commissioners, and the following ludicrous scene occurred:

'At last the final act was concluded, and Lord Elgin informed the Commissioners that, it being the habit among loyal Englishmen to drink the health of their sovereign, he was now about to propose that toast, This was evidently a custom entirely new to them; and they had scarcely had time to comprehend its meaning before their ears were startled by the noisy "honours" with which it was immediately followed. Quickly taking their cue, however, the three-times-three had not been rung out before it was lustily joined in by our guests. The next toast was the health of his Majesty the Tycoon, which was no less uproariously responded to, the Commissioners by this time having arrived at a pitch of enthusiasm and champagne which made them enter warmly into the proceedings of the evening. "When you in the West want to honour a person especially, you roar and shout after your meals. It was a curious custom, but they understood it now." Indeed, to prove it, Sina-nonokami, a very grave old man, during a dead pause in the conversation,

suddenly started to his feet and emitted a stentorian cheer, after which he sat solemnly down, the effect on the rest of the company being to produce an irresistible shout of laughter.' (Vol. ii. p. 225.)

In the course of these discussions, although they were conducted, we doubt not, with as much courtesy on the one side as on the other, much must have arisen to surprise, perhaps to alarm, the Japanese ministers; for the stake between the parties was not equal, and concessions which would only add some trifling advantage to the wide and general interests of England, might affect in an essential manner the very existence of Japan. Yet such was their consummate address and good breeding that no instance was witnessed by the Embassy of a Japanese losing in any degree his self-command and good temper. Thus far, then, the experience of Lord Elgin and Mr. Oliphant confirms the favourable impressions of the Japanese character which have been recorded by old Kæmpfer and by St. Xavier, centuries back; and these are shared by the more recent residents.

'Mr. Harris spoke in terms even more eulogistic than those universally employed by the Dutch, of the Japanese people. His residence among them, under circumstances which compelled him to form intimate relations with them — for they were his only companions — only served to increase his high opinion of their amiable qualities and charming natural dispositions. He told us numerous anecdotes illustrative of this, more especially of the extraordinary attention shown him by the Emperor and Empress on the occasion of a serious illness which he had suffered. The Emperor insisted on sending his own medical man to attend upon him; while her Majesty delighted in providing him with culinary delicacies prepared by herself, and suited to his state of health.'

And the same kindly spirit appears to pervade the social and domestic relations to a degree utterly unknown in any other Eastern country, and not very common in the Western world.

'Universal testimony assures us that in their domestic relations the men are gentle and forbearing, the women obedient and virtuous; and in every department of crime, we have reason to believe that the amount of grave offences committed against society is less in proportion to the population than that of other countries. All the Dutch writers unite in extolling the excellence of the native tribunals, and their competence to deal with criminal, and give satisfaction in civil causes. We could only judge by the result. As locks and keys did not exist, our rooms were open to the incursions of any of the numerous attendants who swarmed about our lodgings, and though we left the most tempting English curiosities constantly displayed, yet we never had to complain of a single article missing, even of the most trifling value.

'I thought it singular that, during the whole period of our stay in Yedo, I should never have heard a scolding woman, or seen a disturbance in the streets, although, whenever I passed through them, they were densely crowded. Upon no single occasion, though children were numerous, did I ever see a child struck or otherwise maltreated. Kæmpfer, Charlevoix, and Titsingh agree in saying that the love, obedience, and reverence manifested by children towards their parents is unbounded; while the confidence placed by parents in their children is represented to be without limit. Parents select their children to be arbitrators in their disputes with others, and submit implicitly to their decisions; it is also a constant practice for parents to resign their state and property to a son when he shall have attained a suitable age, remaining for the rest of life dependent on him for support; and abuse of this trust is said to be unknown.' (Vol. ii. p. 205.)

We trust these impressions may be permanent and that nothing may arise to shake our confidence in them. Much depends on the Europeans themselves who may frequent the ports of Japan or obtain an entrance into the country; and it is incumbent on all persons who may enter into communication with this remarkable people to remember that Christians, as well as those we call barbarians, have a character to uphold and duties of self-restraint to perform. We know enough of the darker side of the Japanese character. They proved themselves in the course of that revolution which led to the extirpation of Christians and the ejection of foreigners a haughty, fanatical, and cruel people when provoked. Probably the same causes would even now lead to the same results, and place us in the painful alternative of hostilities or humiliation. We devoutly hope, for the honour of civilisation and for the interests of mankind, that no such catastrophe will occur. But whilst we deplore the gross vices of sensuality which, in some respects, degrade and pollute Japanese society, and the superstition which enthrals them in thirty-five different forms of idolatry, we must leave to a Higher Power these questions of morality and of faith. Speaking the language of human affairs, we discern much in the existing institutions and government of Japan which commands our respect, and we sincerely hope that the benefits we may derive from the opening of that empire by Lord Elgin's treaty, will be returned tenfold upon the natives of the country, who have confided in our honour and good faith. Certain it is that the name of Lord Elgin will ever be most honourably associated with this mission; and that the volumes in which Mr. Oliphant has related these transactions will be read with the strongest interest now, and deserve to retain a permanent place in the literary and historical annals of our time.

ART. V.—*History of Europe, from the Fall of Napoleon in* 1815, *to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in* 1852. By Sir ARCHIBALD ALISON, Bart., D.C.L. Vols. II.—VIII. Edinburgh: 1853-59.

SIR ARCHIBALD ALISON has completed, under the title of a 'History of Europe' during a most eventful period of contemporary history, a work which first arrested our notice by its prominent demerit. Within seven years he has attempted to pass in review all the nations of Europe from 1815 to 1852—not fearing, it would seem, to hold that relation to future historians, which Milton draws between the self-deluded spirits who ran Pandemonium up in a day, and the laborious constructors of Alcairo and Babylon. On the publication of his first volume, which contained a summary of the whole work, we pointed out its leading blunders and misstatements; but in the seven volumes which have followed it, the author has done little but expatiate on the fallacies, and develop the medley of fiction and fact, which he had shadowed forth in outline. From each of his chapters we draw theories and arguments, not only opposed to ascertained truth, but directly contradicted in the chapter which succeeds it; and from his assertions of fact, a perfect vivarium of *canards historiques.* It is thus often needless to confute the opinions of one who, while affecting to instruct others, is really learning his own lesson, and bewilders his reader by answering himself.

So far, however, as the prevalence of self-contradiction permits these volumes to have an intelligible aim, they are designed to portray what the author terms 'the ruin of the old world,' and distinctively that of Great Britain. This ruin appears to be ascribed to the concurrence of five causes successively brought into operation since the year 1815: namely, first, the disastrous contraction of the currency, which, by the way, had the unanimous sanction of both Houses of Parliament; secondly, the crimini ferous system of public education, which all parties are now anxious to promote; thirdly, the preference of 'revolu-'tionary' to 'legitimate' alliances, which the Tories, before they left office in 1830, had compromised; fourthly, the error of Parliamentary Reform, which the Tories, in 1858, undertook to extend; and fifthly, the adoption of Free Trade in meat and corn, to which the Tories in 1852 avowed themselves reluctant converts. Such are the five points of the Alisonian charter; and it is against this array of paradoxes that Sir Archibald

Alison yet conducts a forlorn little band of Scotch lairds and English squires into a maze of inaccurate statistics and refuted theories.

It is, however, a much more serious accusation against this work, that it combines the most elaborate distortion of statistical fact with the reckless assertions of political ignorance. Where statistics are made the basis of argument, Sir Archibald, we must suppose by some inscrutable fatality, continually misquotes them in the interest of his theory. Thus he actually places side by side, *as corresponding figures*, tables of the *declared* value of imports, with tables of the *official* value of exports, although the declared values both of imports and exports, which do not suit his theory, stand side by side in the original! In vol. vii. p. 302., there is a tabular view of imports and exports for the nine years, 1841-49, and we will quote the figures for the first and last years in example:—

Years.	Imports.	Exports.	*Balance against the Country.*
1841	£ 64,377,962	£51,634,623	£12,743,339
1849	105,874,607	63,596,025	42,278,582
			(*Alison.*)

Now this precious piece of statistical cookery involves a distortion of much more than the 42,000,000*l.* in dispute, for the last cited year alone! On referring to Porter, 'Progress of the 'Nation' p. 356., from which the author professes to quote, we find that while these imports are official value, and these exports declared value, taken from disconnected columns, the exports did in reality absolutely double the imports. Thus in official values throughout:—

Year.	Imports of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Exports of Foreign and Colonial Merchandise.	Exports of British and Irish Produce and Manufactures.
1849	£105,874,000	£25,561,000	£164,539,000
			(*Porter.*)

If we subtract the re-exported merchandise (not consumed in this country), from the total of imports, the proportion of imports for consumption to our own exports is 80,000,000*l.* to 164,000,000*l.*, or less than one half. In place therefore of a 'balance *against* the country' of 42,000,000*l.* there is a balance *in its favour* of two to one! Such is the vindication of Free

Trade on the very argument which Sir A. Alison accepts as the criterion of its advantage.

Again, where the author would disparage Parliamentary Reform on the false assumption that it doubled emigration, and therefore presumptively produced general misery, he appends a tabular view of emigration from 1825 to 1853, from which he has the effrontery to eliminate the fourteen years 1832–46, intervening between Reform and Famine. This occurs in vol. vii. p. 361. He thus throws into juxtaposition the emigration of two periods, palms off the emigration coinciding with a famine as the proximate result of a reform dating fourteen years before, which, he tells us, 'immensely increased the outward tendency 'of the British people,' and suppresses the decisive fact (see Porter, p. 128.) that the emigration which down to 1832 had largely increased, after that period as largely declined. Such, then, is the vindication of Reform also, on Sir Archibald's own argument for its condemnation.

The chief merit of this performance consists in the narratives of Indian and European campaigns, which are casually introduced, and bear a certain resemblance to the naval and military narratives which constituted the interest of the former work, and created the reputation of the author. And if we dissociate these chapters from the political events with which each campaign is connected, we acknowledge them, though wofully verbose, to be fair and animated. Sir Archibald moreover evinces a spirit of patriotism which his false vaticinations render perhaps the more apparent, and he is commonly ready to defend the *honour* of the British Government, by whatever party it may be conducted. It is obvious also that this work is the result of very considerable labour; though of labour indeed, and still more of reflection, altogether unequal to the vastness of the task.

We would gladly offer the author some other tribute, if we could. Not only, however, does this work actually detract from the position, such as it was, that he had before attained, but the merit diminishes as the work advances. In our review of the first volume we cheerfully conceded the candour of the writer, and his disposition to appreciate the worth of his opponents. We regret materially to qualify both these acknowledgments. We have already cited two instances of his candour; and it is hardly decent, that nearly every French writer, and nearly every French liberal politician, now living, should be publicly bespattered with the offensive and undiscerning aspersion of personal vanity, which is thrown twice upon M. Villemain, twice upon Count Molé, three times upon M. Thiers, and three times upon

M. de Lamartine. He singles out the eminent though often misguided historian of the Consulate and the Empire, for the ridiculous charge that 'heedless of principle, he was devoted only to 'ambition; careless of consistency, he was set only on self-eleva-'tion' (vol. vii. p. 497.); whereas M. Thiers repeatedly sacrificed his political career to a consistency almost Utopian. And Sir A. Alison adds (vol. v. p. 621.) the foul and disgraceful charge, which he does not offer to sustain, of pecuniary malversation.

The worst characteristic of the style of these volumes is its enormous pretension. There is, in all its didactic phrases, an air of calm Olympian superiority, which commonly dresses up some appalling blunder in a truism. Thus, Sir Archibald criticises Lord Palmerston's settlement of the Eastern question in 1841, in the words, 'thus are nations led to destruction 'by a want of foresight in the national councils' (vol. v. p. 568.), and he bases the criticism on the assumption that this settlement confirmed the Russian treaty of 1833, whereas, as we shall see, it superseded that treaty, reversed its provisions, and restored the preceding arrangement, which had been upheld by all parties in England. He looks down with great compassion (vol. iv. p. 276.) 'on superficial observers,' for views which elsewhere he himself appropriates. The triteness of the ideas is only made more glaring by the pomposity of the language in which they are clothed. Tautologies commonly stand in italics, and truisms in capitals; such as the advocacy (vol. v. p. 95.) of 'the right end by the right means.' The author's fine writing often contains false metaphor:—Thus he speaks (vol. iv. p. 423.) 'of the *seeds* of *mortality*, *quickened* into *life*.' His sentences are often ungrammatical. The Latin phrases, such as 'magna 'est veritas,' are puerile. And his sycophantic adulation of rank, such as the description of George IV. (vol. ii. p. 485.) 'sinking 'under the weight of magnificence and jewels,' is only fit for a courtier at Pekin. Such blemishes occur in every chapter.

There is in this work a fault of design distinct from the fault of execution. No history of Europe, indeed, can well be a work of art. It admits of less of that light and shade, of less of that foreground and background, which give pictorial unity to the history of a single nation. Germany, brought casually by its incidental relations with France into the picture of French history, here disputes the foreground with France itself. Yet, though a history thus comprehending nearly all civilised states must form an unartistic, cyclopic whole, there is no doubt that such a history may be so written as to supply practical knowledge. But as a history of contemporary events, it calls for the exercise of extraordinary

qualifications. Not only must the arrangement be perspicuous, the treatment simple, the language concise,—the knowledge of contemporary society and government in every country, rarely to be drawn from books, must be profound; bias and preconception must be extinguished; and, more than all, the tendency of events, which in past history has developed itself, can only be foreshadowed by a philosophy which, if verified by the result, would be akin to prophecy.

How far Sir A. Alison's work falls short of these conditions may be hereinafter measured. Indeed, many of the chapters which relate to foreign countries, lose even the form of a history, and read like descriptions cut out of a gazetteer. Thus far they are a *réchauffée* of such works as those of Haxthausen, and are much less estimable. They seem designed to be taken to pieces and put together again like a conveyancer's draft. We have first a description, often, as will be seen, contradictory, next a political narrative often inaccurate, then come the pompous observations, commonly headed 'reflections on these events,' and finally a close approximation to transcendental metaphysics.

Another all-pervading defect in the execution — apart from misstatements of fact, errors of reasoning, and trite and pretentious moralising—is the constant iteration of the same narrative and the same arguments, for which neither ignorance nor want of attention can atone or account. Thus Sir A. Alison writes two distinct narratives of the Eastern Question of 1840. The first is in vol. v. pp. 543–70., the second in vol. vi. pp. 82–110.; and both are marked by the same fundamental misconception of the settlement of that question. Thus, again, he writes not less than *six* distinct and elaborate dissertations on the contraction of the currency. The first begins at vol. i. p. 32.; the second at vol. ii. p. 376.; the third at vol. iii. p. 665.; the fourth at vol. vi. p. 111.; the fifth at vol. vi. p. 246.; and the sixth at vol. vii. p. 383! Besides these long dissertations, the casual references to the same subject are innumerable. In each there is the same wearisome repetition of theories, so long and so thoroughly refuted, that even forty years ago not one member of either House of Parliament, as Sir A. Alison himself acknowledges, would vote for the principle they assert; and with just such variations of argument as result from confused perception held in partial discipline by ineradicable bias. Is it thus that Sir Archibald aspires to win the character he so much values in certain writers, of 'a profound 'and elegant discourser'?

In the same way, phrases deemed too sonorous and ideas too

original to be forgotten, come round with the merciless regularity of the barrels of a revolving pistol. Thus we are three times told of the year 1846, in the same words, that 'a famine of the 'thirteenth appeared in the population of the nineteenth 'century' (vol. i. p. 10.; vol. iv. pp. 187–95.). We are three times told that 'knowledge is power' (vol. i. p. 45.; vol. iv. p. 201., &c.), and the author, at any rate, illustrates the converse of the proposition. In the first instance the phrase is ascribed to Lord Bacon; but as we told the author six years ago, that Bacon never said so, the phrase is repeated, while the authority is discreetly dropped. Three French sovereigns of this century are sent each a 'discrowned exile *across the* '*melancholy main*' (!) The phrase is applied successively to Napoleon, to Charles X., and to Louis Philippe. Lamartine is twice described as seeing everything 'through a Claude Lor-'raine medium' (vol. iii. p. 611.; vol. v. p. 325.). M. Guizot is depicted with the same infirmity. Lamartine, Madame de Staël, and Louis Blanc are successively characterised as 'devout 'believers in human perfectibility;' and as we have intimated, three distinct portraits are drawn of Lamartine and of Thiers. So two are drawn of Lord Melbourne, and two of Sir Robert Peel. The expression 'realised wealth' appears at least ten times in capitals. We are twice told, first of Mr. Canning (vol. iv. p. 117.), and next of the Duke of Wellington (vol. iv. p. 224.), that 'he felt like Burke, "I am alone; I know I '"have lost my former friends; and I am too old to form new '"ones;"' and the quotation, differing in each instance, is inaccurate in both. We are told at vol. iv. p. 329., that in 1832, 'Ministers felt as if crossing the bridge figured by the poets, 'consisting of a single arch of sharp steel, spanning a fiery gulf 'on either hand'(!) and the very same phrase is again applied to them in vol. vii. p. 9. We are told at vol. iv. p. 483. the interesting anecdote of the author himself, that 'at that period '(1821) the author, whose head was then more full of aca-'demical studies than political speculations, *frequently stated it* '*in company* as a problem in algebra easy of solution, "Given '"the Toryism of a landed proprietor, required to find the '"period of want of rents which will reduce him to a Radical '"reformer?"' Lest this *jeu d'esprit* should be forgotten for want of due iteration, we are told at vol. iv. p. 205., that 'the 'question was often put in the form of *the* algebraic problem, '"Given the Toryism of a landed proprietor, required to find '"the period of want of rents which will reduce him to a '"Radical reformer?"' Like Pope's simile of the stone thrown into the water, and its expanding circles, this idea, ori-

ginating in a society of undergraduates, appears at length to have nearly 'embraced all human kind!'

Sir Archibald, too, can never merge his own individuality. Anecdotes either of himself or of his family occur often enough to read like scraps of autobiography. Thus, in detailing the campaign of Sobraon in 1846, he goes so far out of his way as to tell us what his sons (very gallant fellows no doubt) did at Lucknow twelve years afterwards. Then we are informed (vol. vii. p. 28.) how he himself once heroically arrested some disturbers of the peace in Lanarkshire, at two o'clock in the morning. One day Prince Waldemar called on him 'at his residence 'of Possil House,' and the visit seems to have left a durable impression. In the singular critique on English *littérateurs* in the first volume, we were told, in the instance of each writer, how the author made his acquaintance. Sir Archibald is also peculiarly fond of fortifying each indefensible paradox by the consoling axiom that 'present popularity is no test of ultimate suc-'cess.' And he reverts to 'the verification of the author's 'opinions' with a frequency and a satisfaction which might tempt ill-nature to draw the other side of the picture. We lay little stress, indeed, on these venial egotisms; but surely they would not be exhibited by one who had a due conception of the task he had undertaken.

This rapid glance will indicate the salient characteristics of Sir A. Alison's new 'History of Europe.' But a work of this pretension demands criticism in some detail. A writer who gratuitously comes forward to impeach the whole domestic policy of his own generation is presumed to have made some discoveries, in argument or in fact, to sustain his paradox. Probably, if we passed without notice even the theories which had been conclusively refuted before they appeared in this work, the author would felicitate himself that we could neither grapple with his logic, nor follow the labyrinth of his statistics. We shall therefore divide the chief objects of criticism in Sir Archibald's work into four distinct classes. First, we shall deal with those questions which relate to the domestic history of this country. Secondly, we shall glance at the chapters which concern the internal condition of the leading continental states. Thirdly, we shall criticise the author's narrative and opinions of the international relations of Europe, with special reference to the foreign policy of England. And fourthly, his characteristics of contemporary statesmen and authors.

I. The fallacy which pervades Sir A. Alison's domestic politics appears chiefly to arise from an incapacity to appreciate the

broad distinction between the period which he before treated, and that to which the present work refers. He shows himself often conscious of the changes which the French war introduced, but he cannot recognise their ulterior tendency. Thus he ascribes the national ruin, which his vision only can perceive, to the Contraction of the Currency in 1819, to Parliamentary Reform in 1832, and to the Repeal of the Corn Laws in 1846, — each of which he characterises as an entire revolution in the first principles of domestic government. He cannot understand that the currency law which prevailed from 1797 to 1819, was never devised otherwise than as a temporary relief from the pressure of metallic exportation during war, and that its contraction in 1819, though no doubt attended by temporary inconvenience, simply required the Bank to redeem its 'promises to pay,' which had been suspended during the war, but which, before 1797, had been in force. He refers Catholic Emancipation solely to a contracted currency, and forgets that this question, which was suspended by the war, had been so far mooted eighteen years before the currency was contracted, as to break up, in 1801, a Tory Administration which was pledged to its adoption. And while conscious of what he terms the 'realised wealth,' accumulated chiefly by the unrepresented manufacturing districts during war, he assigns no place whatever to this social and commercial development in strengthening the demand for representation, except from the discontent which it produced by contracting the currency! Nor can he perceive that free trade with foreign nations is a development of the free trade with Ireland, which long ago called forth Protectionist indignation.

This confusion of measures in their nature temporary, with principles in their nature permanent, wholly incapacitates Sir A. Alison from understanding the period of which he writes. The error is so great that it pervades and vitiates his whole work. The cardinal domestic measures which he condemns as ruinous, revolutionary, and without precedent, involve either a mere return to the *status quo ante bellum*, or a revival of questions which had been suspended by war, and were still further developed by the national growth of the intervening period. A writer who takes up a great age of peace consequent on a war of twenty years, and insists on the maintenance of stationary institutions in an eminently progressive society, commits himself to a paradox which no other person can sanction, and which renders his ideal of government a distortion too ludicrous to be gravely discussed.

We shall not certainly attempt to follow Sir Archibald through

the dreary subject of an inconvertible paper currency, of which he is probably the only sane champion, and on which he gives us a fresh dissertation in nearly every volume. But as it forms so mighty an agent in his theory of government, and as its abolition is made the basis of all the alleged disasters which have since overtaken us, we cannot decline to glance at the inaccuracies and absurdities of the author's argument, and we shall leave its contradictory propositions to answer themselves.

We assume, from an industrious, though unprofitable, collation of these successive dissertations, that Sir A. Alison traces the imaginary ruin of his country under the currency laws through three channels: — first, in their influence on commercial speculation; secondly, on prices and wages; and thirdly, on taxation. Having thus far traced outlines of order in a reign of chaos, let us see what is the accuracy of the assertions which support the proposition.

1. The author's first assertion here is, that a representative paper currency produces fluctuations so violent as to encourage immense enterprise in one year, and to produce ruin and misery in another. Now the fact is entirely the reverse. The tables in Porter's Progress — which the author professes elsewhere to accept as authoritative — show that the oscillations of the representative paper currency for the thirteen years 1833–45, which include years both of prosperity and distress, were actually less than the oscillations of the inconvertible paper currency for the five years of peace, 1814–18, previous to the contraction in 1819. We have shown that during the latter period (*Edin. Rev.* vol. xcvii. p. 280.) the paper in circulation fluctuated from 42,109,000*l.* in 1816, to 48,278,000*l.* in 1818; or a difference of more than 6,000,000*l.*, with only one intervening year, and of 5,000,000*l.* in the two consecutive years 1817, 1818. If we first take the five years 1833–37, which form the first of Porter's tables (p. 445.), we find that, although the bullion held by the Bank of England in that period varied from 11,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.*, or nearly 70 per cent., the paper of the Bank of England in circulation did not fluctuate more, in the January of each year, than from a maximum of 18,216,000*l.* to a minimum of 17,262,000*l.*, or less than 6 per cent. And as the paper of the country banks rose nearly in proportion as that of the Bank of England fell, the fluctuation was really inappreciable. If we next take the four *adverse* years 1838–41, and the four *prosperous* years 1842–45, which form Porter's second table (p. 446.), we find that, in the month of March in each of these eight years, the notes in circulation of all banks in England fluctuated from 29,913,000*l.* to 25,242,000*l.*, which is less in eight years than the fluctuation under the depreciated currency in

five years. Yet these thirteen years include years of dearth and plenty, of high price and low price, and of a commercial enterprise that had then already tripled since the contraction of the currency in 1819.

Sir Archibald's second argument is, that the juncture chosen for the contraction of 1819 was that at which 'the coin annually 'issued from the English mint had sunk to only 1,500,000*l.* a 'year,' and 'the annual supplies of precious metals had been 'reduced to a fourth of their former amount,' and 'the drain of 'gold had reduced the treasure in the Bank from 12,000,000*l.* 'to 3,500,000*l.*' (Vol. ii. p. 397.) Now even if these assertions were true, they would merely involve a question of time. But either the assertions, or the inferences for which they stand, are grossly erroneous. First, in respect of the coinage, which is described as declining in 1819 to 1,500,000*l.*; although, from a sudden influx of bullion, much larger sums were coined in 1817 and 1818, the coinage of the whole century up to 1816 had rarely amounted to half a million annually, and never reached three quarters; while, on the other hand, it amounted in 1821, two years after the contraction, to 9,954,000*l.* So much for the coinage. Secondly, in regard to the entire supply of the precious metals for the use of the whole globe, the author states that the annual average had sunk from 10,000,000*l.*, prior to 1810, to 'little more than 2,000,000*l.*' (vol. ii. p. 392.) ten years afterwards. If this were so, how did England alone contrive to coin near 10,000,000*l.* in 1821? and how does Sir Archibald defend his self-contradictions at vol. vi. p. 250., where he is so dissatisfied that the annual supply of precious metals, in 1837, averaged as high as 9,000,000*l.*, that he flatly asserts this to be 'not half its former amount?'

The simple facts are, that, although the average produce of the South American and Mexican mines sank from 9,000,000*l.* annually before 1809, to 4,000,000*l.* between 1809 and 1829, it had risen in 1840–45 to an average of between 6,000,000*l.* and 7,000,000*l.*; while the Ural mines, which were a new source of produce, yielded between 3,000,000*l.* and 4,000,000*l.* The produce, therefore, of precious metals, under a contracted currency, had become greater — even previously to Californian and Australian discoveries — than in Sir Archibald's golden age.

2. Sir A. Alison is still more unlucky in respect to the influence of currency on wages and prices. In fact, his theory directly refutes itself. He tells us (vol. vii. p. 227.) that 'the 'repeal of the Corn Laws was mainly owing to the monetary 'system, which had been in operation for a quarter of a century, 'which, by halving the remuneration for every species of in-'dustry, had swelled into a passion (!) a desire for a correspond-

'ing reduction in the price of food.' Yet he has repeatedly told us in earlier volumes, when abusing the currency law, that this reduction in prices had taken place before free trade began! He writes: 'that every article of production or exchange fell 'gradually in price after the suppression of small notes in '1826, till it settled at about two thirds of its former amount;' and again, that the legislators of 1819 'had halved the re-'muneration of industry *when they had doubled the value of* '*money*' (vol. iv. p. 393., also vol. ii. p. 400.); and he does not appear to perceive that this attempt at antithesis annihilates the first quoted proposition.

So much for the author's theory; let us turn next to his facts. In the first place, the depreciation of paper, according to Tooke's History of Prices,—another of Sir Archibald's authorities, and no higher one exists, — far from reaching 50 per cent., averaged from 1800 to 1821, when cash payments were resumed in full, only $7\frac{3}{4}$ per cent., although in one year it had reached $21\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. (Tooke, vol. ii. p. 379.) Then Sir Archibald (vol. ii. p. 400.), after asserting that the effect of the currency on prices is gradual and not immediate, falls on the theory of Tooke and Miss Martineau, that the distress directly following the year 1819 arose from overtrading, and not from the new currency. Accordingly, he at once reverses his whole line of battle, and, on the very same page, assails their position with a column of statistics, ostensibly taken from Tooke on Prices, but cooked in the most flagrant manner, in order to prove that, after the contraction, prices 'sank in general, *within six months*, to *half* 'their former amount!' The figures, however, even in the cooked table, extend over, not six months only, but four years, to bring out this result in respect of the articles in which the greatest fluctuation prevailed; and in others the decline is simply a third or fourth.

But the cookery speaks volumes for the poverty of the cause. Sir Archibald finds that, in Tooke's tables, one kind of tea has risen in price while the other has declined. He finds that cotton and rice fell, while coffee and hemp rose. Accordingly he strikes out all the columns which disprove his theory, and copies simply those which countenance it. The worst cookery of all, however, rests in the fact that while Tooke publishes *several* returns of *both* extremes of fluctuations, Sir Archibald takes his figures promiscuously from either, and from all returns, which he works up into a single row of figures in order to swell the contrast! *

* Those who are further interested in this matter, may collate 'Alison.' vol. ii. p. 400., with 'Tooke,' vol. ii. p. 390–420.

After such an exhibition, it is, surely, needless to say more on this head than to point out the absurdity of a position which both entirely excludes the cheapening influence of improved machinery, and does not attempt to grapple with the fact, which Porter's Tables attest (pp. 597–99.), that the prices of very many articles had fallen almost as rapidly, from 1800 to 1819, as they fell after the contraction of the currency.

3. So much for the influence of the Currency Laws, first, on commercial enterprise, and, secondly, on prices and labour. What, finally, is Sir A. Alison's statement of its influence on taxation? The first volume contains a misstatement so concise and comprehensive as to form a text from which each subsequent dissertation is preached:

'The contraction of the currency has *doubled* the weight of taxes, debts, and incumbrances of every description, and at the same time *halved* the resources of those who are to pay them. *Fifty* millions a year raised for the public revenue, are as great a burden now as *a hundred* millions a year were during the war.' (Vol. i. p. 24.)

If Sir Archibald had said that fifty millions now are equal to *two* hundred millions then, we might at any rate have congratulated him on arithmetical consistency. When he tells us that, while the weight of debts and taxes is doubled, the resources of the population are halved, he either does not perceive that he states the pressure in a fourfold ratio, or his theory is too monstrous for his candour. Since, then, we cheerfully pay 66,000,000*l.* now, we are paying an equivalent to 264,000,000*l.* during the war. If the country could then cheerfully endure taxation of 264,000,000*l.* a year, why did it never, in fact, realise more than 71,000,000*l.* from taxation in any one year of the war? What compelled it beyond that mark to resort to loans? And why did it not sweep off the whole national debt during the four years between the conclusion of peace and the Act of 1819? This subject will, however, be more closely examined in another part of our present Number; and we therefore abstain from any further comment upon Sir Archibald's delusions in this place.

We pass to a more cheerful topic. But we know not with what consistency to proceed; for as the Currency Question is made the basis of the author's whole work, no sooner is that basis destroyed, than the whole superstructure falls with a general crash. We take, however, the next question of importance, namely, Catholic Emancipation.

We are truly glad to congratulate the author on his liberal conviction (vol. iv. p. 187.), that this was 'a great and wise measure,' and it elsewhere happens that where he clearly perceives the

moral justice of a change, he will admit it, even at the cost of the party to which he belongs. This, too, is an instance of the fact that he can appreciate necessities and rights where he can trace neither causes nor results. But his view of what produced, and of what followed Emancipation is deplorable enough. The Currency Law of course becomes the chief cause, and his argument rests on the fallacy we have just exposed. But an ancillary cause is adduced, and it is marked by a corresponding fallacy which may be worth a glance:—

'It [Catholic Emancipation] was a victory gained by a large portion of the aristocratic, and the greater part of the highly educated classes, over the sincere conviction and honest resistance of the vast majority of the people. No one doubts that if the Reform Bill had been the first measure carried, the Catholic Relief Bill would never have been the second. The present House of Commons (1854), even with the addition of fifty Catholic members for Ireland, is greatly more hostile to the Catholics than that of 1829 was.' . . . 'It was carried by the liberal opinions of the holders of a majority of the class boroughs, which brought the Government into such straits as compelled it to force through the measure.' (Vol. iv. p. 185.)

If Sir Archibald had left Catholic Emancipation at the point at which he had conceded its mere justice and necessity, he would have assigned an ample cause of its accomplishment in the general pressure of a sense of wrong, and the general fear of incontrollable insurrection. But, even supposing the Commons in 1854 'greatly more hostile to the Catholics' than the Commons in 1829, what possible inference can he draw from the anti-Catholic attitude of the Parliament of 1852, just after the Papal aggression, to the attitude which that Parliament would have assumed, if the Catholics had been then suffering under a grievous wrong? The measure was carried at last, not by any Parliamentary compulsion, still less by 'the liberal opinions of 'the holders of a majority of the class [qy. close] boroughs,' but by a state of things in Ireland which daunted the Duke of Wellington and baffled Sir Robert Peel: nor can we subscribe at all to Sir Archibald's proposition that in a Reformed Parliament Catholic Emancipation would not have been carried, since a Reformed Parliament has extended the principles of religious toleration to the Jews.

So much for the origin of Emancipation. What, next, were its results? The first effect, according to Sir Archibald, was to induce Reform:—

'It added fifty votes to the movement party in Ireland, and took as many, by the heart-burning which it excited in this island, from

the Conservative majority in Great Britain. This change, 100 in all, and 200 on a division, entirely altered the balance of parties in the Imperial Parliament.' (Vol. iv. p. 194.)

If this be so, how does the author account for the fact that the Parliament of 1830, summoned by a Whig king during the excitement of continental revolutions, outvoted the Wellington Ministry, even after the Duke's declaration against any reform, by a majority of only nineteen, when Lord John Russell had carried against them, in the previous Parliament, and before Emancipation was conceded, his Bill for the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts, by a majority of forty-four? If Emancipation strengthened the Whigs by two hundred votes on a division in the House of Commons, though the strength of the two parties had before been nearly poised, how did it happen that the House of Commons, in 1831, threw out Lord John's Reform Bill, though only by a majority of one? The truth is that the disfranchisement of the Irish forty shilling freeholders went far to neutralise the Parliamentary result which Emancipation would otherwise have produced.

Sir A. Alison finds the second effect of Emancipation in Free Trade. He describes the Corn Laws as repealed by the Irish Catholic members against the obvious interest of their own country, in order to gratify Papistical animosity to the Protestant aristocracy of England:—

'If, therefore, the members, whether for counties or boroughs of Ireland, had been directed by the interests of their constituents, they would have done everything in their power to secure the English market for them, by supporting the protective system of Great Britain. But being under a foreign influence, and directed by the Court of Rome, whose policy was to weaken and embarrass the English aristocracy, which it regarded as its most formidable enemy, they did just the reverse.' (Vol. iv. p. 195.)

The famine and starvation that were depopulating Ireland, and were obviously liable to recur, are simple facts which account for Irish acquiescence in Free Trade, without having recourse to so ingenious a hypothesis. And the author immediately refutes his own theory, on the very same page, by asserting that, even in Ireland, 'free trade in grain was introduced as a 'remedy for insupportable evils!' It does not seem to have occurred to him that Ireland is not a corn-growing, but a grazing, country, and consequently is less affected by the repeal of the Corn Laws than any other part of the United Kingdom.

Sir Archibald then describes the agitation for the Repeal of the Union as coinciding with the famine:—

'*At the same time*, they put themselves at the head of the repeal agitation in Ireland, and shook the country to its centre,' &c. (Vol. iv. p. 195.)

Every one else knows that the 'repeal agitation' had expired before the famine began. The author, however, soon exchanges this error for a still stranger one:—

'The result is well known. Agriculture, neglected for political agitation, fell into decay; a famine of the thirteenth fell upon the population of the nineteenth century. Free trade in grain was introduced as a remedy for insupportable evils, and Ireland, which hitherto had enjoyed the monopoly, was exposed to the competition of the world in the supply of the English market.' (Vol. iv. p. 195.)

How could a country whose agriculture had 'fallen into decay,' hold the agricultural monopoly of such a market as the English? How, when Canadian wheat was introduced free of duty, and the wheat of the United States, through Canada, at only three shillings a quarter? The author, too, ascribes a blight which has never been traced to its cause, to a decay of agriculture.

But the concluding judgment is the strangest part of Sir Archibald's philosophy of Catholic Emancipation.

'The priests in the country have already sunk to one-half their former number; they have declined from nearly 5000 to 2600. At the same time the embarrassments of the landed proprietors, arising from the depression of agriculture, consequent upon free trade, and the fall in the value of rural produce, have come to such a climax that a vigorous measure became indispensable. The land was in great part wrested from the old insolvent proprietors, and the sales of the Encumbered Estates' Commission have transferred it to Saxon wealth, nearly as generally as the Celtic exodus has consigned its cultivation to the direction of Saxon hands.' (Vol. iv. pp. 196–7.)

If there be one result of the Encumbered Estates Act more remarkable than another, it is the fact that it has called forth and applied Irish, not Saxon, capital—Irish, not Saxon, energy — to the development of Irish resources and Irish prosperity. Moreover, although the machinery of the Encumbered Estates Court was put in motion by the Act of 1848, under Lord Clarendon's Irish Administration, the principle of the measure originated with Sir Robert Peel before the Corn Laws were repealed, and before the famine occurred.

We turn next to Sir A. Alison's luminous chapters on Parliamentary Reform.

The alleged cause of this great measure in Sir Archibald's work need hardly be stated. Although Catholic Emancipation, at the distance of a few chapters back, is allowed just such an

influence in its production as was necessary to point the demoralising effect of that measure, it shrinks to nothing beside the contraction of the Currency, which occupies the whole foreground. This argument rests precisely on those fallacies which we have already exposed in dealing with the Currency Laws.

His reasoning is, that the contraction of the currency, and the Catholic relief Bill, had produced an amount of disunion and discontent among the Tories which rendered them peculiarly eager for political change. Thus, at vol. iv. p. 205., he describes Reform as a battle won, against the urban capitalists, by a union of farmers, landholders, and the less wealthy oppidan class! His words are, 'discontent at existing institutions, and 'the desire for change, had become of late years *more general* 'among the farmers and landholders than even the inhabitants 'of towns.' Himself a literary chameleon, he turns all parties into political chameleons. The urban capitalists who were among the chief Yellow agitators become the Blue defenders of the old constitution, and the Tory farmers and squires whose Blue was indelible, startle us in rank Yellow. But without caring to refute a paradox by which none can be led astray, how does Sir Archibald arrive at this alliance between farmers and landholders in favour of Reform, through dissatisfaction with the Currency Law, when he has repeatedly stated the country grievance to rest in the fact that the currency reduced rents by 50 per cent.? If the 'fact' were a fact, could any class legislation have profited the farmers more than the new currency?

So much for the causes of Reform. Let us turn next to Sir A. Alison's defence of the old constitution. He is shrewd enough to perceive that a mere tirade against democracy, and a mere wail over the fall of aristocratic predominance would form no argument for readers of the present day. He, therefore, addresses himself to the thesis, which would be convincing if it could be established, that the old constitution provided for a representation of classes which the reformed constitution ignored. How is this paradox again defended?

The author advances two propositions: — first, that before 1832, all interests were equally recognised and defended; secondly, that, since 1832, distributive taxation has been marked by the worst injustice. Sir Archibald, *more suo*, establishes the former proposition by heaping together various rival monopolies, the protection of which he holds to be evidence of the recognition of all interests!

'Thus the House of Commons had come to be an assembly, not of the representatives of any one class or section of society, *but of all sections and classes* [author's italics]. . . .

'Every interest in society was protected by the laws or fiscal regulations which it passed, and none in such a degree as to beget the suspicion that any one interest had acquired a disproportioned sway in the legislature.' . . .

'But a closer examination will show that the Corn Laws were only a branch, though doubtless a most important branch, of the general system of protection established through the country, and for *every* branch of industry. The West Indies were equally protected. The heavy duties on foreign sugar prove, and the rapid growth of those then magnificent settlements prove, that they *shared, to the very full,* in the general protective policy which prevailed. Canada was equally secured by the duties which were so heavy a burden on Baltic timber. The manufacturing interest *shared, to the very full,* in the benefits of the same system. There was not a branch of manufactures which was not fenced in by heavy protective duties. The shipping interest was protected by the Navigation Laws.' (Vol. iv. pp. 387–8.)

These fallacies hardly call for refutation in detail. In the first place, the wide interval between the Reform Act and the abolition of such of these monopolies as are yet swept away—and the inroad of the legislature in 1829, under its old constitution, upon the Corn Laws of 1815—indicate that this approach to general freetrading has arisen rather from a growth of knowledge than from a change in the organisation of Parliament. But apart from this, most of the instances which the author cites merely imply the protection of the few against the many. These interests, too, even supposing that they represented the bulk of the community, were often protected *against* each other. Sir A. Alison describes the Navigation Laws as protecting British against foreign shipping. But in point of fact they protected the interests of British shipping against the interests of British manufactures, by raising the price of marine transit. The author would have aptly completed his picture if he had also appealed to the trading monopoly of the East India Company with India and China, which excluded all the rest of the shipping interest of this country.

Yet even this theory is one in the refutation of which the author has himself anticipated us. At p. 391. he acknowledges that the interests of the whole producing class were set at nought, under the old constitution, by the fatal Currency Act of 1819, through the predominance of the holders of realised wealth; and that the class legislation of the unreformed Parliaments was so iniquitous as to necessitate Reform! In fact this is the drift of his whole story. Nevertheless he can gravely tell us in the paragraph above-cited, that under the old constitution of Parliament '*Every interest in society* was protected 'by the laws or *fiscal regulations* which it passed; and none in

'such a degree as to beget the suspicion that any one interest 'had acquired a disproportioned sway in the legislature.'

Sir A. Alison's second defence of the 'old constitution, in 'the greater equity of the taxation which it maintained,' is hardly more successful. The author states his case thus:—

'What was equally significant of the effective representation of all classes of society under the old constitution, was the equitable manner in which the public burdens were distributed over the various classes of society. Universally will it be found that the first result of class government, whether of an oligarchy, aristocracy, or democracy, is to establish an exemption from direct taxation in favour of the dominant class.' (Vol. iv. p. 388.)

The counterpart to this proposition is of course the alleged injustice of taxation since 1832:—

'In less than a quarter of a century after the Reform Bill had given them the government of the country, the urban shopkeepers had obtained for themselves *an entire exemption from every species of direct taxation**, and laid it with increased severity on the disfranchised classes in the state; while, at the same time, they contrived to shake off all the indirect taxes by which they were more immediately affected. They have got the window tax taken off, and the house tax from all houses below 20*l.*, the line *where the ruling class begins**; and when Lord Derby's Ministry brought forward the proposal, obviously just, to lower the duty to 10*l.* houses, they instantly expelled them from office by a vote of the House of Commons. They kept the income tax for long at incomes above 150*l.*, and now they have only brought it down under the pressure of war to 100*l.*, a line which practically ensures an exemption from that burden to nearly the whole of the ruling occupants of houses below 20*l.*; while a tax, producing now (1855) above 10,000,000*l.* a-year is saddled exclusively upon less than 250,000 persons in the empire.' (Vol. iv. pp. 408-9.)

The confusion and misrepresentation in this passage are strange enough. The sweeping misstatement that the 'urban 'shopkeepers'—and in the margin of the work the 'urban con-'stituencies'—have entirely freed themselves of direct taxation, is restricted, at the end of the passage, to ten-pounders, whose incomes fall short of 150*l.* a year; and the blind animus which Sir A. Alison suffers to overwhelm his reason, is strikingly shown where he panegyrises the income tax of the Tories for being limited to 'less than 300,000 persons' (p. 388.), while he assails the present tax (p. 409.), for 'not embracing above '250,000.' But the obvious answer to this attempt to prove that the class of ten-pounders in boroughs, who have not 100*l.* a year, govern the British Empire, is that the author cannot,

* The italics are the author's.

or at any rate does not, cite one single tax either abolished or imposed in the distinctive interest of the towns. The two cardinal principles of taxation accepted among us are, first, that taxation should be graduated among the different classes of society in a direct ratio with their means of payment; and secondly, that indirect imposts should be lessened in proportion to the necessity of the articles on which they fall. These two principles point in harmony to Free Trade in food and to a proportional substitution of direct taxation. Sir A. Alison does not show that either principle has been contravened by recent legislation.

Sir Archibald next impeaches the Reform Act for its unjust distribution of seats as between counties and boroughs:—

> 'Thus, in the imperial legislature, as it now stands, there are 253 county members, and 405 for boroughs; an immense disproportion, when it is recollected that they are nearly in the inverse ratio with the population and wealth raised by these different classes of society, three-fifths of both of which are drawn from, or dependent on, the rural inhabitants.' (Vol. iv. p. 382.)

This statement is continually repeated in the fourth and sixth volumes, as a salient instance of the injustice of the Reform Act.

The assertion is itself inaccurate; the inference is essentially false. Before 1832, there were only 52 county constituencies, and 94 county seats for England and Wales; there are now 82 of these constituencies and 159 seats. The Reform Act, therefore, rendered a great measure of justice to the 'rural inhabitants,' whose insufficient representation Sir A. Alison here deprecates. It is quite true, that while 65 county seats were thus added, 141 nomination seats were abolished. But in the first place, Sir Archibald states the question, not as between aristocratic and oppidan power, but as between the elective privileges of townsmen and 'rural inhabitants.' In the second place, these nomination seats were not genuine representatives of the country interest, and Sir Archibald himself, in asserting that Catholic Emancipation was carried by the nomination members against the rural population, acknowledges this truth in its widest scope. These seats also were divided between Whigs and Tories, whose country policy widely differed, and was often diametrically opposite. Moreover, even the Tory magnate, who was formerly held most nearly to represent the supposed interest of the farmer, can no longer be presumed to do so; for while his tenantry are become more liberal, he adheres to his antiquated prepossessions. If, therefore, there

had been no Reform Act, the injustice which the counties would now sustain, would have been intolerable.

In the same way, Sir A. Alison writes again :—

'It is only necessary to recollect, that by the Reform Bill nearly two-thirds of the House of Commons was composed of members for boroughs.' (Vol. iv. p. 398.)

These two passages are instances of the author's unfair dealing with a party question. He throws all the old nomination boroughs into the rural interest, after he has demonstrated their imperfect representation of it; yet he will not acknowledge a single existing borough to be held by that interest, in spite of the notoriety of a considerable proportion of boroughs being in its command! He then tells us with singular effrontery, that the old House of Commons 'had grown up 'like a code of consuetudinary law, with the wants and require-'ments of six centuries;' when he must know perfectly well, that during the century preceding the Reform Act, which was eminently one of manufacturing growth, there was scarcely any re-distribution of seats. After this discreditable exhibition of what he will say for his party, he characterises the Reformed House of Commons, with strange ignorance of etymology, as a '*Poligarchy*'!

The sixth volume contains a funeral oration on the fall of the Whigs, in which the author displays more than usual inconsistency. This event is ascribed to the year 1841 :—

'Thus fell the government of the Whigs, and fell never again to rise. The Liberal, or movement party, have been in power, indeed, for the greater part of the subsequent period, and to all appearance they are destined for a long period to hold the reins. But the Liberal party is very different from the old Whig party — much more opposed to it than ever the Tory had been . . . . . They [Whigs] have been obliged to substitute *favour to the Roman Catholics,* for the stern hostility of the Revolution; Free Trade, for the Protective system, which for a century and a half had regulated their policy; and unrestricted admission of foreign shipping for the Navigation Laws, the bequest of Cromwell, and which they had so long held forth as the palladium of the Empire. ' They have been compelled to exchange *concessions to the great towns,* for the aristocratic rule of the great families. Nor have they, in doing so, yielded merely to that change of policy which every party, even the most consistent, must adopt from the changes of time and circumstances. The alteration has been so great, and has affected so deeply their private interests, that it has evidently been the result, not of change of views, but of necessity.' (Vol. vi. p. 447.)

The obvious absurdity of this argument is that, while the fall of the Whigs is dated from 1841, two of the four great

measures which are adduced in evidence of it were passed long previously. The 'concessions to the great towns' were made in 1832; and Catholic Emancipation, which overthrew 'the 'stern hostility of the Revolution,' took place in 1829. Moreover, the Whigs, long previously to either period, had been the advocates of both measures, and they resigned office on the latter question in 1807. The Repeal of the Corn and Navigation Laws certainly took place since 1841; but the advocacy of the two first-mentioned measures by the Whigs, so long before they were practicable, is surely proof that those concessions at least were made to policy, and not to necessity.

We read in the next page that 'the fall of the Whigs was 'owing to the Reform Bill,' though it is just before referred to 1841: —

'The real cause of their overthrow is to be found in the constitution of Parliament, which they themselves had forced upon the sovereign, and the fatal mistake committed by Earl Grey, in supposing that the boroughs, returning three-fifths of the entire representation of the United Kingdom, would fall under the dominion of the territorial magnates in their vicinity, *because the nomination boroughs had hitherto done so.*' (Vol. vi. p. 448.)

Imagine the Prime Minister who carried the Reform Act supposing that he had left England the same nomination-ridden country that he had found it! Assuming that Lord Grey could ever have conceived anything so ridiculous, did it never occur to Sir A. Alison to ask himself why the House of Commons was reformed at all? Yet he has all the while had the truth before his eyes; for (in vol. iv. p. 382.) he quotes Lord Grey's speech of the 9th of April, 1832, in which that Minister assumed that the 64 new borough seats will fall to the commercial class, while of the 264 *old* borough seats 'there will be '*as large a proportion as ever* in favour of the landed proprie-'tors.' And on the very page on which this distortion occurs, he goes far to confute his own misrepresentation of Lord Grey, by maintaining that the elections of 1852 in England singly gave a majority for the Conservatives.

The absurdity and inconsistency of these statements must really exonerate us from any further analysis of his chapters on Reform.

Sir A. Alison's history of Sir R. Peel's Administration, 1841–46, is not more praiseworthy than the chapters already criticised. In fact, hardly a subject is discussed without involving some ludicrous and self-evident error. He first describes the composition of Sir R. Peel's Cabinet, and in this

he falls into several incidental mistakes (p. 15); for instance, he tells us that the Duke of Wellington, on its formation, took the office of commander-in-chief, which he did not receive until August 1842, just before Lord Hill's death. At p. 22. he draws an exaggerated picture of the financial difficulties of Lord Melbourne's Ministry, and states that the deficit of 1841 'promised 'to be doubled in the ensuing year by the enormous expenses of 'the Affghanistan expedition, which had already cost 10,000,000*l.*, 'and left a deficit of 2,500,000*l.* on the Indian revenue, *which could only be made up from the Exchequer of Great Britain.*' He cannot be ignorant that the expenses of this war and of other Indian wars were not paid by England. Two pages further on, we read the mythical assertion of 150,000 tons of stones being broken by paupers at Leeds, nor are we referred to any other authority for the statement.

But these are venial errors in comparison of those which follow. The greater part of the seventh volume treats of the Irish Famine and Free Trade. The principal doctrine which Sir A. Alison here sets himself to maintain is, that Irish emigration has been the result neither of the famine of 1846 in any considerable degree, nor of the discoveries of gold in California and Australia, nor of the natural overplus of the population, but mainly and distinctively of Free Trade.

Now, in regard to the capacity of Ireland to sustain its former population, Sir Archibald has unluckily admitted in his sixth volume (p. 158.), where he finds it convenient to set up an antithesis to Lord John Russell's measure touching the Irish Church in 1835, that 'what Ireland required was, not the ab-'straction of 200,000*l.* a year from the Church property, *but* '*the removal of two million emigrants from its shores.*' This nearly amounts to an antecedent destruction by the author himself of his own philippics on Free Trade in the following volume, as affecting what he calls the catastrophe of emigration. If this emigration were required eleven years before the famine took place, or Free Trade began, such a fact greatly detracts from the influences then necessary to bring the emigration into action. Yet the author, after printing in large capitals the diminution of the Irish people in ten years after the famine took place, derisively writes: —

'Struck with consternation at so unprecedented and melancholy a catastrophe, a large and influential party in Great Britain have done their utmost to represent it as the result, not of the change of commercial policy introduced in 1846, but of the mortality and consequent panic produced by the potato rot, and famine thence arising, which ensued in the close of that year.' (Vol. vii. p. 280.)

II. It is time, however, to turn to Sir A. Alison's treatment of the history of continental nations. In a certain degree the scope of his design may here qualify our censure on the execution. The subject is, perhaps, beyond the grasp of a single intellect. Sir Archibald undertakes to narrate the contemporary annals of nearly every state of Europe, to criticise each important event and even to sketch the character and institutions of each country. The first of these objects demands deep research; the second calls for profound reflection; the third requires a long personal experience of each country thus described.

Yet, even overlooking the mingled vanity and temerity of the design, the blunders of execution bring the whole book into ridicule. It is needless to challenge the accuracy of the author's leading statements; they are flatly and perpetually contradicted by himself. We might fill many pages by simply collating statement and counter-statement. This is the most signal evidence of bookmaking that can be adduced. The fact shows that Sir A. Alison sits down to write a history of Europe without previous knowledge or preconceived notions. Take the chapters on France, Russia, Spain, or Germany. We cheerfully admit, on the other hand, that these chapters contain a narrative of events which is interesting and even *entraînant.* The faculty thus displayed by the author — and it is no mean one — has alone saved the work from total perdition. But this very characteristic adds to the evil; for it augments its tendency to mislead the reader.

Let us glance at the chapter on Russia in the second volume. Sir Archibald begins by describing the extent of that empire. He thus characterises it in 1807: —

'It was hard to say whether it had prospered most from victory or defeat. The carnage of Eylau, the overthrow of Tilsit, led only to the incorporation of Finland with its vast dominions, the acquisition of a considerable territory from its ally Prussia, the consolidation of its power in Georgia and the Caucasus, and the incorporation of Moldavia and Wallachia, and the extension of its southern frontier to the Danube. And although, during the first agonies of the French invasion, these valuable provinces were in part abandoned, and the Pruth was fixed on as the boundary *in the mean time* of the Empire, yet it was at the *time* evident, what the event has since abundantly proved, that this unwonted retirement of the Russian eagle was for a *time* only,' &c. (Pp. 114–5.)

The misstatement of fact is as great as the obliquity of the reasoning. 1. 'Tilsit,' instead of an 'overthrow,' was the most successful treaty Russia ever concluded. 2. The power of Russia has never been entirely 'consolidated' in Georgia and

the Caucasus, which have remained a contested dominion. 3. Moldavia and Wallachia never were 'incorporated' with Russia; 4. nor was the Pruth chosen as the boundary in the 'mean time' (i. e. during the French invasion), for it has remained the boundary from that time to this. To condemn the contemptuous haste of composition evinced in the recurrence of words is probably superfluous. A few pages further, the author speaks of extinguishing the '*conflagration* which had set Europe 'in *flames!*'

Sir Archibald then diverges to Poland in 1815, which he describes as 'a state nominally independent.'

'A constitutional monarchy, *and the form at least of representative institutions*, were by the strenuous efforts of France and England established at Warsaw; *but it was the form only.*' (P. 115.)

It might have been imagined that such a fiction of freedom as the Polish constitution is here described to have been, could neither test the capacity of the Poles for representative government, nor render them responsible for laws thus enacted. Nevertheless, we read at p. 123.: —

'But they [constitutional privileges] proved *worse than useless* in practice, and their entire failure adds another to the numerous instances which history affords of the extreme danger of *transplanting institutions* suitable to one race and state of society, to men inheriting a different blood, and in a different state of political existence.' . . . 'They [probably the Polish assembly, but there is no antecedent in the text] were seldom convoked, and, when assembled, more than once were abruptly dissolved. Poland flourished under the Russian rule prior to the calamitous revolt of 1830, not in consequence of her representatives, but in spite of them. *No salutary or useful measures* are to be traced to their influence.'

How could 'constitutional privileges' prove otherwise than 'useless,' if they existed only 'in form?' How could 'salutary 'measures' possibly be 'traced to the influence' of the representatives, if the representatives had no power to pass measures, to say nothing of their being 'rarely convoked,' and 'more than 'once abruptly dissolved?' And when Sir Archibald describes this qualified restoration of the old Polish constitution as the 'transplanting' of foreign institutions, he surely forgets that Poland had been a constitutional and elective monarchy for some centuries before the first partition.

After this morbid depreciation of Parliamentary Government, Sir A. Alison develops, at p. 131., his theory of the unity of Russia, which is succeeded, at p. 168., by a counter-theory of the incurable antagonism of classes throughout the empire. He begins with a wild misconception of the ethnology of European Russia: —

'The cause of this remarkable, and to the other states of Europe most formidable, unity of feeling in the Russian dominions, is to be found, in the first place, as that of all great national peculiarities is, in the original character and disposition of the race. The Russians are not, it is true, encamped on the plains of Scythia as the Turks have been for four centuries on those of the Byzantine empire; they have taken root in the soil; *they constitute its entire inhabitants*; and are now devotedly attached to it by the possession of its surface and the labours of agriculture. But they are not on that account less Oriental in their ideas, feelings, and habits,' &c. (Vol. ii. p. 131.)

The Russian Sclavonic nation numbers 46,000,000, or two-thirds of the empire. But the only people answering to this description are the Muscovites — a small numerical proportion, yet the real authors of Russian policy. The rest of the Russians are no more 'oriental' than the Sclavonians of Hungary and Galicia.

The alleged unity of the Russians is thus stated:—

'They unite the devotion and singleness of purpose of Asia to the industry and material resources of Europe. It is incorrect to say that the Russians, like the inhabitants of England or France (?), are generally loyal, and only occasionally seized by the disturbing passions of revolution or religion. They are loyal at all times, and in all places, and in all circumstances. They can never be brought to combat the Czar but in the name of the Czar. Devotion to the throne is so interwoven with the inmost feelings of their hearts, that it has become part and parcel of their very being; it is as universal as the belief in God or a future state is in other countries. No disturbing or rival passions interfere with the unity of this feeling, which is sublime from its universality, and respectable from its disinterestedness. The Czar is at once their temporal sovereign, their supreme chief, whose will is law in all temporal affairs, and the head of their church, under the ægis of whose protection they alone hope for entrance into paradise in the world to come.' (!) (Pp. 131–2.)

If Sir A. Alison's consistency had been equal to his eloquence, he would not have told us a few pages later that Russia, thus blessed by an indivisible union and unvarying love of despotism, is all the while groaning under the inveterate Whiggery of the educated classes, and the rank Radicalism and persistent opposition of all their inferiors.

'It has been well observed that the great difficulty in Russia is that it contains, in a manner, *two different people* [italics in the original]; the one on a level with the most highly civilised states of Europe, the other at the utmost only fashioned and civilised *by the police*. The Marquis Custine says, "It contains a society half-bar-"barous, *but restrained in order by fear;*" and though that is by no means true of the first people, it is strictly so of the last. The in-

terests, feelings, desires, of these two people are irreconcilable; *an impassable abyss separates them.* That which the first desires with the most passionate ardour is a matter of indifference or unintelligible to the other. The highly educated classes, acquainted with the society, familiar with the literature, impregnated with the ideas of Western Europe, *often sigh for its institutions, its excitements, its freedom.* The immense mass of the peasantry, the great majority of the trading classes, repel such ideas as repugnant to their feelings, at variance with their habits, subversive of their faith. *The first long for parliaments, elections, constitutional government, a national literature, a free press.*' (P. 168.)

The painter annihilates his own portrait. It now appears that, in place of this holy union of the Russians, in which the Czar is at once the idol of their government and the mediator of their religion, there are 'two different people,' 'separated 'by an impassable abyss'—of which the one longs for all the machinery of English representative government, while the other is controlled 'by the police,' and only 'restrained in order 'by fear!'

One more glance at this chapter, and we turn from it. The picture of Russian loyalty, harmony, and fellowship, at p. 131., is marred by the still more candid admission, at p. 147., that 'despotism is the general system, *force* the constant weapon of 'authority, *fear the universal basis of government.*' After stating that corporal punishment is general in the empire, the author describes it (p. 149.) as recalling 'the horrors of slavery 'among the boasted republican institutions of America.' At p. 161. we read that, 'if we are to form our opinion from the 'example of Russia, we should be forced to conclude that the 'principle of despotism is corruption!' Could self-contradiction be stretched further?

Let us turn next to the chapters on the domestic history of France. Here there is certainly much in the mere narrative of events that is interesting; and the parliamentary history of the three reigns from 1815 to 1848 is often written with spirit and vivacity, though it is spoiled by innumerable paragraphs of weak and pompous declamation. But whenever facts conflict with the author's antecedent theories, the most startling construction is put upon them, and the facts themselves are dressed up with his wonted inaccuracy.

Take, as an example, Sir Archibald's censure on the desertion of the troops of Charles X. in 1830:—

'What has been the final result to the liberties of France, and with them the cause of freedom throughout the whole world (?), of this *desertion by the French soldiers of the first of military duties,* that of fidelity to their king? . . . . . What is to be expected of the insur-

rection of soldiers — or what is the same thing, *the desertion of their duty* in presence of insurrection—but the establishment of the empire of the sword? . . . . . *Who but the soldiers forgot their oaths amid the cheers of the multitude,* and for ever ruined the cause of freedom in their country, by establishing it on the basis of *treachery and treason?*' (Vol. iii. p. 558.)

But on the very same page, Sir A. Alison tells us that these very troops, thus stigmatised for desertion and treason, went over at last under sheer starvation, to which they were subjected by their own government: —

'In justice to the soldiers who were guilty of this *disgraceful tergiversation,* however, it must be observed that the government and military authorities committed a *signal mistake* in leaving the troops, as they did, *for days together,* in presence of the mob, *without either food to support their strength* or action to invigorate their spirits.' (Vol. iii. pp. 558-59.)

For a starved army to go over to the civil population is 'treachery,' 'treason,' 'disgraceful tergiversation,' &c.; but for a government deliberately to starve its army in its own capital is, in Sir A. Alison's logic, no more than 'a signal mistake.' Might not Sir Archibald himself, in a similar trial, find even his antipathy to the resumption of cash payments 'melting,' as Scott says, 'like wax in the sunshine'?

We can hardly pass over the author's comparison between the government of the Restoration and that of Louis Philippe. Thus he writes: —

'Historians of all parties now refer to the fifteen years of the Restoration as the only *one* (?) in which real freedom prevailed in France; in which individual liberty was safe, *public discussion unrestrained* (!), the authority of the crown tempered by the weight of the legislature, general prosperity established on the firm basis of universal security.' (Vol. iii. pp. 557-58.)

Now Sir A. Alison, in his anxiety to vindicate the last act of legitimacy in France, argues the legality of the ordinances of 1830 on the ground that the Charter endued the sovereign with the prerogative of overruling the normal guarantees of the constitution, and that this prerogative 'had in fact been *repeatedly* 'exercised under circumstances less critical than those in which 'Charles X. was at last placed;' although, as he pretends, 'with the cordial and loud approbation of the whole liberal 'party in France' (p. 586.). Leaving the obvious inaccuracy of the last assertion to answer itself, we have here the picture of a government 'repeatedly' interfering with the right of 'public discussion,' which has just before been described as 'unrestrained.'

There is no doubt, indeed, that the government of Louis Philippe was not in fact what it was in theory; but Sir Archibald grossly overstates his case in saying 'that force 'and corruption were the principles of that government.' But when he describes the Restoration as the only period 'in which 'real freedom prevailed in France,' how does he reconcile his assertion with the fact — not only that popular privileges were thus habitually overruled — but that during nearly the whole of the long ministry of Villèle, France made herself the agent of the Holy Alliance for the re-establishment of despotism in Spain? And when he characterises the Restoration — in contrast to the reign of Louis Philippe — as diffusing 'universal security,' he forgets that he has just before (vol. iii. p. 495.) been unravelling the whole scheme of the ministers of Charles X. to upset the territorial system of 1815, by seizing the line of the Rhine and appropriating Belgium, by again wresting Hanover from England and dividing it between Prussia and Holland, and by supporting the advance of Russia on Constantinople. Is there a parallel to either aggression in the foreign policy of Louis Philippe?

Indeed, the chapters on France in the seventh volume, sufficiently convince us that the author can have no knowledge of what the state of that country under Louis Philippe really was. Did ever writer more flatly refute himself than Sir A. Alison on French taxation from 1841 to 1847? Thus:—

(Vol. vii. p. 415.)

'The cities all exhibited unequivocal marks of growing prosperity; the capital teemed with luxury and magnificence; the general well-being reacted on the government in the most agreeable way, in the shape of a considerable increase of revenue, *without any addition to the public burdens.*'

(Vol. vii. p. 417.)

'In such a state of society, the affluence and growing riches of the bourgeois class derived chiefly from the expenditure of foreigners or speculations in railway shares, were a grievance the more, and tended to widen the breach which separated the different classes from each other; for in their much-envied rulers — the shopkeepers and richer proprietors — they beheld the class which had reft from them the spoils of a revolution, *and fearfully augmented the public burdens.*'

There is equal confusion in the author's indicia of prosperity in France. Thus, at p. 415. he describes the immense expenditure of the state, as well as of individuals, on railways in 1841-47 as 'diffusing general confidence in the stability of

'government;' while, at p. 419., he speaks of the loans raised by the state for railway enterprise as 'the climax' of a deficit which brought 'the finances of the country into the most alarming situation,' and as an encroachment 'on the credit or resources of future years,' extorted under 'the dread of insurrection among the working classes.'

Take next Sir A. Alison's history of Germany from 1814 to 1848. It commences the fifth volume. The object of this chapter appears to be that of writing up kingly power, and of condemning all such popular privileges as the nation attempts to take with its own hand, when it despairs of obtaining them otherwise. We do not feel less antipathy than Sir Archibald to revolutions; but as we believe that good government never produces revolution, so we commonly lay the chief blame of the revolution, when it arises, on the government which it is designed to overthrow. Thus we not only differ with our author *à priori;* we shall find equal reason to dissent from him *à posteriori* also.

The chapter in question opens, however, with a statement of the settlement made by Germany with France at the close of the war in 1815. The general conduct of the Germans, in that instance, needs no eulogy. They certainly did not retaliate on France the oppression which France had exercised on themselves. But the special panegyric of Sir A. Alison is quite out of place; and the author does not even state the facts of the case:—

'Moderation, unparalleled after so many triumphs, regulated their demands in the hour of victory. They neither imitated the example of Louis XIV., who in many successful campaigns *be*spoiled (?) them of their territories on the left bank of the Rhine; nor of the Russians, who have never made peace for a century and a half without an accession of territory; nor of Napoleon, who, by the treaty of Tilsit, robbed Prussia of half its dominions after a single campaign. Scarcely a village was taken from France after the double capture of its capital by the arms of the German nations. "France as in 1789," was the basis of the treaties alike in 1814 and 1815. To this singular moderation in the hour of victory the solid foundation and long continuance of the peace, concluded within the French capital, is mainly to be ascribed.' (Vol. v. pp. 2, 3.)

The Germans are not a conquering people; and they have no doubt commonly waged defensive wars, while the French and Russians have commonly waged offensive wars. But Sir Archibald forgets that the allies did in fact deprive France of an immense territory, which she certainly had held in right of conquest or uncontested annexation, and had in public law a claim to hold irrespectively of her form of government. Such

were the Low Countries, the kingdom of Italy, and the anomalous rights of France in Germany; and in the congress of Prague, in 1813, the allies had been willing to acknowledge the French empire from the German Ocean to the Adriatic. So much for the terms of peace consequent on the first invasion of France. After the second invasion, the terms of the allies became more severe, though that invasion was undertaken to restore to the King of France the dominions secured to him by the previous settlement; and in point of fact, the allies, among whom Austria was pre-eminent, levied 60,000,000*l.* upon France, in payment of the expenses of the war, which was so great a burden that Louis XVIII., while Bonaparte was in Elba, threatened Austria with hostilities. Of this Sir A. Alison makes no mention. He thus again compromises his historical credit in a morbid desire to draw contrasts in unjust extremes between revolution and legitimacy; while the truth is sufficient to show that Germany, when victorious, observed more moderation than she had experienced when conquered.

The author's account of the struggle for parliamentary government in Germany betrays great inconsistency. He thus writes in one place with marked justice, after citing the Fundamental Act of 8th June, 1815, respecting an organisation of elective legislatures throughout Germany, to commence on the 1st September following: —

'The monarchs of Germany broke faith as completely with the people who had won for them the victory, after it was gained, as the Tiers Etat of France did with the clergy.' . . . 'Ten days after the signature of this solemn act of the Confederation, which guaranteed parliaments to all the states of Germany, the battle of Waterloo was fought, the independence of the country was secured, and, with the danger, all memory of the promises passed away. The 1st of September came, but no committee met to arrange and settle the organisation of the provincial and national representation in Prussia. Years elapsed, but nothing was done generally towards the formation of estates of the realm in any countries of the Confederation.' (Vol. v. pp. 17, 18.)

No observation can be more clear and just; but this lucid interval of judgment is followed by a declamation against the Germans for their insurrectionary movement in 1819. The author has censured the governments for not reforming between June and September, yet he next censures the people who waited four years for the reforms that had been promised. He has shown in his former work that the Germans in 1813 were as loyal as they were patriotic; and the passage just cited explains their disaffection in 1819. He condemns, again, the movement

of 1819 for destroying the hopes of free government, and provoking the harsh policy of the Congress of Carlsbad; while he has shown that the German Courts had repudiated the principle of free government, near four years previously.

The most ludicrous break down of his Conservative prepossessions occurs in treating the events of 1830. This arises from a terrible flounder in chronology.

Sir Archibald supposes the Zollverein, or Prussian Customs' League, not only to date prior to 1830, but to have comprehended, about the year 1823 — before it had any existence whatever — the whole German Confederacy. Thus he writes under the heading, 'wisdom of the internal government of 'Prussia,' between 1815 and 1830: —

'Free trade was established in its most unlimited sense, not only between all the provinces of the Empire, but between *all the states of the Confederacy.*' (P. 42.)

And after describing other elements of Prussian progress in the same period, he draws the conclusion that the development of free government from this national growth was arrested by the Revolution of 1830, which, in fact, so far as the Zollverein is concerned, created the 'wise government'! We sympathise with Lord Derby for this apostasy of his literary champion to Free Trade, and cite the passage expressing the conclusion in question: —

'It is probable, therefore, that the rapid growth of population, wealth, and prosperity in Prussia, would have had its usual effect of inducing a struggle for political power much earlier than it actually occurred, were it not for another event which occurred ere long, and for a considerable period totally altered the ideas and prevailing passions of men. That event was the French Revolution of 1830.

'Calamitous in every quarter to the interests of freedom, that great event was in an especial manner fatal to Teutonic liberty.' (Vol. v. p. 43.)

It unfortunately happens that although a temporary Customs' union of a few states preceded the year 1830, the Zollverein was first permanently organised after that year. It has since gradually extended itself; but even now it does not comprehend all Germany, as Sir A. Alison imagines that it did in 1823.

These examples bear out the general character we have assigned to this part of the work. There are, no doubt, other passages of interest and credibility. But it has been our object to show simply whether Sir A. Alison may be accepted as a guide on the internal condition of foreign countries.

III. We now proceed to the international relations of Europe, which may be classed in four periods. The first extends from the Congress of Troppau, 1820, to the Treaty of Adrianople, 1829. The second from the French Revolution of 1830 to the settlement of Poland, Belgium, and the Spanish and Portuguese successions; the third chiefly relates to the Eastern Question 1840–41, and the Spanish marriages 1846; and the fourth to the events which marked the revolutions of 1848–49. We shall take an instance or two of Sir A. Alison's mode of treating each of these periods.

The author deals at length with the intervention of the Congress of Verona in Spain in 1822, and with the corresponding support of Spanish America by England. His legal conclusion is that our policy was indefensible, while the intervention of France was just. The question is of sufficient historical importance to deserve inquiry.

'No doubt can now remain that the French invasion of Spain, against which public feeling in this country was so strongly excited at the time, was not only a wise measure on the part of the Bourbon government, but fully justifiable on the best principles of international law. The strength of this case is to be found, not in the absurdity and peril of the Spanish constitution, or even the imminent hazard to which it exposed the royal family in that country, and the entire liberties and property of the country; it is to be found in the violent inroads which the Spanish revolutionists, and their allies to the north of the Pyrenees, were making on France itself, and the extreme hazard to which its institutions were exposed in consequence of their machinations. Ever since the Spanish revolution broke out, France had been kept in a continual ferment.' (Vol. ii. p. 738.)

Sir A. Alison, who here vaguely appeals to 'the best principles 'of international law,' does not cite a single axiom of a single jurist to support a right of intervention. Neither does he state accurately the basis of this intervention, since he ascribes it wholly to the French Government, which in fact simply proceeded as the *Etat limitrophe*, in the capacity of agent of the Congress of Verona, and chiefly through the opposition of Metternich to the passage of Russian troops through Germany. There is no doubt that the Holy Alliance acted on the broad principle which they had just before recognised in Italy, of suppressing revolutionary governments, rather than from the motive of consulting the special interest of France. The invasion of Spain was, therefore, more European than French.

But, independently of this, if Sir Archibald is to justify France, it is not easy for him to condemn England. He impugns our national policy in these terms: —

'*We repealed the laws against foreign enlistment,* permitted expeditions of eight and ten thousand men, many of them Wellington's veterans, to sail from the Thames under the very eye of government, and advanced immense sums by loan to enable the insurgent states to prolong the contest.' . . . .

'What was the justification for this armed and powerful intervention? Was the freedom of England menaced by the re-establishment of Spanish authority in South America? Confessedly it was not. The hope of commercial advantages, the vision of a vast trade with the insurgent states, was the ruling motive.' (Vol. ii. p. 739.)

The fact is precisely the reverse: the Foreign Enlistment Act (59 George III.) was *passed* in 1819, the year in which these occurrences began, and rendered foreign enlistment a misdemeanor.

We come next to the questions arising in 1830, and the immediately succeeding years. There is here a strange inconsistency between the narrative of events and the strictures which are based on them. Where the author writes as an annalist, he is, on this subject, generally accurate; where he writes as a party declaimer, his judgment becomes so warped that it is refuted by his own statements.

The first volume thus succinctly states the changes of this period: —

'The Orleans family continued firmly, and to all appearances permanently, seated on the throne of France. Belgium was revolutionised, *torn from the monarchy of the Netherlands,* and the Cobourg family seated on its throne. The monarchies of Spain and Portugal were overturned, *and a revolutionary dynasty of queens* placed on their thrones, in direct violation of the treaty of Utrecht: while in the east of Europe the last remnants of Polish nationality were extinguished on the banks of the Vistula.' . . . 'The leopards of England joined to the tri-colour standard to wrest Antwerp from Holland, and secure the throne of the Netherlands to a son-in-law of France.' (Vol. i. p. 8.)

First, in regard to Belgium. Sir A. Alison, throughout his work, repeatedly alludes to its severance from Holland as the violent act of France and England. Thus in vol. vii. p. 668., he writes: —

'Since the changes in the ruling party in England, effected by the Reform Bill, its rulers had, in conjunction with France, effected the partition of the kingdom of the Netherlands, and forcibly prevented the victorious arms of their sovereign from regaining his lost inheritance.'

The bare assertion may be true, while the impression it suggests is erroneous. Both these passages stand in the original without further reference to the subject. No one would infer

from either that, before military intervention by England and France had taken place, Belgium had first severed herself from Holland by her own act, and the five great Powers in Congress had then unanimously accepted the popular decision. Such, however, is the known fact, and the confession of the author in vol. iv., where he details the course of events. The independence of Belgium was first settled, *de facto*, by the defeat of the Dutch army before Brussels on the 25th September, 1830. The severance was then confirmed by the voice of the provinces, and by a decree passed by a majority of the Estates. On the 20th December, the Congress of the five Powers formally ratified the separation; the Belgian Assembly, in June, 1831, deviated from the terms of the act of separation; but the five Powers recognised the deviation. Holland thereon declared war against Belgium, whom the Five Powers were pledged to support. The British Government and Louis Philippe then summarily terminated the question by an armed intervention on behalf of Belgium; but the intervention conformed to the policy of the congress, although the credit of thus establishing one of the most stable and prosperous constitutional states of Europe is immediately due to the policy of England and France.

Secondly, with reference to the change in the Spanish succession — the author again visits on this country the responsibility of an act which originated as much in Spain itself as the independence of Belgium in the act of its own people. He writes: —

'The union of the two crowns [France and Spain] on one head was forbidden by the treaty of Utrecht, but not the acquisition of the two crowns by brothers of the same family; the danger which, *by the consequences of Lord Palmerston's own act* in placing the queen on the throne, was now impending. Besides, even if the treaty had been contrary to the treaty of Utrecht, he could not refer to it as founding an objection to its violation; *for having himself set the example of violating the treaty* by setting aside the male line, he could not rest upon it as conferring any other right.' (Vol. vii. p. 616.)

It will hardly be believed that the author who writes this, has before told us (vol. iv.) that the repeal of the law excluding females from the throne of Spain was the act of the Spanish Government, in a decree of Ferdinand VII., made on his deathbed on the 29th of March, 1830, when Polignac was Minister in France, and the Duke of Wellington in England. It also preceded the French Revolution by near four months, though Sir Archibald treats it as a result of that revolution; and the Duke of Wellington, who was Minister for nine months sub-

sequently, made no effort to disturb it. The civil war would, therefore, have taken place independently of foreign events, whatever might otherwise have been its issue. The Powers immediately interested in the question were the parties to the Treaty of Utrecht, which, in 1713, excluded the female descendants of Philip V. from the throne. There are few grosser violations of public law than that interference of a congress with the internal constitution of a sovereign state; and there is a broad distinction between special provisions dictated by necessities of the hour, and such stipulations as affect boundaries and international rights. When, therefore, civil war arose on this question, it was open to England, as a party to the Treaty of Utrecht, to determine whether it should forego the provision it had enforced 120 years before, and with which side it should ally itself. Nor does any one suppose that the legitimist Powers adopted Don Carlos on any other ground than because he represented the despotic cause.

We now turn to the Turkish settlement of 1840 and 1841, in order to dispel the strange misconception of our author on the facts of this case. We have said that he has written two distinct and equally erroneous narratives of this question. Lord Palmerston has always contended in defending the treaties of 1840 and 1841, that Russia was brought by them into English views, whereas Sir A. Alison describes them as bringing England into Russian views. By the treaty of 15th July 1840, England, Russia, Austria, and Prussia undertook the support of the Sultan against Mehemet Ali, in opposition to the views of France, who was suspected of supporting Mehemet Ali against the Sultan. After the operations against the Viceroy, under that treaty, had restored the authority of the Porte, a second treaty was signed on the 13th of July, 1841, jointly between France, Turkey, and the four previously contracting Powers, which finally settled the Eastern question, on the basis of the treaty of the Dardanelles in 1809, and of the ancient usage of the Turkish Empire. By that usage the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles had been neutralised; but in 1833 Russia extorted from Turkey the secret Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, by which Turkey undertook, during eight years, to close the Dardanelles against any Power with whom Russia might be at war. This treaty, therefore, deprived Turkey of maritime support from the Mediterranean from any Power whom Russia might exclude, while it laid Turkey open to Russia from the Black Sea. The treaty of the 13th July, 1841, reversed the Russian treaty of Unkiar Skelessi, and restored the ancient law of the empire. Yet Sir A. Alison, after blundering even in the date

of this treaty — and terming it successively the treaty of the 13th February, the 13th March, and the 13th July — asserts that it *confirmed* the Treaty of Unkiar Skelessi!

'The treaty of the 13th July, 1841, which *first* recognised as part of the public law of Europe the vast concession relative to the passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus, *extorted from the weakness of Turkey by the strength of Russia by the treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi,* is one of the most curious instances on record in the annals of mankind of the insensibility even of the ablest statesmen to the consequences of their own actions, and the danger of being directed in public measures by the memory of the past rather than the anticipation of the future.' (Vol. vi. p. 107.)

Again: —

'. . . Lord Palmerston having succeeded in bringing all Europe into his measures, thought he had secured the independence of the Ottoman Empire *by adopting the Russian treaty of Hunkiar Skelessi,*' &c. (P. 109.)

The same assertion is again repeated in p. 105., and in vol. v. p. 567.

In the first place, the treaty of Unkiar Skelessi had *expired* a few days previously to the signature of that of the 13th of July. In the second, the latter treaty stipulated precisely the reverse of the former. The treaty of 1841 closed the Bosphorus against Russia in peace, which the treaty of 1833 had opened to her; and it opened the Dardanelles to the other Powers in war, which the treaty of 1833 had then closed against them. Sir A. Alison's ignorance is the more extraordinary, that the principle thus asserted in 1841, stands on the face of the treaty as the traditionary maxim of the Ottoman Empire. After these extravagant mistakes, the author pretends to ascribe our war with Russia in 1854 to our capitulation to her in this instance, whereas we had in 1841 rendered her a party to the subversion of her own policy!

There remains, however, one *canard* so preposterous that every other *canard* sinks into insignificance beside it. Sir A. Alison asserts that the French Revolution of 1848 narrowly saved us from a general declaration of war by all the great powers of the Continent! After stating that Russia, Austria, and Prussia had made in common certain propositions to France, at the close of 1847, he writes: —

'It is now known from the revelations of the Ministers of Louis Philippe, that the overtures of the Northern Powers had been accepted by the French Government, and the 15th of March [1848], fixed on for the conclusion of definite arrangements against Great Britain! The Revolution of 1848, by setting the Continental Powers against

each other, *probably saved Great Britain from a contest, single-handed, with a confederacy powerful as that which overthrew France on the field of Leipsic.*' (Vol. vii. p. 669.)

The only authority for this egregious misstatement is a passage from M. d'Haussonville's work on the foreign policy of France, which states — after citing the questions successively in dispute between the British and Continental Governments, from the Spanish marriages to the Swiss insurrection —

'Les grandes puissances de l'Europe venaient témoigner à la France le désir de se concerter avec elle, à l'exclusion de l'Angleterre. . . . . C'était le tour de l'Angleterre d'être mise dans l'isolement.' (*D'Haussonville*, vol. ii. p. 669.)

Any reader of a context too voluminous to be produced here, will see at a glance that it merely imports the intention of the great Continental Powers to settle the Swiss question — then the only one that remained active — to use M. Guizot's words, 'in exclusion of England.' Though, in fact, the Duc de Broglie, M. d'Haussonville's father-in-law, had laboured as Ambassador in London to obtain the concurrence of England against the Sonderbund. This is what Sir A. Alison's imagination transforms into a coalition of all Continental Europe against this country.

IV. This criticism would be incomplete if it took no notice of Sir Archibald Alison's portraiture of the public men who have figured in the history which he writes, or of the men of science and literature who have illustrated its civilisation. Here, again, we acknowledge the industry of the author in attempting to give us a view of nearly every man of eminence, in whatever country and profession. To proceed with objections may be a graceless work. Had the author confined himself to depicting a few characters, his portraits might have been just and discriminating. As they stand, however, they evince little beyond vapid panegyric and vulgar depreciation. There is throughout them a ludicrous recurrence of the same terms of commendation; the same men are also repeatedly reproduced, and the incidents are often singularly inaccurate. These three characteristics apply to the whole gallery of portraits.

Thus nearly every statesman in these sketches is described as 'a most remarkable man,' as though the fact of his being held worthy of a place in a 'History of Europe,' did not presuppose the description. We are told (vol. iv. p. 280.) that Lord Grey 'was, beyond all doubt, a most remarkable man.' Daniel O'Connell (p. 181.) is 'a very remarkable man.' Lord Eldon (p. 102.) is 'one of the most remarkable men who ever sat

'on the woolsack.' M. Thiers (vol. v. p. 620.) is 'undoubtedly 'a very remarkable man.' M. de Talleyrand (vol. vi. p. 17.) is 'a man of remarkable abilities.' Louis XVIII. (vol. ii. p. 733.) is 'undoubtedly a very remarkable man.' In the same way, the panegyric continually turns on the possession of 'abilities of the very highest order.' In vol. iv. (at p. 121.) we read that 'Mr. Canning's talents, both for business and 'debate, were of the very first order.' At p. 182., it is said that O'Connell's 'abilities were of a very high order.' At p. 288., it is written that Lord Palmerston's 'talents 'for diplomacy and administration are unquestionably of a 'very high order;' and again, on the very same page, that 'his abilities are not only of the very highest order,' &c.; in spite of Sir Archibald's compassionate depreciation of Lord Palmerston's foreign policy, in the course of the author's strange blunders in regard to our policy in Turkey. Sir James Graham (p. 293.) possesses 'oratorical and administrative talents 'of a very high order.' Lord Grey (p. 281.) also possesses 'talents of a very high order.' Lord Melbourne alone does not pass muster; or, at any rate, the quality is hypothetical. 'If 'his talents were not of a very high order,' &c. (p. 292.) Kings and subjects fall under the same characteristic. George IV., indeed, with a slight variation (p. 247.), 'undoubtedly pos- 'sessed talents of a very superior kind;' but Louis XVIII. 'possessed talents of the very highest order.'

The mistakes in matters of fact relating to the public men of our own country are still more strange. The political antecedents of Lord John Russell and of Lord Palmerston are surely well known. Yet Sir A. Alison actually speaks of the former as Leader of the House of Commons in 1831 (vol. iv. p. 291.), when Lord Althorp held that office, and Lord John, though conspicuous in carrying the Reform Bill, was not even a member of the Cabinet! He tells us in the same volume (p. 288.) that 'Lord Palmerston has been a member of every 'Administration, with the *single exception* of the short one of 'Lord Derby in 1852, for the last fifty years.' Fifty years before this volume was published (1855), Lord Palmerston was an undergraduate at Cambridge: but the amazing blunder rests in the author's ignorance that Lord Palmerston quitted the Duke of Wellington's Administration of 1828, and that he was a leading opponent of Sir Robert Peel's second Administration, and was out of Parliament during his first. 'Strange to say,' writes Sir Archibald very naïvely, 'his character for consistency 'has not materially suffered from all these changes.' It would have been 'strange,' if 'all these changes' had taken place.

Lord John Russell presents, no doubt, an instance without example in the House of Commons of fidelity to party obligations. But we are not aware that Lord Palmerston changed his colours more than once; and he did so, with Mr. Huskisson and the survivors of the Canning party, on the retrogression of the Tory leaders.

We turn to the chapters on French and German literature. Here is equal confusion of ideas and superficiality of statement. Thus in vol. iii. p. 645., the author writes that 'the French are 'not a poetical nation;' and we read on the same page that 'certainly it is from no want of poetical disposition that there '*have* been, since the rise of free institutions, so little real 'poetry in France; *their* (whose?) prose writers often evince 'its fire.' The characters assigned to writers and their works read as though the author had been bound under contract to write the chapter in a given number of days. The inconsistencies and false grammar evince, too, that his confidence or haste was too great for a perusal of what he had written, before it was consigned to the printer. He sails throughout over a calm sea of generalities; and there is scarcely an instance of accurate thought or original reflection in the whole chapter. His character of M. de Lamartine is an atrocious disfigurement. His good taste, in writing of a rival and living author whom fortune has depressed, does not preclude him, as we have intimated, from describing Lamartine as 'inspired with the most inordinate and contemptible vanity' (vol. iii. p. 612.), although we are not aware that Lamartine was ever obnoxious to the charge, from which his critic can hardly escape, of dealing with subjects beyond his comprehension and his knowledge. Indeed, one instinctively catches a reflection of the author himself, where he says of Lamartine that 'he forms 'his opinions from his impressions, not his impressions from his 'opinions,'—as where he candidly acknowledges, in speaking of Madame de Staël, that 'no man is a good judge of his own 'performances,'—and gravely complains of Lord Brougham, that 'his verbose habit is much to be regretted.' If we turn to the seventh volume, we shall find a new character of Lamartine, still absurd for its self-contradiction. Thus, at p. 500., we read that 'he inherited from his ancestors feelings of *disinterested loyalty.*' Yet in the very next paragraph, he is not only stigmatised for his 'discreditable tergiversation,' but censured for not placing 'the Regent's Crown on the head of the Duchess of Orleans' in the Revolution of 1848, on the ground that, 'being *blinded by* '*vanity, and dazzled by ambition, he then aspired to nothing less* '*than becoming Dictator himself*' (*!*) Such is Sir A. Alison's

illustration of the short-lived character he allows M. de Lamartine for 'disinterested loyalty.' Again, we are informed that 'Sismondi, if the most valuable qualities of a historian are considered, is the greatest writer in that department which France 'ever produced.' Of M. Thiers, Sir Archibald observes, with strange looseness of expression, that 'his *chief defect* is the 'almost entire absence of *quotation* of authority; and its *inevitable consequence*, great and frequent inaccuracy in details' (vol. iii. p. 621.). To this proposition we demur. Surely a writer's accuracy is not 'inevitably' involved in his citation of his authorities; and if this were the 'chief defect' of M. Thiers, we should not have much reason to complain of him. From the converse thereof we equally dissent, for Sir A. Alison himself is prodigal both of quotation and of error. Of M. Villemain, Sir Archibald says that several of his works 'will stand the *test* of general *admiration!*' In touching M. de Tocqueville the author conspicuously introduces the 'verification' of some opinions which he appears to have before expressed; and after compassionating the presumption of M. de Tocqueville's political prophecy (p. 641.)— where he asserts the eventual universality of republican government — Sir Archibald himself brings forth the counter-prophecy, that democracy will be superseded by despotism in America, just as it has been in France; as though he could argue from a state possessing all the machinery of military usurpation, to a state, in spite of intestine divisions, equally free and democratic in spirit and institutions.

Sir Archibald's chapter on the Literature of Germany surpasses, if possible, all his former efforts, in impertinence, ignorance, and absurdity. Every page contains errors and contradictions of so gross a kind, that we cannot conceive from what sources he has contrived to pick up such an astonishing medley of inaccuracies. He does not even know who are Germans and who are not. Thus he says in one passage, that the Empress Catherine of Russia was 'a *Livonian princess*, who thus connected 'the House of Romanoff with several reigning families in the 'north of Germany'— evidently confounding her in one sense with Catherine, the wife of Peter, who was a *Livonian peasant;* whereas Catherine II. was a princess of the House of Anhalt. So again he says, 'the Teutonic race may boast of Copernicus,' who was born at Thorn *in Prussian Poland.* Does Sir Alison imagine that Thorn belonged to Prussia, or that Poland had been partitioned before Copernicus was born? Or does he not know that the name of that great astronomer was Kopernik, a Polish name, and a Polish family? Again, he reckons Tycho Brahe as of the Teutonic race, if not the soil of Germany; and

he styles Œhlenschläger '*the most national poet* that *Germany* ever produced'; evidently in total ignorance of the fact, that Œhlenschläger was simply no German at all, but a Dane; that he wrote in Danish originally, and that his nationality was essentially, not Teutonic, but Scandinavian.

With this amount of knowledge of the rudiments of German biography, it may be conceived what is the value of Sir Archibald Alison's criticisms of the literature of that country. We can only describe it by saying that his presumption is on a par with his ignorance. A few examples will prove our assertion without another comment.

In speaking of Lessing, he says, with some truth, that his genius was chiefly critical; but, when he adds that his dramas 'are still more mediocre than his essays,' and are an imitation of Voltaire, it is evident that Sir Archibald never heard of such a piece as 'Nathan the Wise.' Wieland is treated with more favour; indeed, by a ludicrous inversion of their true position, he is described as a 'mightier genius' than Lessing, and his 'fascinating' works are compared by this judicious admirer to *the Crystal Palace at Sydenham!* Goethe, we are told, had no such acquired gifts; 'his mind was *not*, like that of Wieland, 'stored with the mythology and imagery of the classical times;' one would have thought that the author of the 'Prometheus' might have escaped at least this reproach — that 'Greek 'tree planted,' as Jean Paul said, 'on German soil.' But though not an enlightened heathen, Goethe's Christianity fares no better in Sir Archibald's hands, for he presumes to say:—

> 'It is doubtful if he believed in the immortality of the soul, or had anything but a wavering trust in the existence of a Supreme Being. Certain it is, that he not only disbelieved in Christianity, but had a fixed aversion to its precepts and its very name.' (Vol. v. p. 106.)

We are tempted by such a sentence as this to bring Sir Archibald's own orthodoxy to the test. He says (Vol. v. p. 155.):—

> 'What is the mystery of the Trinity, of which so much is said, but a part, and a very small part only, of the mystery of the omnipresence of the Deity, which no faith in any age has ventured to deny? Every religion that ever prevailed generally among men, has admitted the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of expiation by sacrifice.'

Goethe was not what is termed an orthodox Christian, but we are not aware that he ever said anything more inconsistent with Christian orthodoxy than Sir Archibald Alison has done in this sentence; and as for the charge of disbelief in the immortality of the soul and downright atheism, it is refuted by every page

in Goethe's writings — to quote one example only, by the sublime '*Sie ist gerettet,*' which ends the First Part of Faust.

One word on Sir Archibald's account of Schiller, and we have done. At p. 109. he tells us that 'Schiller was a mannerist, but his mannerism *is that of the Iliad!*' At p. 110. however, we learn that 'his mind was not graphic *like that of Homer;* nor profound like that of Shakspeare; nor tender like those of Virgil and Racine; it is simply heroic.' At p. 111. after having been told that the creator of Thekla and Mary Stuart was not tender, Sir Archibald adds that 'Schiller's powers of the pathetic are of the very highest kind.' And here we leave him. We are weary of slaughter. Every page in these bulky volumes teems with fallacies so gross, inaccuracies and misstatements so audacious, and contradictions so palpable, that it would require infinitely more space than we are willing to bestow on such a labour, to expose them as they deserve. The book might well be adopted by the Civil Service Commissioners at competitive examinations; they could not do better than call upon candidates to point out the false reasoning, false statements, and false grammar, with which every chapter of it abounds.

To reduce Sir Archibald's blunders to the standard of truth and common sense would indeed be a Herculean task, and we are not disposed to pursue it. But we have said thus much, because the sort of popularity which even this book has acquired is in the highest degree mischievous. Attractive to minds of an inferior or half-educated class by the very defects of its style, it inoculates them with antiquated delusions, and distorts the vision of the mind. Nor is it creditable to English literature that the most voluminous and the most accessible history of our own times should be written in so narrow and perverse a spirit. Sir Archibald Alison has come forward as the spontaneous assailant of the policy which, in its first principles, we advocated before it was carried out, which in actual operation we have since laboured to promote, and which we have not ceased consistently to defend. If this criticism appear unfriendly in spirit, it will be seen that at least it is just in fact; if the language be harsh, it is the language which the author himself has challenged. The distaste with which we recoil from pernicious doctrines, supported by a ridiculous display of incorrect facts and incomplete statistics, is not greater than the sympathy with which we contemplate fair abilities and vast labour so deplorably wasted.

ART. VI. — 1. *Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London.* By D. W. MITCHELL, B.A., F.L.S.; and P. L. SCLATER, M.A. Third edition. London: August, 1859.

2. *Zoological Sketches.* By JOSEPH WOLF. Edited by D. W. MITCHELL. London: 1858.

3. *Annual Reports of the Zoological Society of London:* 1859.

4. *Bulletin de la Société Impériale Zoologique d'Acclimatation.* tom. 1—4.: 1854—1859.

5. *Animaux Utiles, Domestication et Naturalisation.* Par ISIDORE GEOFFROY ST. HILAIRE. Paris: 1854.

6. *Gleanings from Knowsley Menagerie.* 2 vols. 18mo.

AMONG the inventions of the island Atlantis, the prescient mind of Bacon shadowed forth in the following remarkable words, spoken by the Father of Solomon's House, an experimental Zoological Garden: —

'We have also parks and inclosures of all sorts of beasts and birds, which we use not only for view or rareness, but likewise for dissections and trials, that thereby we may take light what may be wrought on the body of man; wherein we find many strange effects; as, continuing life in them, though divers parts, which you account vital, be perished and taken forth; resuscitating of some that seem dead in appearance and the like. We try also poisons and other medicines upon them, as well of surgery as physic. By art likewise we make them greater or taller than their kind is, and contrariwise dwarf them and stay their growth. We make them more fruitful and bearing than their kind is, and contrariwise barren and not generative. Also we make them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways. We find means to make commixtures of divers kinds, which have produced many new kinds, and them not barren, as the general opinion is. . . . . We have also particular pools where we make trials upon fishes, as we have said before of beasts and birds. We have also places for breed and generation of those kinds of worms and flies which are of special use, such as are with you, your silkworms and bees.'

The scheme which Bacon suggested has been in some measure fulfilled in the menagerie attached to the Museum of Natural History in the Jardin des Plantes, whence Cuvier derived most of the materials for his immortal works, and in the Zoological Society's establishment in London, whence Professor Owen has in the same way matured many of his discoveries. In the date of its origin, the Menagerie in Paris far precedes the other collections of Europe, having been commenced in the year 1809, under the direction of its projector, the celebrated Geoffroy St. Hilaire.

That great advantage has been derived from these collections is a fact acknowledged by physiologists on all hands, and there is scarcely a volume of transactions published in Europe without indications of their usefulness as 'trial places.' The development of the mammalian embryo, the germ of life in every stage of its progress in the ornithic ovum, the transition of form from class to class, and all the recent revelations of the archetype, could never have been demonstrated without the aid of these collections. Comparative anatomy in its modern condition of advancement has grown out of them, and with their extension the investigation of other mysteries will similarly expand. When some new agent affecting life dawns upon the world, the inventor resorts to the vivarium for his first essays. Chloroform commenced fatally upon the little rodents to which it was administered; but its manipulation having been gradually ameliorated and made certain by the sacrifice of these animals, it has conferred on mankind the universal blessing of an ægis against pain. Bacon's idea of tracing the seat of life, is curiously illustrated by Mr. Waterton's account of the tortoise he dissected at Rome, which being accidentally left in an unfinished state one evening, after abstraction of the brain, was found alive when he returned to his work in the morning. The reproduction of limbs in insects, and even of heads in the lower organisations, with a multitude of other curious phenomena, have been detected by the agency of the vivarium; and, in short, there is no end to the revelations of the great mystery of life which may be deduced from the future management of these schools of nature.

That animals may, by judicious selection of the parents and the perpetuation of accidental variations, be brought to an almost ideal perfection, is very well proved among our domestic animals, the finest races of which have all been produced since the time at which Bacon wrote — 'by art likewise we make 'them greater or taller than their kind is:' — 'Also we make 'them differ in colour, shape, activity, many ways.' The words might serve for the motto of the Smithfield Club.

Amsterdam, Antwerp, Brussels, Ghent, Marseilles, have followed the greater establishments of Paris and London, with similar though smaller results; and could the spirit of Bacon glide through their alleys green, it would luxuriate in the abundant material for testing the practicability of his theories, which the modern extension of natural science has gathered together in the series thus presented to examination within the last thirty years. All these institutions, however, have addressed themselves to the typical illustration of principal forms or to

mere exhibition rather than to *reproduction* and *acclimatisation*. These practical results have in fact been so entirely lost sight of for ages, that the turkey in 1524, the musk duck in 1650, the gold pheasant in 1725, and the silver pheasant in 1740, are the only additions to our catalogue of domesticated animals since the Christian era.

Although the Zoological Society had among its primary objects the introduction and acclimatisation of exotic animals both for ornament and use, the original scheme was frustrated or postponed by the force of circumstances or by errors in management. The farm at Kingston was abandoned several years ago; and with the exception of the introduction of the Sandwich Island goose, the ashy-headed goose, and a few other minor species of birds, nothing was done until 1852 or 1853, when the acclimatisation of the eland, now considered a *fait accompli*, may be said to have commenced. Their next successful effort was the introduction of certain species of Himalayan pheasants in 1857; and as there is sufficient evidence of the favourable result of that experiment, it is probable that they will make efforts to complete it.

The peculiarly utilitarian impulse given to natural science in France, aided in no small degree by the Report on certain questions relative to the naturalisation of useful animals by M. Isidore Geoffroy St. Hilaire, published at the request of the Minister of Agriculture, gave birth to the Imperial Zoological *Société d'Acclimatation*, which has been so universally received and supported, that its muster roll is now perfectly cosmopolite, and includes already fourteen sovereigns, with working members in every country in Europe, and many beyond its limits. The activity which has affiliated half a dozen branch societies throughout the departments of France; the introduction of the yak, by M. Montigny; the acclimatisation of two species of silk moth and the production of a fertile hybrid between these species; and the introduction of the igname and the sorgho rapidly following each other, made the necessity of establishing a vivarium, specially adapted to the purposes of acclimatisation, to contain a collection of acclimatised species, and to become a centre from which the operations of the Society could be extended in every direction on a large and solid scale, so apparent, that at the end of the season of 1858, it was determined to carry out the scheme which had been foreseen and provided for from the foundation of the Society. A section of the Bois de Boulogne, comprehending nearly forty acres of salubrious soil, has been appropriated by the city of Paris to the purposes of this vivarium and garden, and we may presume that all the

appliances which experience and ingenuity can bring to bear upon the undertaking will be made available for its completion. The great defect of all existing vivaria is the total want of plan with which they have been commenced. Taking their origin in very small beginnings, buildings have been huddled together without any arrangement or without any consideration of the possibility of future development, so that at last when they have assumed larger proportions, everything is in the wrong place. If Bacon had practically realised his Atlantic 'trial place,' he would have divided it into regions for each of the principal divisions of the animal kingdom as far as they were known to him; and in each region he would have had an arrangement complete in itself, forming part again of the harmonious whole. The projectors of the Paris Garden of Acclimatisation have seen the error of their predecessors, and the different groups of insects, fish, birds, and mammalia, will be placed in an orderly sequence. Their series being limited to *acclimatisable* species of utility or ornament, is necessarily limited in extent, and will present great lacunæ, if erroneously looked at as a representation of the whole zoological system. But the principle of order even in this restricted application is infinitely more instructive to the public, as well as more convenient in management, than the miscellaneous chaos which assimilated the earlier zoological establishments to the wandering menageries that used to perambulate the country.

One of the most remarkable impressions created by a visit to our own well stocked Zoological Garden is the wonderful capacity of certain groups of animals individually natives of many climates, to adapt themselves to one which differs so essentially from any of their own. We have, for example, the Polynesian Sandwich Island goose, the Australian swan goose, the South African shieldrake, the East and West African spurwings, the South American chloephagæ, the North American summer duck, and the Chinese mandarin, all living side by side and most of them breeding there. In the little Guide Book, drawn up by the late and present secretaries, we find a list of forty species of water-fowl, which seem to be subjected to nearly the same treatment, regardless of their origin. And large as is this list, it might, doubtless, be greatly increased. We have all the ostriches, the South American, Australian, Malasian, and African; we have the little Australian grass parrots, living with the Bengalee copsychus and the North American quail; the New Zealand flightless weka, by the side of the tiger bittern from Nicaragua; we have the Australian bower bird, and the Honduras turkey in the same aviary; we have the South American tapirs in the

next box to the Nubian leucoryx and the South African elands. The great Wapiti deer of Canada adjoins the wilde-beeste on one side, and the Persian deer on the other; and *vis-à-vis* to the zebras lives the golden barasingha of Assam. The obvious conclusion from these facts is, that if properly treated in suitable localities, the greater part of the ruminants, gallinaceous birds, and water-fowl of the known world, may be as certainly acclimatised in Europe as the fallow-deer, the pheasant, the pea-fowl, and the turkey.

Let us take the deer for example. How many

> 'Miles of fertile ground,
> With wall and tower are girded round,'

in the deer parks of England? How many hundreds of thousands of acres are covered by the deer forests of Scotland? And in all this territory, with all this luxury of sporting domains, our great proprietors have but the red-deer, the fallow-deer, and the roe. We trust it may be said without excessive offence to our Highland friends, that the red-deer lives almost always under unnatural conditions in Scotland; compare a head of any age in Harris, or even the finest head in Blair Athol or Breadalbane, with a head of sixty-four points from the Odenwald, and you will see that in the woodlands of Central Europe, and thence eastward to the Carpathians, this noble beast is in his home. No one regrets having red-deer in Scotland, the western verge of their geographical limit, notwithstanding their reduced heads; and being content with such heads as we can grow there, why hesitate to add other species which might thrive at least as well and enhance the interest of the forest a hundredfold?

The red-deer marches on the shores of the Black Sea with a grand stag of greyer colour, with a longer skull, a whiter rump, and heavier horn, which probably extends through the mountains of Asia Minor, and certainly ranges along the Caucasus through Persia to the Valley of Kashmir, if not still further to Nipal. We are told in the 'Guide to the Zoological 'Gardens,' p. 48., that Sir John M'Neil brought the first living specimens of this splendid animal to England in the year 1841. But it appears that his importation became extinct from accident or insufficient management, the last of the lot having died at Knowsley somewhere about 1849. These animals were brought from Persia with immense trouble and expense which might have been avoided; for during the Russian war their western limit was discovered, and the animals which the Zoological Society now possesses, were obtained from Circassia, and

Mr. Burckhardt Barker has sent home a head from Cilicia. Admiral Dundas having given the old male and female to Lord Ducie, they remained for some time at Tortworth, where three fawns were produced, before his lordship gave them to the Society. The oldest of this acclimatised stock have begun to breed in the Zoological Garden at Bristol, and there is therefore every prospect of a herd being rapidly established. At all events, the nearer approach of the species to Europe having been proved by the fact of its existing on the shore of the Black Sea, which was before unknown, there can be no insuperable difficulty as to future importations.

Eastward of the Persian Deer, Maral, Gookoohee, Hungul, or by whatever name it is known in the different provinces of its wide empire, we find the Shou, a mighty beast, who dwells in the forests of Thibet, and stretches perhaps through Northern China to the Kamschatkan Sea. So vast he is, that when the first spoils were brought to Mr. Hodgson at Katmandoo, he thought the American wapiti had crossed the Aleutian chain, and wandered into Central Asia. To transport a wild deer from the plateau of Thibet to Western Europe, seems endless work, but it is not impossible. Sir Jung Bahadoor, in his memorable journey to England nine years ago, was greatly interested by various visits to the Zoological Gardens — he went there on the very first day after his arrival in London — and he offered to present to the Society any or all of the Nipalese animals which they chose to accept at the British Residency in Katmandoo, including his great elephant, said to be the fastest and handsomest in Asia, with his mahout. The present financial position of the Society is sufficiently flourishing to admit of their soliciting the renewal of this offer, which they then thought it prudent to decline.

In Nipal and in Assam is found the golden barasingha (*Cervus duvaucellii*), which is already breeding in the Regent's Park alongside the wapiti and hungul. There is a spirited woodcut after Wolf in the 'Garden Guide,' which gives a good idea of the head this noble species carries. While golden-coloured deer are in our thoughts let us not forget that at the opposite side of the world, in Yucatan, or in the countries adjoining, there lives a deer nearly as large as the barasingha, of which the American Fur Company sometimes has skins: a golden deer as well, but redder — just as we see the orange sunset deeper than the pale gold of morning. This deer is doubtless of the North American form, without brow antlers (*Cariæcus*), of which the half dozen known species would establish themselves in Europe without the slightest difficulty,

just as we may expect to see the South American *Blastocerus paludosus*, which extends from Buenos Ayres to Patagonia, propagated from the pair given to the Zoological Society by Mr. Christie, now her Majesty's minister in Brazil, when he was plenipotentiary to the Argentine republic. A charming little hardy species this, which is singularly marked with a white circle round the eye. Cross the Andes and we have a roe as large as a fallow deer, the gemul of Molina, perhaps, although he called it *Equus bisulcus:* this is a most desirable species, and graceful no doubt as our own. There is, also, the Tartarian roe, which, living in Siberia, would not lose by transplantation to the West. Out of forty-two species of deer, exclusive of the little mouse deer of tropical India, there is scarcely one which would not adapt itself to our seasons.

The same may be said of many of the antelopes. The largest, the heaviest, and altogether the most useful, is the canna, or eland, and its congener the jingli-janga of the Gambia. The eland is the gibier *par excellence* of the South African wilderness; his brisket is 'the dainty bit they set before the 'king.' Every travelling sportsman in Caffraria agrees upon the fine quality of this meat, and a trial made in England in the beginning of last year, under very unfavourable circumstances, fully confirms all that they have said; for the eland is no longer exclusively African. In the catalogue of the animals living at Knowsley, when the late Earl of Derby died in 1851, figured five elands, two males and three females, one of which had been born there. The Zoological Society succeeded to this little herd by bequest. The noble collector had been their President for more than twenty years; he had witnessed the decline of the establishment in the Regent's Park to all but inanition in 1847 with regret, and had rejoiced in the subsequent resuscitation which the council in their last report have candidly and handsomely acknowledged to be due to the exertion and ability of their former secretary, Mr. Mitchell.* De-

* These sheets were already in the hands of the printer when the deplorable event occurred which so painfully terminated the honourable and useful career of this gentleman. The services he had already rendered to natural history in England, he was about to continue on a more extended scale in France; and in a letter we received from him within a very few days of his untimely end, he assured us that the new Garden of Acclimatisation in the Bois de Boulogne, which had been placed by the Emperor of the French under his superintendence, would realise and surpass the fondest dreams of the naturalist. We owe it to the memory of Mr. Mitchell to state, that we have chiefly derived from himself whatever

sirous of marking his sympathy with this improved management, Lord Derby directed that whatever group of animals should be considered most eligible, for the purpose of acclimatisation, at the time of his death, should be transferred from the Knowsley collection in its entirety to the Society's possession. By the advice of Mr. Mitchell the elands were most judiciously chosen, and the result has justified all the expectations which he formed of them. The progress of this acclimatisation, which is now perfected, is related in a short paper published in the 'Bulletin de la Société Impériale d'Acclimatation,' and subsequently noticed in the report of the Society, read at their last anniversary. It appears, from the table given in this document, that up to the 29th of April last twenty eland calves had been produced in England from the Knowsley stock, independently of any which may have been obtained from three of the earliest born females, which were exported to the continent. If the whole number had been kept together up to this time, as was, we believe, the intention of Mr. Mitchell, the united herd would not count less than thirty head. With such a commencement it is clear that the progress of this interesting labour would have gone on much more rapidly, and that the next five years, instead of ten, would have made the eland not uncommon in our parks.

The merit of the first step towards the acclimatisation of the eland in England is incontestibly due to the late Lord Derby. More than twelve years ago his first importation arrived. They bred; but he unfortunately parted with a male. Accident reduced his stock to a single female, who remained barren. Nothing discouraged he recommenced, and in 1851 the animals, so soon transferred to the Zoological Society, arrived — the females in February, the males in July. They were young, and their first calf was not born until 1853 — since then the work has proceeded with great success. Herds of this noble antelope have been founded at Hawkstone by Viscount Hill, at Taymouth by the Marquis of Breadalbane, and at Tatton by Lord Egerton. The stock of the Society is still strong and vigorous, and will, if well managed, continue to supply the nuclei of future home-bred herds — for which applications are constantly made — for years to come.

Lord Hill was the first to profit by the opportunity offered

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may be most worthy of notice in the pages now submitted to the reader, and that the present state of the science of the acclimatisation of animals, to which this article is devoted, had no better or surer guide than his experience.

by the Society, and he has now no less than eight of these animals roaming in his deer park, after having slaughtered a six-year-old male for the table in January last. Though anything but fat, this first essay of the quality of English eland venison satisfactorily corroborated the character unanimously given to it by African sportsmen, travellers, and colonists; the verdicts were taken in not a few gastronomic laboratories—royal, noble, and scientific—of which one only dissented from the rest, evidently because the Archimagirus, prejudiced against the innovation, dried the succulent viand by bad roasting. *Le rotisseur est né.* Carême laboured for a year in perpetual roasting, to complete his studies, after he was a good cook, notwithstanding that he had a natural gift for this peculiar branch of art. Professor Owen was the first to give public testimony to the value of the roasted eland in a letter to the 'Times,' and it is only justice to Messrs. Staples to say here, that never was a dinner more sedulously cooked, or more moderately charged for, than that at which the professor subsequently presided at the Albion, to make a further and not less satisfactory essay on the qualities of the brisket *braisé*.

Nothing can be more stately than the eland, leading out his family along the lovely slopes at Hawkstone, where a great rocky ridge rises in the midst of the park, and stretches nearly through it, affording every variety of shelter. There the pale tawny flanks of the antelope glisten in the morning light; infinitely surpassing the dun deer in colour, while they rival them in grace, their great size makes them immediate objects of attention. Their clean small legs, full of power, push them over hill and dale at a tremendous pace, and if an obstacle opposes, their faculty of leaping is almost incredible compared with their weight.

As an ornamental animal nothing can excel the eland except perhaps the koodoo, which under similar treatment might be acclimatised with equal certainty. As an addition to our economical resources, it appears to be in no way inferior. It combines extraordinary quality of flesh with rapid growth, fecundity, and hardiness, in which it is not exceeded by our best short horns, which on the other hand very often fail to reproduce through excess of the fattening property, or from too closely related blood. It is not too much to expect that in twenty years eland venison will be at least an attainable article of food: and seeing the rapidity with which it arrives at maturity, its weight, and its capacity for feeding, it is quite possible that before the expiration of the century it may be

removed from the category of animals of luxury to the more solid and useful list of the farm.

What has been proved in regard to the acclimatisation of the eland may be predicated of the spring-bok, a lovely little antelope about the size of the roe, which inhabits the eland country in countless thousands, is of most surpassing grace, and excellent as venison. Capt. Sir Cornwallis Harris gives a picturesque sketch of the spring-bok which we quote at second hand from the 'Garden Guide,' p. 59.

'Amongst the many striking novelties which present themselves to the eye of the traveller in Southern Africa, there are perhaps few objects more conspicuous or more beautiful than the dancing herds of graceful spring-boks, which speckle the broad plains of the interior, as well as some of the more remote districts of the Cape Colony. It not unfrequently happens, indeed, that the wide-stretching landscape literally offers no other object to rivet the attention — countless myriads of these interesting ornaments of the desert, which are apparently identical with the *Izebi* of the Hebrews, being scattered like flocks of sheep over the plains and valleys; abounding at times to such an incredible extent, that the whole face of the country, far as the eye can sweep, is absolutely white with their congregated multitudes.

'Matchless in the symmetry of its form, the spring-bok is measurelessly the most elegant and remarkable species of the comprehensive group to which it pertains. The dazzling contrast betwixt the lively cinnamon of its back, and the snowy whiteness of the lower parts, is agreeably heightened by the intensely rich chesnut bands which traverse the flanks — its dark beaming eye, with its innocent and lamb-like expression of face, and the showy folds of gossamer on the haunches — displayed or concealed at the animal's volition — combining to render it one of the most beautiful objects in the animal creation. As the traveller advances over the trackless expanse, hundreds of this delicately-formed antelope bound away on either side of his path with meteor-like and sportive velocity, winging their bird-like flight by a quick succession of those singularly elastic leaps, which have given rise to its colonial appellation, and which enable it to surpass as well in swiftness as in grace almost every other mammiferous quadruped.'

Among the most attractive objects at Knowsley was a little herd of Indian antelopes which subsequently passed into the possession of Lord Hill. As venison this creature has no pretension to compete with the spring-bok, but as an ornamental animal it is equal to any. When the Indian antelopes were let out into the paddock which adjoins their house, the old buck led off in a succession of bounds and generally landed himself in the middle of the space; after going attentively round, he slowly advanced until seeing some branch, or leaf, or blade of dried grass even,

which excited his distrust, he cleared it with a vault into the air which would have carried him over the highest fence in all the wide domain: one by one the herd followed him, and as they came up to the object, every one of them, down to the fawn of a week old, executed exactly the same *tour de force*, each according to its ability, and then came a general gallop—a wild career, round and round, until stopped by another caprice, the old buck pulled up with another high bound, and stood fixed like a statue.

There was a herd of spring-boks too in former days, of whose surpassing value the late Lord Derby was perfectly sensible. They began to breed in the most promising way, and it was his intention to have turned them out in the park, where they would doubtless have succeeded as well as roe-deer: but this design was suddenly cut short by an accidental panic which seized them while shut up in a small house during a thunderstorm. They were found in such a state of broken bones that nearly the whole herd died of their injuries, and an opportunity of recommencing the experiment did not occur in his lordship's lifetime. Sir George Grey has lately given a pair of spring-boks to the Zoological Society, and we earnestly recommend that no pains be spared to propagate this most charming little animal.

The contingencies which are so liable to happen when the stock of a new animal is limited in number, constitute one of the greatest obstacles in first attempts at acclimatisation. A great collection was accumulated at Knowsley: it took five and twenty years to bring it to a useful state; and then when by great perseverance and expense the breeding stock of llamas, alpacas, zebras, deer and antelopes of many species, had been got up to a head which in five years more would have made large and permanent results possible, the invalid possessor succumbed to increased ill-health and died. The fiat for dispersion was pronounced, the whole work crumbled away, and nothing remains to mark the magnitude of his labours except the acclimatised elands and the two privately printed volumes, entitled 'Gleanings in the Menagerie at Knowsley Hall,' which contain but scanty notices of a small though remarkable portion of the collection. With his life, the mechanism which had been prepared for future operations ceased like a watch unwound. His heir, whether fortunately for his country or not, had other tastes more usual in his station, and giving his great talents and resources to the leadership of a political party, he naturally felt little inclined to maintain the somewhat costly luxury of a family of 1500 birds and beasts which were neither

rabbit, hare, nor pheasant. In October 1851 the elements of acclimatisation which had been brought together at so vast an expense were dispersed, by a sale which produced some 6000*l.*

The menagerie at Knowsley was undoubtedly the largest private collection of modern times, and it is to be regretted that no accurate account of it has been preserved. When it is remembered that a hundred acres were devoted to it, with countless buildings, plain indeed and almost unsightly, but of ample size, uncontrolled by any restrictions of a public nature, it will be seen that Knowsley possessed elements of success which can scarcely be reproduced until some one with equal means, equal enthusiasm, and more knowledge, takes up the subject. The most practical method is that which has been pursued with the elands and wapiti in England, and the yaks in France. If a hundred of our great proprietors would each give up the necessary space and money to cultivate a single species of no matter of how great or of how little importance, the result in twenty years would infinitely surpass all that could ever have been done by so miscellaneous and comparatively unmanageable an assemblage as that marvellous accumulation of which we still speak with affection and regret.

Lord Derby had anticipated the Zoological Society with the great anteater, with many deer, antelopes, and bovines, of which many have never been possessed by the Society to this day. But then he took extraordinary means; men were sent to Singapore, to India, to the Cape, to the Rocky Mountains, to Central America, to Norway, to Lapland, to Tunis. In Western Africa he had an annual expedition for some fifteen years, with very various results. Never discouraged by failure, wherever there was a prospect of extending the field of enterprise, funds were forthcoming, and many a collector not actually in his service received liberal subsidies, to enable him to continue labours which would otherwise have been wholly unprofitable. That his liberality was abused is not to be wondered at; and he sometimes indulged in a gentle smile at the rapacity with which one of his regular purveyors continued to extort high prices for objects which he already possessed in duplicate, or for which no other person would have given half the amount.

As acclimatisation is evidently a slow and somewhat tedious process, it is much to be admired that our neighbours across the Channel have put it upon a sounder footing, and have not only instituted a powerful Society to inaugurate the movement, but have advanced so far as to give practical effect to their seven years' literary preparation by subscribing a sufficient capital to found the establishment which we have already noticed, in the

most favourable situation in the Bois de Boulogne. Here the first operations will be carried out on a scale of completeness which is intended to combine everything that has been already achieved by preceding experience either in ancient or modern times. All that Bacon foreshadowed; all that Lord Derby longed for; all that the inherent desire to excel can lead the energetic people of France to anticipate or aspire to in a pursuit towards which popular attention is from day to day more forcibly attracted, will most probably be accomplished. Whether the large measure of success which the incentive of M. Geoffroy St. Hilaire has led them to aim at will be attained—whether the long interval to which the eland acclimatisation has put a limit will be permanently broken down—whether or not new species will be annually added to our parks, to our farms, and to our poultry-yards, the attempt deserves the highest approbation and all the support it receives from the Government and the Municipalities of France. The nature of the establishment obviates all the uncertainty of private collections, and its specific object controls the caprice of board management: it affords more probability of success than we have hitherto seen in Zoological Gardens or in the 'Menagerie d'Observation Zoologique' attached to the Museum of Natural History.

The existing Zoological Gardens of Europe, with the exception of the Jardin des Plantes at Paris, are the work of the present century. We have them springing up freely now: Marseilles, Frankfort, Rotterdam, Berlin, Vienna, Amsterdam, Brussels, Ghent, Antwerp; and our own Hull, Edinburgh, Manchester, Liverpool, Bristol, Dublin, and the Society in the Regent's Park. The principal fault of the latter is the irreparable want of arrangement in the general plan, and the sacrifice of much of the useful to the purposes of mere exhibition. But it contains by far the largest collection in the world, admirably kept; and for many years past has been vigorously and efficiently managed. Its vicissitudes have been considerable. It commenced with unheard of success, it became intensely the fashion; all Europe went there on Sundays, everybody canvassed for the 'ivory-ticket,' days in advance; and whoever had any pretension to fashion, made himself agreeable by acquiring one or more to give away. This lasted for a certain time; but fashionable ardour cooled down, subscriptions were unpaid, many withdrew, many were foolishly removed, bad management of every kind ensued, and between 1840 and 1847 the income fell to half its amount, the collection dwindled, the Garden was neglected, and ruin became imminent. By degrees, however, from that great strait, things began to mend, but slowly. It is

very easy to advance success, but to arrest downfall, when public favour is vitality, is ever difficult. Some sensible improvements were made, new relations were cultivated, sympathy was conciliated, people began to think the Society was not so bad as reported — and one morning in the spring of 1850, half a column appeared in the 'Times,' by which its myriad readers learnt that a living hippopotamus had been presented to the Zoological Society by the Pasha of Egypt, through the Hon. Charles Murray, who was then Consul-General at Cairo. The town was taken; all the world applied for a private view of Hippo's arrival, which being impossible, was of course much the more ardently sought for. From that hour the fortunes of the Zoological Society began to revive.

At length the Hippopotamus — the first that had been seen in Europe since the Emperor Commodus slaughtered five of these huge animals in the Flavian Amphitheatre — reached our shores. The late accomplished Secretary of the Society was wont to relate the event with all his characteristic spirit and enthusiasm. We shall endeavour to preserve the language in which he described it. On the 25th of May, 1850, a traveller sitting on the quay at Southampton, as the 'Ripon' steamed up to her berth, detected various strange sights on board of her. The most striking at first was an old, dirty, but statuesque Arab, eighty years old perhaps, looking calmly out of one of the ports; and in the next a young 'Shitan' of the same race, not more than twelve years old, not ugly, but gifted with a flexibility of feature perfectly astounding. The *gamins* of Southampton saluted him with a cheer, which he politely reciprocated by a grimace, and then ensued an interchange of civilities which ended by Mohammed's producing from some fold in his ragged drapery a splendid cobra, hissing and spreading his hood to perfection. The boys knocked under to this royal reptile, and the son of Rafia then reposed in triumph.

No sooner was this little episode ended than another Arab, a dark Nubian, Hamet Saafi el Canaana, protruded his head from the port, with an anxious thoughtful look, and recognising some one at the traveller's side, saluted him with the usual Arab obeisance, and called out smilingly — 'All right, sir, will you 'see him?' and withdrew. Others were looking from the deck, and hurried congratulations were showered down upon this gentleman, who had quietly waited for the steamer's being berthed. The 'traveller,' the grandson of Sterne's inquisitive traveller, no doubt, followed him on board, and got down to between decks without being noticed. An enclosure had been built of boards in the centre under the hatchway, and through an aper-

ture an iron tank some seven feet square was visible within it. Here floated the young Behemoth, not a year old, safe and hearty as if on the bosom of his ancestral Nile. Infinitely more pains had been taken about him than was bestowed on the importations to Rome, for one of the elements of success is never to throw a chance away, and all the prognostications in which the sceptical had indulged, vanished into thin air as Hippo put up his blunt nose and trumpeted a salutation to his Mentor. Hippo was soon high in the air in his house, slung on to the railway truck, which had been brought alongside to receive him: a special train was engaged; Hippo's retinue followed him; cows, goats, and Arabs, for he could not travel without his lactiferous commissariat or his servants; he took with him even his reserve of Nile water, and he took with him a following of friends. In two hours everything was ready for the start; the news of Behemoth's arrival had spread abroad, had run up the line like wild-fire, and all who could crowd into the docks and railway station thronged to see him — vain hope, they only saw a truck surmounted by the house, which, with the now abandoned tank, had been specially constructed for him at Southampton and sent out ready made to Alexandria. All that they saw, and many saw in faith and thankfulness, was the head of Hamet Saafi el Canaana as he looked out through an opening in the canvass to breathe a fresher air than the interior of Hippo's truck afforded.

At this early period of his life Hippo would not suffer the absence of his favourite attendant for a moment without complaining, and he used to revenge himself in every possible and impossible way for any annoyance of this sort. Hamet was extremely patient, he had the prospect of a large 'backshish' if Hippo arrived safe in London, and behaved with exemplary submission. One morning, however, during the voyage, either because such close confinement was insupportable, or because he could not resist a little gossip, or because his absence gave time to not ungrateful passengers to gaze their fill through the door which ought not to be open, Hamet absented himself some minutes beyond the time Hippo had been led by custom to believe was sufficient. Hippo tried all manner of plaintive cries, he tried all manner of violent summons, without effect, and then he was profoundly silent. Hamet thought his freedom was achieved, and then with the air of an emancipated serf he opened his wicket and condescended to return to his tyrant — tyrant no longer, as he hoped. Hippo awaited him with a twinkle of his infant eye, that curious, prominent, versatile eye, which looks every where at once,—as he floated in

the tank so as to command the interior of his house. Hamet, in his great fidelity, used to keep part of his wardrobe in an angle of the roof for convenience of making his toilet without annoying his charge by unnecessary absence. The bundle in which these choice vestments were secured had been pushed down by the revengeful infant, rubbed open with his blunt nose during that ominous silence, and finally left in such a state that neither Hamet, nor the son of Rafia, nor any other being, Mohammedan or Christian, could ever don them again. Hamet is a well conducted Mussulman and not given to indulging in profane language, but he addressed Hippo in terms of the strongest reprehension. Hippo twinkled his eye and shook his head, blew a little trumpet through his nostrils, and smiled in triumphant malevolence.

Hamet's propriety was greatly outraged at times by the wild conduct of the Arab boy who accompanied him. Mohammed el Rafia was an Alexandrian *gamin* of the first water. He understood backshish, perhaps interfered a little with Hamet therein, but was intensely addicted to mischief of every kind. He was overflowing with natural affection, and made it a condition before he came to England that he should have his aged uncle to take care of him. The old man thought Mohammed a wonderful boy, but admitted he was a frightful tyrant. At last, having exhausted all other accessible means of amusement, Mohammed's energy took a didactic turn. He asked for a monkey to educate. Mohammed's *metier* was the manipulation of cobras, after the practice of the tribe of Rafia, who have manipulated snakes since the days of the Pharaohs. He had done all that could be done with snakes, and he wanted a 'distraction,' so he asked for a monkey. A monkey was given to him. But the little brute did not adopt the method of Rarey, and many complaints were made of his cruelty. He asserted that the monkey had a bad disposition and required correction, that all bad dispositions required correction, and that he only gave as much as circumstances and his judgment justified. So far from being cruel, he insisted on taking the monkey to dinner with him. Then came the storm. The excellent keeper who had goodnaturedly taken charge of the Arab mess, declared that it was no part of his duty to sit down with a quadrumane, although he admitted that Jacko was not more troublesome or more personally offensive than the boy, rather the reverse; but still he did not know what the little wretch would do next, and so he would not have it. Then Hamet spoke. 'The boy missed 'the bastinado:' and thereon made a formal request through the proper official that for the comfort of every one concerned,

and for the benefit of the boy himself, he might be permitted to administer the wholesome and much desiderated correction 'pro 're natâ,' or at least twice a week. To this very sensible plan of amelioration English law presented an obstacle, and on Mohammed learning the defeat of Hamet his contrition vanished, and he forthwith evinced every intention of concentrated mischief. It was suggested to him, however, that not only would all backshish be stopped peremptorily, but that he would be sent back to Alexandria with his bare wages payable there, and an earnest recommendation to the chief cadi to bestow on him the arrears of bastinado to which he was so well entitled on arrival. This was effectual; his feet had lost their accustomed insensibility, the prospect was unpleasant, backshish was inviting, he had formed connubial views on the strength of it, so he gave up tormenting his pupil and led a life of some order ever after. Mohammed's manipulation of cobras, asps, and other venomous reptiles was cool to the last degree, and he was extremely disappointed at being denied the pleasure of extracting the fangs of the whole collection and passing them under weekly examination. The rattlesnakes and puff adders particularly engaged his affection, and he cast wistful glances at their lair every time he entered the Ophidarium.

But we must leave this characteristic group of strangers to pass to another — not indeed very widely separated from them. The Society have not been very successful in the domestication of the largest species of monkeys. Three years is the longest duration of life yet attained by orang-utan or chimpanzee in the Zoological Gardens; an opprobrium which the management will not efface until a more rational method of board, lodging, and society is practised towards these painfully human 'anthropoid apes.' Their fatherlands are humid tropical forests, teeming with vegetation; they live in families, if not in larger communities, and the society of their kind is as necessary to them as it is to man. Conversation is indispensable to good spirits, and without good spirits there is no health. The life of a lonely chimpanzee or orang is little better than solitary confinement; how can they support it? Even two of them get tired of one another, and welcome a fresh face with enjoyment. The late secretary of the Zoological Society once repeated in our hearing the following passage of his many recollections: —

'One damp November evening, just before dusk, there arrived a French traveller from Senegal with a companion closely muffled up in a burnoose at his side. On going at his earnest request to speak to him at the gate, he communicated to me the interesting fact that the stranger in the burnoose was a young chim, who had resided in his

family in Senegal for some twelvemonths, and who had accompanied him to England. The animal was in perfect health, but from the state of the atmosphere required good lodging and more tender care than could be found in an hotel. He proposed to sell his friend. I was hard; did not like pulmonic property at that period of the year, having already two of the race in moderate health, but could not refrain from an offer of hospitality during chim's residence in London. Chim was to go to Paris if I did not buy him. So we carried him, burnoose and all, into the house where the lady chims were, and liberated him in the doorway. They had taken tea and were beginning to think of their early couch. When the Senegal Adonis caught sight of them he assumed a jaunty air and advanced with politeness, as if to offer them the last news from Africa. A yell of surprise burst from each chimpanzella as they successively recognised the unexpected arrival. One would have supposed that all the billingsgate of chimpanzeedom rolled from the voluble tongues of these unsophisticated and hitherto unimpressible young ladies; but probably their gesticulations, their shrill exclamations, their shrinkings, their threats, were but well-mannered expressions of welcome to a countryman thus abruptly revealed in the foreign land of their captivity. Sir Chim advanced undaunted, and with the composure of a high-caste pongo: if he had had a hat he would have doffed it incontinently, as it was he only slid out of his burnoose and ascended into the apartment which adjoined his countrywomen, with agile grace; and then, through the transparent separation, he took a closer view. Juliana yelled afresh. Paquita crossed her hands and sat silently with face about three-quarters averted. Sir Chim uttered what may have been a tranquillising phrase, expressive of the great happiness he felt on thus being suddenly restored to the presence of kinswomen in the moment of his deepest bereavement. Juliana calmed. Paquita diminished her angle of aversion, and then Sir Chim, advancing quite close to the division, began what appeared to be a recollection of a minuet. He executed marvellous gestures with a precision and aplomb which were quite enchanting, and when at last he broke out into a quick movement with loud smacking stamps, the ladies were completely carried away and gave him all attention. Friendship was established, refreshments were served, notwithstanding the previous tea, and everybody was apparently satisfied, especially the stranger. Upon asking the Senegal proprietor what the dance meant, he told me that the animal had voluntarily taken to that imitation of his slaves, who used to dance every evening in the courtyard.'

A chimpanzee who was for a short time placed in the society of the children of his owner in this country, not only throve in an extraordinary manner, was perfectly docile and good tempered, but learnt to imitate them. When the eldest little boy wished to tease his playfellow, he used, childlike, to make faces at it. Chim soon outdid him, and one of the funniest things imaginable was to see him blown at and blowing in return; his protrusible lips converted themselves into a trumpet-shaped

instrument, which reminded one immediately of some of the devils of Albert Dürer, or those incredible forms which the old painters used to delight in piling together in their temptations of St. Anthony.

The course to be taken with these curious creatures is very clear. The Zoological Society ought to import a family. Father, mother, and children, would perhaps be difficult; but at all events, a society of five or six. They ought to live in a house specially constructed to reproduce the conditions of a tropical forest; they ought to have a good tempered negro attendant or two, and to be under the special direction of an intelligent guardian, who would attend to their dispositions, wants, and indications of health or disease with unceasing watchfulness. If, as is almost certain, this simple, but perhaps rather costly method succeeded, we should have the chimpanzee civilised by contact with humanity, and his intellect developed to maturity; with what results it might be interesting to speculate.

The oldest chimpanzee ever seen in Europe did not probably exceed nine years, and as she was alone, fell sick and died in the usual way, without having exhibited any marked advance over her predecessors. The animal who died in the Jardin des Plantes in 1854, was probably about five years old, and although of large size, must still be considered as an infant. For we know from the condition of the skulls which have formed the basis of Professor Owen's elaborate papers on the anatomy of the anthropoid apes, that the adult chimpanzee acquires a solidity of dentition and general development which these younger animals were far from having attained.

Who shall write the history of Jacko? The strange eccentric lower world of Jacko, who follows the great gorilla, chimpanzee, and orangs; 'longo proximus Hylobates, sed 'proximus intervallo' — with his artful face, his lithe and agile limbs, his ingenuity, his strong attachments, and his hates. We must leave him — Jacko demands an article to himself. Jacko and his resemblances. 'My poor relations,' said the poet Rogers, 'let me say good-bye to my poor relations,' and he always ended his visit to the Zoological Gardens by a call at the Monkey House.

One of the earliest successes of the Zoological Society, was the importation of giraffes in 1836. They have increased and multiplied very regularly with the help of a little new blood in 1850, and nine fawns have been produced without any casualty, except in the first instance, when bad judgment and over anxiety interfered with the course of nature, and killed the first born. If any one felt disposed to indulge in the luxury, there is no-

thing to prevent a park in the south of Europe being adorned by a herd of giraffes during the summer; and even in England they might be at large from the 20th of June to the 20th of September. They would browse the trees to an awful height with their long sickle-like tongues, but that could be afforded, for the pleasure of seeing their long bird-like heads towering above the foliage of ordinary saplings. Dr. Smith, in his wanderings in South Africa, once came upon an oasis in the wilderness, surrounding a water hole, and thought that he descried a flock of some new species of bird perched upon the summit of the trees. Upon stalking as well as he could, the birds descended with a most unbirdlike drop, out of sight, and upon getting up, he found that he was within shot of a stately herd of giraffes, and so tall, that their long heads carried horizontally among the trees, seemed to be resting on them.

Must we not say a word of the aurochs? *Bison urus*, the contemporary of the mammoth, who still lingers in the Imperial Forest of Bielowicz, a thousand strong, but kept in safety only by the strictest forest law in the world, which makes the unauthorised slaughter of an auroch punishable with death. *Bison urus* is osteologically identical with the bison remains of the mammoth caves, and carries us back to the palæontologic period of European history. The late Emperor of Russia, against his own prognostications of the consequences, yielded to the request of his friend Sir Roderick Murchison, and in 1849 sent to the Zoological Society a pair of these interesting animals. They lived very well for a time, and seemed to have become perfectly settled in the contracted space which was given up to them in the Regent's Park; and perhaps they would have gone on and thriven, had not Pleuroneumania, the cattle scourge, which then raged from one end of England to the other, swept them both off within a week of each other. The bull was growing rapidly, and promised to rival the fine American bison, which perished from the same disease with its mate and calf but a few weeks previously, when, after a gallop, he was observed one fine September morning to heave his flank convulsively — within four days he was dead. That, however, proves nothing against the possibility of breeding aurochs in England; for although the American bison succumbed to the same malady, we know from Lord Breadalbane's success at Taymouth, that this closely allied species lives well in Scotland.

A large number of animals whose very names are scarcely known to our readers would remain to be noticed, if we aspired to complete the catalogue of those creatures which have been successfully reproduced and reared in this country; but for these

details we must refer to the works before us, and we pass to the birds.

Among the acclimatisable birds which have appeared in our Zoological Gardens, the mound-raising genera are altogether the most singular and interesting. The two characteristics which strike most naturally upon popular observation, as distinguishing the class of birds, are undoubtedly the possession of wings wherewith to fly, and the deposition of eggs which they hatch. Latter days have given us the all but *wingless* apteryx, and not only the talegalla or brush turkey, but a whole group of rasorial birds, which abjure the process of hatching, and construct artificial eccaleobions which they manipulate with the skill and regularity of Cantel himself.

The fact of the talegalla's really constructing a mound in which the partial decomposition of vegetable matter generates a sufficient temperature to hatch out the eggs, was first published, we believe, by Mr. Gould, in his splendid folio work on the birds of Australia. The correctness of all his statements was fully maintained by subsequent experience in the Zoological Gardens, where a bird is still living which actually so produced with others in the year. The father of this bird is also living, and it is therefore evident that the species is long lived, and perfectly capable of enduring our climate: when we add that the female talegalla lays at least ten eggs, and that the bird is admitted to be an excellent roast, we have certainly an addition to our poultry yard, which it is worth some pains to obtain and acclimatise. Talegallas are getting scarce in Australia. The Zoological Society should send an expedition for twenty pairs, and resort to their old establishment at Kingston, or some similarly favourable spot under the vale of Richmond Park, and reconstruct a breeding establishment in healthy or on sandy soil, far from the dank clay on which they are compelled to expiate the mistake of their founders in the Regent's Park. Here in a large enclosure, where their health would be perfect, the talegalla might be persuaded to make their mound under a glass roof to protect it from excessive rain, its only want, and nature would do the rest. There is nothing to prevent the successful use of the hatching machine, if the eggs are taken in time, but it is probable that any interference with the mound would prevent the continuance of the lay. Their propensity to make a mound is so strong, that every little bit of material within reach is kicked back daily into the corner selected for the structure, and as soon as it has assumed sufficient dimensions, the male begins to attend to its temperature, and model its summit into the proper form for receiving the eggs. Every morning after

this period, he is restless and uneasy, until the egg is placed in the hollow, and when his mate absents herself, he drives her to the spot, as if he was fearful she should neglect her duty or commit the folly of depositing her egg in the wrong place. The eggs are arranged in a circle perpendicularly, the smaller end downwards; not consecutively, but at different points in the first instance; the intervals between which are filled in afterwards. The eggs are uncovered every morning about nine o'clock, and if the temperature is too high, are left exposed. They are then again covered with a thickness of vegetable matter, according to the heat required, and at all times a cylindrical opening is preserved in this mass, which acts as a chimney to carry off gases, and secures a circulation of a sufficient quantity of air around the stratum of eggs. In about a month from the deposition of the egg, the young bird is matured: he steps out of it like Pallas, armed with feathers and ready to fly; but he does not quit the mound; he remains warmly embedded there, to the great joy of the male, who visits him often, and at night covers him up as closely as if still unhatched. The next day the young talegalla emerges, strong and lusty, with immensely developed feet, with his quill feathers bursting from the sheath, and feeding himself heartily. On the third day he flies like a partridge. The surprising story here given in epitome, was enacted under the daily observation of many persons; and if it has not been again successfully repeated, it is only because a sufficient supply of birds has not been obtained from Australia, to compensate for the casualties which are inevitable to a limited number.

Besides the Talegalla, the Society has had a pair of Mallee birds (*Leipoa ocellata*) from South Australia, and a pair of malcos from the Indian Archipelago, both of which, as well as the whole genus *Megapodius*, have the same singular habit. The lipoas and malcos were never in sufficiently strong health to indulge their instincts, and the mound-hatching phenomenon has hitherto only been exhibited by the brush turkeys — as the talegalla is erroneously called by the colonists.

There is a curious little bit of systematic absurdity in the literary history of the talegalla, which is instructive to the theoretic student of natural history, to show him how utterly useless all his museum work must be, if not supported by continual reference to the living book of nature. Because the talegalla had a bare head and rather straight claws, was black in colour, with some brilliant skin about the neck region, he was pronounced to be an excellent vulture by a theorist who lacked a 'type' to fill a vacancy in some triangular, circular, or oval

scheme, into which he had firmly convinced himself all nature, and every group of animals in nature, resolved themselves. The bare head of the talegalla is extremely convenient for plunging into the decaying leaves of the mounds, the bristly hairs which protect it throw off all impurity and moisture much better than feathers would do, and the strong straight claws and gigantic feet are not intended to deal with carrion, but are most exquisitely adapted for kicking up the grass, leaves, and earth, which he has to throw from long distances to the central mound. The mystery which is so simply resolved by observation, could never have been divined in a gallery of skins, and the enthusiast's mistake might be readily pardoned if he had not endeavoured to cram his theory down his unhappy readers' throat at the point of the pen.

In the list of Gallinaceous birds published by the Prince Charles Bonaparte in the 'Comptes Rendus,'* are enumerated 346 species. Of these we may take 230 to be inhabitants of sufficiently temperate regions to admit of their being more or less acclimatised in Europe. They are universally eatable, prolific, and susceptible of confinement.

Out of all this important order, how many have been made available by domestication? 1. The domestic fowl, whose origin, says M. Marion-Didiorex, is lost in the night of antiquity. 2. The peacock. 3. The guinea fowl. 4. The pheasant. 5. The golden pheasant. 6. The silver pheasant. 7. The ring-necked pheasant; all 'Old World' species. 8. The turkey, sole domesticated product of the New World.

Two thousand years have but doubled the four birds enjoyed by the ancients. We now at last begin to treat this curious question seriously, and at the very outset we find, with the imperfect machinery of the Zoological Society, the Impeyan pheasant, the cheer, and three species of kaluge have been brought from the Himalaya, and are in a fair way of being as permanently added to our hitherto circumscribed list, as are the golden and silver pheasants and the turkey. The treatment which secures five of the Himalayan species, naturally indicates the path by which all the inhabitants of that range from the snow line down to the hot plains may be brought within our reach; and if we do not within ten years place the ceriornis, the pucras, the lerwa, the ithaginis, and all the tetraogalli on our tables, it will be only because the proprietors of our parks and forests do not feel disposed to set apart a little of their annual game expenditure in cultivating new species.

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* Académie des Sciences, vol. xlii. (May 12th, 1856.)

The pheasant is a splendid bird, but he is the least splendid of his kindred. The green pheasant of Japan, already in England, the yellow-flanked ring-neck of China, already in England, the red-flanked ring-neck of Mongolia, the copper pheasant of Japan, and the very long-tailed pheasant of Cochin China, which Mr. Reeves brought home in 1833, are all of beauty still more surpassing. When we go to the rocky gorges of the Himalaya, what a galaxy of glorious colour we find in the monal, in the ceriornis, in the ithaginis—what grace in the pucras, what exquisite pencilling in the snow-partridges, what endless variety of ornamentation in the Satyræ and Lophophon species, which people that vast girdle of mountain land which stretches from Ladak to China. All these birds will live with us, when suitably treated in suitable localities; and although so laborious a work, exposed to so many contingencies, requires a certain extent of time for its accomplishment, it is clear from the experiment of the Zoological Society (for which, imperfect as it is, they deserve the utmost credit) that the whole is practically certain of success.

The 'water birds' of old Bewick is not a bad division, though ignored by systematists who delight in grallatorial and natatorial refinements. 'Water birds' are water-loving birds, and 'land birds' are land-loving birds, with various intensities of affection. It is difficult to see how the water-loving avocet, with his webbed feet, is not a 'water bird;' and the godwit, which scarcely ever leaves the shore; and the moor-hen, which swims either above or below the surface with equal velocity. However, the water birds *par excellence*—the ducks, geese, and swans, are not less capable of confinement and domestication than the game birds. They are excellent on table, when they feed agreeably; they breed freely, and are almost invariably graceful and hardy.

The swans are cosmopolite, ranging from the fur countries of America to Cape Horn, from Spitzbergen to Australia. The inverted nature of everything in Australia is borne out by its production of the impossible 'cygnus niger,' which is not only on that account the most remarkable of swans, but which also happens to be the most prolific. A well-known amateur at Carshalton has had three broods of black swans within twelve months, from the same pair of birds, on the waters of the troutful Wandle; and considering that the cygnets are worth at least ten pounds a pair, he has made very fair interest of his money. The black-necked swan of South America, acclimatised by the Zoological Society, is a still more attractive species, compact in size, brilliant in the contrast of velvet black and snowy white, with a ravishing touch of coral in the bill. The old birds and

their downy young are admirably given by Mr. Wolf in 'the 'zoological sketches,' sailing tranquilly under the green foliage which overhangs their water in the Regent's Park. The sense of security, which water birds appear to make a *sine quâ non* before they betake themselves to family cares, came but slowly to the black-necked swans. It appears from the short note by Mr. Mitchell accompanying Mr. Wolf's drawing, that the old birds were brought to the gardens from Lord Derby's collection at Knowsley in 1851, but evinced no disposition to breed before 1856, and only bred their first young in 1857.

We happened to be whiling away an hour one autumn day in the park, meditating on the delight with which Bacon would have wandered in that 'tryal place of birds and beasts,' and had not long left these very swans; they were four in number then, when the distraught aspect of a keeper, looking anxiously towards the sky, attracted our attention. A black-necked swan was on the wing; making large hilarious circles in the air. She had just discovered she could fly; for four years and more she had been earth-bound by cruel shears, and now she *flew*. Higher and higher she mounted as if she yearned for the Atlantic; the man was stricken with shame; it was his duty to have clipped her quills; he had imprudently left her when he cut the others, because they were not sufficiently advanced, and he was ordered not to make them bleed. The moment of suspense was overpowering, but the force of habit and domestic ties prevailed; the *cygnus nigricollus* thought better of it, and having by this time alarmed everybody, she wheeled down in a few gyrations, and to the joy of her beloved, and amidst the congratulations of her cousins, she descended once more into the bosom of her greenery. The keeper heaved a sigh of relief, and before we left the garden, had succeeded in capturing the runaway, and made future aërial exploits impossible for a twelvemonth. The flight is beautiful, and when near the earth, the sparkling black and white gives peculiar interest to the bird. Certainly the palm of beauty among swans goes to the black-necked.

Swans are subject to great irregularities of temper. Every one who has approached a patriarchal swan and his family in their downy state, knows with what a surge he rushes through the water, dashing it aside from his brawny breast, charges the shore, and comes headlong on with every feather quivering to show fight for mother and children. Nothing calms him so effectively as an open umbrella. He is puzzled at first, then gets a sense of his having made himself ridiculous and stands still.

There is a legend in Ireland, that a pair of black Australian

swans were put by one of the Earls of Shannon on a piece of water previously occupied by a pair of the common white bird. They lived a wretched life, — the ladies disagreed, the males looked sulkily at one another, but somehow never came to actual blows, until one fine morning the lady Australian died suddenly. Whether her mate thought she had had foul play or not does not appear. Whether she had discovered his infidelity and died of grief, does not appear; but it is certain, that as soon as this sad event took place, the Australian 'black 'fellow' concentrated his pent-up rage, sailed straight to the haunt of his white enemy, and without a moment's parley, made a furious onslaught on him, in presence of the scared object of his affections. Knights in the tournament field never fought more bravely for the scarf of the Queen of Beauty, than the swarthy bird of the antipodes and the snow-white cygnus of Erin. Long and bloody was the fight, but fury, revenge, and mad desire gave supercygnian vigour to the bereft; and faintly, slowly, feebly struggling to the last, the vanquished fell gurgling, sinking, drowning into the depths of the blue lake, held down by the firm resistless grasp of the oppressor. And then upon the bosom of the water remained the two — the black victor, small, strong, shivering with the intensity of the struggle — and the white widow. There was a pause — a pause not long but significant. In the next year there floated on that lake a brood of cygnets partly black and partly white, which must have much resembled the Chilian birds — and one of them, we think, is still to be seen in the gallery of the Royal Society at Dublin.

Between the swans and geese there is exactly this transition in the black and white swan-goose (*anserinus melanoleuca*) of Australia which is living in the Zoological Gardens. It is said that this curious bird, which bears confinement extremely well, has recently bred in Sydney, and we shall therefore be able to add it to the musk-duck in our poultry yard at no very distant period. A bean goose of the first year from the old fenny district of Lincolnshire, now rich in agricultural produce, is a bird worth record; and a tender brent is far from uneatable. All these grass-feeding brents must be good, and there is a fair array of them, about a dozen species at the least, from temperate regions, and therefore acclimatisable. The prettiest of them all is the red-breasted goose (*B. ruficollis*), which breeds in Northern Asia, and now and then wanders to England. The only living bird we ever saw, is in the Zoological Society's collection, and we believe they obtained it from Holland. In the vivaria of the last century, in which the Dutch

delighted, the red-breasted goose was more frequent, as it occurs in several of the Menageric Pictures painted from Prince Maurice's collection and others. Some years ago, eight of these birds were brought to a poulterer in Amsterdam, who knowing nothing about species and only looking at roasting qualities, immediately plucked them and sent them out as ordinary brents to his customers, having previously cheapened them of his chasseur, because they were not the real article. This bird is so rare in museums, that a good skin is worth at least ten pounds. The brents of South America are particularly attractive. The upland goose is as pretty a bird as can be seen: ganders effulgent in snowy whiteness, grey barred on the back; goose bright ruddy chesnut, beautifully crossed with black upon her back with golden legs, while he modestly walks on sable stilts. The 'ashy-headed goose,' figured erroneously in the zoological sketches as *Bernicla Magellanica*, is not less beautiful, but preserves the normal character of the genus in the similarity of male and female. The admirable drawing of Wolf is so truthful, that one cannot but desire to see the whole of the Society's catalogue illustrated by his hand. The black-necked swans, and the three noble falcons of Iceland, Greenland, and Cilicia, *islandicus*, *grœalandicus* and *sacer*, are pictures which ought to be in the studio of every lover of the science. This artist has a singular perception of bird-life; not even Landseer approaches him in accurate delineation of habit and character. Want of execution alone prevents him from taking a place of the highest rank, and he is still young enough to attain it.

Wolf's earliest published work of importance issued from the house of Ainz, in Leyden. Holland has ever been among the foremost in cultivating natural science, and the noble collection at Leyden, and the monuments made by the Professors of the University, are ample proofs of it. The old love of animals which naturalized the Curassows, and which gathered together the Vivaria, to which we have passingly alluded, has reawakened latterly in the Society Natura Artis Magistra, at Amsterdam, who have the credit of possessing a collection which equals that at Antwerp, and is not very far inferior to our own in the Regent's Park. The glory of Amsterdam is the great salamander, *Sieboldia maxima*, which has lived there for many years, and luxuriating in an ample fish diet, has now attained extraordinary dimensions. This curious Batrachia was discovered in the lava pools of Niphon, and bears an extreme degree of cold with impunity: a startling contrast to the tradition of the fiery salamander girded round with a belt of flame. The inhabitants of London are still ignorant of the big-mouthed sala-

mander of Niphon, who lives in water instead of fire, and devours a shoal of barbel per diem, instead of preying on his own extremities. Among the other rarities of this collection is an unique specimen of the Sumatran elephant, a young female, presented to the Society by one of their colleagues settled in the Archipelago. To the profane eye she differs but little, if at all, from the Indian species, and one has to go to the great storehouse of zoological lore at Leyden, to compare anatomical differences: as did the Prince Charles Bonaparte, to comprehend the true essential characters on which their distinction depends.

What are genera? what are species? Mr. G. R. Gray has written a very dry book on the Genera of Birds. M. Wagler, long ago, wrote his 'Species Avium.' Prince Charles Bonaparte's last work of love was his 'Conspectus Avium.' And Mr. Darwin has just thrown the scientific world into unwonted excitement, by the boldness of his speculations on the origin of species and the struggle for life. It is possible that the theory of certain naturalists may be true, that if we saw the whole scheme of nature in a complete series, we should find such a gradual transition from form to form, that we should recognise at once the unity of plan, on which the great Architect of the universe has framed the mystery of LIFE. For ourselves, we are content humbly to note the curious facts, which constant study of the lower animals presents from day to day, in the faint hope that hereafter some master-mind may come, who will reduce the scattered labours of many into some harmonious, useful conclusion, and clearly resolve this question. We find that certain animals are capable of radical ameliorations of form, that colour can be modified as well as form, and that a creature can by judicious management be produced to pattern within the limits of his genus and species rightly defined. Hitherto this art has been confined to the domesticated animals; but we have already seen that domestication, after at least 6000 years, is in its infancy, and we do not know to what extent the principle demonstrated in the construction — we deliberately say *construction* — of the Short Horn, the Southdown, the Berkshire hog, the greyhound, and the sea-bright bantams, may not be carried. It is certain, that between many forms apparently distinct there are connecting links which go far to break down the arbitrary divisions which systematic writers have sought to establish, and we shall shortly have occasion to revert more fully to this interesting part of the subject.

ART. VII.—*Lord Brougham's Acts and Bills from* 1811 *to the present time, now first collected and arranged, with an Analytical Review, shewing their results upon the Amendment of the Law.* By Sir JOHN EARDLEY-WILMOT, Bart. London: 1857.

UPON the 26th of October in the past year the citizens of Edinburgh received Lord Brougham at a public banquet in the Music-hall of this city, where every man most eminent at the present time on the Bench and at the Bar of Scotland—every man most distinguished in science, in literature, or by public services —had spontaneously assembled to pay a mark of respect to one whose long life and varied labours have embraced almost all the objects which other men have, in their several vocations, pursued, and whose glory it has been to surpass the efforts of most of his contemporaries. Two days later the Academic Body of the University of Edinburgh, convened for the first time to exercise its powers under the new statute, displayed its high sense of the importance of this trust, and its sound judgment of the real interests of the University, by conferring upon Lord Brougham, by a large majority, the office and dignity of Chancellor of this learned foundation. Fortunately for Edinburgh, a man was to be found for this post, high in rank and in fame—the rewards of his own genius — who was born in St. Andrew's Square; who had sat on the benches of the High School; who had followed the courses of this very University; who had been admitted, some sixty years ago, an Advocate of the Bar of Scotland; who was one of the founders of the *Edinburgh Review;* who has been one of the leading contributors to this journal during no inconsiderable portion of its existence; and who still retains in an advanced age, the power and the will to promote those reforms in the higher studies of Scotland, which are of such vital importance to the people of this part of Great Britain. We cannot deny ourselves the pleasure of putting on record these remarkable occurrences, not only because they are true indications of the veneration and regard of the men of Edinburgh and the graduates of her University for Lord Brougham, but because they are a homage to the principles to which his life has been devoted. It was to uphold those principles that this journal was commenced by Henry Brougham and his contemporaries, now somewhat more than fifty-seven years ago; it has adhered to them with unabated fidelity; and though many of those who were once foremost in the struggle have done their work and are at rest, Lord Brougham

has happily lived to see the maturity of the crop, and to witness the general acceptance and ascendency of those liberal opinions and enlarged views for which half a century ago it was perilous to contend.

It was observed by an eminent judge at the Edinburgh banquet, that whatever may be Lord Brougham's other claims to distinction, none will be more lasting than those which he has rendered to his own profession and to the country by his judicial decisions and by his successful exertions for the reform of the law. To that object especially one of his greatest orations was directed, and, unlike many of the brilliant displays of Parliamentary oratory, that speech has fulfilled much of its promise. It has been followed by constant efforts in every branch of the law to effect improvements, to cut away what was antiquated and onerous, and to give greater efficiency, cheapness, and despatch to the administration of justice.

The result of this sleepless activity has been the enactment by the Legislature of a great number of statutes; which together with many Bills proposed by Lord Brougham, but not assented to by Parliament, have been collected in a volume consisting of nearly nine hundred pages, by Sir John Eardley-Wilmot, and form a noble monument of the unwearied energy and patriotic devotion of one man to the cause of law reform. The work before us must have been, as indeed the able analytical review at the beginning shows that it was, a labour of love; for no hope of pecuniary remuneration could have induced any editor to incur the trouble and expense of preparing and publishing a volume so little likely to attract ordinary readers. And yet we hardly know a more instructive work. There is an old maxim, *plurimæ leges pessima respublica*, and in these Acts and Bills we shall find the most cogent proof of the existence and nature of the mischiefs deeply imbedded in our legal system, which they were intended to remedy.

But in order to estimate at their true value the results, we must know something of the evils that had to be overcome. It is often difficult to realise a past state of things, even where the change has taken place in our own recollection. When a nest of ugly old houses has been pulled down, and replaced by a stately mansion, or a wide and commodious street, it is not easy to picture to oneself the nuisance as it formerly existed. Few remember the Rookery of St. Giles', the site of which is now occupied by lofty buildings and spacious shops, and yet it stood there, in all its squalidness and filth, only a few years ago. In like manner, we can hardly imagine ourselves living at a time when the Lord Chief Justice of England could rise

in his place in the House of Lords, and oppose a Bill for abolishing the punishment of death in cases of stealing above the value of five shillings, in the following words: —

'My Lords, if we suffer this Bill to pass, we shall not know where to stand, we shall not know whether we are on our heads or our feet. If you repeal the Act, which inflicts the penalty of death for stealing to the value of five shillings in a shop, you will be called upon next year to repeal a law which prescribes the penalty of death for stealing five shillings in a dwelling-house, there being no person therein,—a law, your lordships must know, on the severity of which and the application of it, stands the security of every poor cottager who goes out to his daily labour.'

And yet this was the language of Lord Ellenborough in 1810. Still less can we bring ourselves to believe, that within the recollection of many persons now alive, a wretched woman, whose children were starving, and who entered a shop in Ludgate Hill, and secreted under her dress a piece of silk, which she dropped on the ground before she reached the door, was tried for the offence and hanged! We have seen one of the greatest statesmen of the present day shed tears when this anecdote was told him. If however we wish to place ourselves in the right point of view for appreciating the labours of such a pioneer as Lord Brougham, we must transport ourselves in imagination back a few years, and we will take a familiar case to illustrate the state of the law as it then stood.

Suppose an action brought against a man upon a demand which he has satisfied by payment, but of this fact, owing to the loss of the receipt or otherwise, he has no other evidence than the testimony of himself and one other witness. In the first place, the debt being sworn against him, he has to find bail, and being unable to do this, he is thrown into prison upon what is called *mesne process*. This is not very likely to facilitate his means of defence, but let that pass. Written pleadings are prepared, in which his counsel makes a slip, undiscovered at the time, and the cause comes on for trial. He is not permitted to go into the witness box and state upon his oath that he has discharged the claim by payment. And it happens that his witness has become security for him, and is thus interested in the result of the trial; he therefore cannot be examined. By some miraculous chance, however, the case of the plaintiff breaks down, and the verdict is for the defendant. By this time, however, the slip of the pleader has been discovered, and the plaintiff goes into Court with the modest demand, that the verdict for his opponent shall be set aside, and that he shall be permitted to sign judgment against him *non obstante veredicto*. To this the Court, after some edifying remarks to the effect that in

law technicalities must be upheld, and that 'hard cases make bad 'law,' accedes, and the unfortunate debtor is now taken in execution, and remains in prison at the suit of his creditor, until, if the debt exceeds 300*l.*, he either discharges it by payment, or dies.

Or let us suppose the same person charged with a felony and put upon his trial. He employs counsel to defend him, and we will assume that the case is one that requires a skilful analysis of complicated facts, and a careful review of conflicting evidence. But his counsel cannot open his lips except to argue a point of law, and the miserable spectacle is exhibited of a man, who is perhaps innocent, convicted, because he has not ability to grapple with the case for the prosecution; while beside him sits one, who in mockery is called his advocate, and who could demonstrate the insufficiency of the evidence against him, but who cannot address the jury on his behalf and must confine himself to an attempt to pick some legal flaw in the prosecution on which to rest his hopes of an acquittal.* Is it not wonderful that such an anomaly — rather let us say such a crying injustice — should have endured so long? and yet we know that men of the most humane minds and gifted intellects were opposed to a change of the law in this respect; and we well remember the strong terms of reprobation in which a learned and most amiable judge, now no more, spoke of the Prisoner's Counsel Bill, which he regarded as a dangerous innovation.

On the 7th of February, 1828, Lord (then Mr.) Brougham made his great speech on Law Reform. It is one of the most remarkable on record — not merely for the giant grasp he took of his complicated and difficult subject, but still more for the prophetic prescience with which he denounced abuses which have since been corrected, and suggested remedies which have since been applied. To few men has been granted so vast a success, and so ample a reward in the field of legal improvement. He has not only stood on the top of Pisgah and surveyed the promised land, but he has been permitted to live until those for whom he laboured have entered in and taken possession. It is not too much to say, that in that speech Lord Brougham was in advance of his age by a quarter of a century,

* It has been stated that the conversion of Lord Lyndhurst from being the opponent to becoming the supporter of the Prisoner's Counsel Bill, was owing to his having perused the masterly opening speech of Sir W. Garrow, in the trial of Patch for murder, which convinced him how hopeless must be the position of a prisoner who had to reply himself to such an address. — See 'Quarterly Review' for April, 1859, p. 515.

and awakened the minds of his hearers to the existence of a state of things which would now be deemed intolerable, but which was then clung to with deep-rooted prejudice on the part of lawyers, and regarded with timid acquiescence by the public. But to show what he accomplished, we cannot do better than quote a passage from another speech delivered in 1849, when, with pardonable pride, he thus referred to his achievements in the great cause to which he had devoted so large a portion of his life.

'Of above seventy defects whereof I complained on that occasion, about sixty have since been removed; nor were those slight defects, or those changes small innovations. I complained that party prevailed over the selection of judges; and of late years, both while I held the Great Seal, and in the time of my noble and learned friend (Lord Lyndhurst)who succeeded me, as well as while my noble friend on the woolsack (Lord Cottenham) has held office, no party considerations have been allowed to influence the selection of those high functionaries, any more than Sir Robert Peel had, previously to 1828, been swayed by party considerations in naming the judges of Scotland. I complained of the Welsh judicature; this has since been abolished, and the principality subjected, as I recommended, to the same tribunals with the rest of the realm. I complained of the Court of Delegates; it was abolished by my Act of 1833: of the judicial system prevailing in the Privy Council; it was reformed by the same statute, and the Judicial Committee substituted for the trial of all appeals, both from the Consistorial Courts, the Court of Admiralty, and all our various and extensive foreign possessions. I complained of real actions, including fines and recoveries. Real actions, with the single exception of Quare Impedit, are swept away, and fines and recoveries altogether. I complained of many defects and anomalies in the Law of Evidence: these defects have been almost entirely removed by the admirable Act of Lord Denman (6 & 7 Vict. c. 85.), though one important step in the same direction yet remains to be taken [taken in 1851 by the Act 14 & 15 Vict. c. 99.] by examining parties themselves. I complained of the period of Limitation, especially of the suffering of it to be interrupted by the Duration of Estates Tail, and of the immunity from all limitation enjoyed by Church Rights. The Acts of Lord Tenterden in 1829 and 1832 (2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 71.; and 2 & 3 Wm. IV. c. 100.), and those to which my noble friend (Lord Lyndhurst) and I obtained the concurrence of Parliament in 1833, have removed those defects, so that now the opprobrium of the law exists no longer, by which rights might formerly have been enjoyed, as against the Church for centuries, without the least security to the possessor, and by which in one case a large estate in the north, after being possessed for above a century and a half, and being made the subject of settlement, and sale, and mortgage over and over again, was found to be the property of a mere stranger, in consequence of estates tail not having been determined, and no adverse possession having been had as against the reversioner. I complained that the Statute of Frauds had not been

united with that of Limitations, and now writing is requisite to prevent the time from running. I had complained loudly of the impediments to settlement by arbitration; this defect has been removed by the Act of 1833, as well as many other anomalies in our system of pleading, on which I had dwelt particularly in 1828. The cruel and unjust, as well as impolitic Law of Arrest for Debt, of which I had also complained, has been entirely changed. Arrest on Mesne Process was abolished by my noble friend on the woolsack (Lord Cottenham) in 1837, and my Acts of 1844, 1845, have abolished arrest altogether. Acts framed upon the principle which I propounded in 1828, that debtors should only be imprisoned for the crime of fraud, or gross extravagance, or for refusing to give up their property to their creditors.'

This was in 1848; but since then a long list must be added of Acts which acknowledge Lord Brougham as their author. We may mention the Bankruptcy Consolidation Act, passed in 1849, containing upwards of 270 sections, and codifying that complicated branch of law; the Trustee Act in 1850, by which the Court of Chancery is empowered to deal with the property of lunatic trustees and mortgagees, and to make orders in various cases of trust estates; and, in the same year the Acts of Parliament Abbreviation Bill. The utility of this last measure can only be appreciated by those whose dreary duty it is to wade through the mass of useless verbiage which used to disfigure previous Acts; and the number of these may be imagined by the fact that, in the year 1836 alone, 191 Private Acts passed the Legislature, comprising about 9000 folios. But we willingly spare our readers the infliction of specimens of the repetitions, and involutions, and complications which flourish there in full luxuriance. In 1851 three of Lord Brougham's Acts were passed — two for improving the Patent Law, and one for making parties to suits admissible as witnesses. Next year, 1852, he carried the Extension of Copyhold Enfranchisement Act and the Act to shorten the time for assembling Parliament after a dissolution, although, perhaps, this last can hardly be classed amongst legal reforms. In 1852 we may mention an Act to abolish Masters in Chancery, and in 1853 an Act whereby the husbands and wives of parties to a cause were rendered admissible as witnesses, except in criminal proceedings or cases of adultery. Neither husband nor wife, however, was to be compelled to disclose any communications made by the one to the other during the marriage. In 1854 he carried an Act providing an appeal in cases tried before the County Courts; and in 1855 an Act for the summary trial of offenders, which was compounded of two Bills introduced into the House of Lords in that session, the one by Lord

Brougham and the other by Lord Chancellor Cranworth. By this salutary measure a prisoner charged with simple larceny or stealing from the person may, if he chooses to plead guilty before two magistrates, be summarily convicted by them, and thus escape the hardship of a long imprisonment beforehand, which, in most cases, would be his lot if he were committed for trial at the sessions or assizes.

In the above review we have omitted to mention the Central Criminal Court Act, which was carried without opposition by Lord Brougham when he was Lord Chancellor, in 1834; and in the enumeration we have only included those Acts that directly owe their parentage to him, but have not noticed such as were carried by others, although the suggestion and previous advocacy of them were due to him. Amongst these was the Local Courts Act (9 & 10 Vict. c. 95.) in 1846, the subject of which was brought by him before the House of Commons in an elaborate speech in April, 1830, when he obtained leave to introduce a Bill for their establishment. The Act, as passed, however, omitted some portions of Lord Brougham's Bill — namely, those which gave to the local courts jurisdiction in equity and bankruptcy, and constituted them courts of reconcilement, while it reduced the amount to be sued for from 100*l.* to 20*l.* in the ordinary jurisdiction. And we ought not to pass over in silence the Common Law Procedure Acts of 1852 and 1854, two of the most useful in the Statute Book, which swept away the iniquities of special pleading and other absurd technicalities that were the disgrace of the English law. Many of the amendments introduced by these two Acts had been foreshadowed by Lord Brougham in his speech in 1828.

But to show that while he struck with an unsparing hand at the abuses of the law, he was actuated by no wish to injure in the slightest degree the profession of which he was a brilliant ornament, we will quote a passage from that speech, which deserves to be written in letters of gold, and which at the present day has peculiar import and significancy, as is too well known at the Bar. We especially commend it to the attention of those upon whom rests the responsibility of appointing to high places in the law. Amongst other inconveniences of the October sittings which then existed, he alluded to the fact of which perhaps little account would now be taken, that the barristers who went the Northern Circuit were thereby greatly curtailed of their vacation, and he said —

'It is the most foolish of vulgarisms to suppose that by how much the more you vex and harass the professors of the law, by so much the more you benefit the country. The fact is quite the reverse;

for by these means you make inferior men, both in rank and feelings and accomplishments, alone follow that profession out of which the Judges of the Court must be appointed. I should rather say that by how much the more you surround this renowned profession with difficulties and impediments calculated only to make it eligible to persons of mere ordinary education and mere habits of drudgery; who otherwise would find their way to employment in tradesmen's shops or at best in merchants' counting-houses, by so much the more you close it upon men of talent and respectability, and prevent it from being the resort of genius and liberal accomplishments.'

We of course cannot, within the brief limits of an article like this, attempt to analyse the mass of legislation embraced by the Acts we have enumerated, but we will say a few words on the subject of the Law of Evidence; for no part of the administration of justice is more important, or requires more watchful attention than this. It would be difficult to exaggerate the mischiefs that must ensue if that law is based on erroneous principles or is defective in its application. We need only look across the Channel and take as an example the trial of the Lemoines, mother and daughter, for infanticide, to see the pitiable result of allowing a judge to interrogate a prisoner for the purpose of extorting evidence of guilt, by which means he is converted into an advocate, and the equilibrium of justice is destroyed. But what avails it if the judge is impartial and upright, the jury honest and intelligent, and the cause good, if it cannot be legally proved? The rights of parties are in danger of being shipwrecked if evidence is too loosely admitted or too rigidly excluded. But of the first of these two evils the boldest accuser of our system of jurisprudence will readily allow that it stands clear. It has always been a distinctive characteristic of the English law that it requires a greater degree of strictness of proof than is known in the procedure of any other civilised nation in the world. And of the reason of some of its rules in this respect it is difficult to give an explanation, and still more to justify them to a non-professional mind. We have often thought how bewildered the audience in our Courts must be, at hearing questions objected to and disallowed which seem the most natural and obvious to ask; and at seeing documents rejected which, as both sides admit, contain the most important evidence bearing upon the fact in dispute, but which, owing to some mysterious and (to them) unintelligible technicality, neither the judge nor the jury is allowed to look at. We are far from saying that sound and logical reasons cannot be given for this, but it would be foreign to our purpose to discuss the question here. We will confine ourselves to a canon of the law of evidence which existed until a very few years back in

England, and which we verily believe did more to produce wrong verdicts and defeat the rights of parties, than any rule — except perhaps that of the civil law, which required two witnesses at least to prove a fact — in the jurisprudence of any other nation; and we say this with a full consciousness of the extreme laxity of the rules of evidence in France and Germany, and a full knowledge of the danger of mistake to which such laxity leads. We allude to the rule which prevented a person from giving evidence at a trial, who had the smallest pecuniary interest in the subject matter in dispute. The kind of interest which excluded testimony was defined by Chief Baron Gilbert to be 'where there is a certain benefit or advantage to the 'witness attending the consequence of the cause either way.' No matter how unimpeachable his character and respectable his station, if it could be shown that he had an interest to the extent of sixpence in the issue of the trial, his lips were closed and his evidence was inadmissible. On one occasion Lord Mansfield said, 'The old cases on the competency of witnesses 'have gone upon very subtle ground. But of late years the 'Courts have endeavoured, as far as possible, *consistently with* '*the authorities*, to let the objection go to the credit rather 'than to the competency of a witness.' This was in 1786; but the endeavour of the Courts was not very successful, and the 'authorities'—those sons of Zeruiah — were too strong for them.* It would be endless, and happily now it is useless, to multiply examples, but we may mention that after this *dictum* of Lord Mansfield it was decided that, in an action against a master for the negligence of his servant, the servant was not a competent witness to disprove his own negligence, on the ground that the verdict might be given in evidence in a subsequent action by the master against the servant, to show the amount of damages he had been compelled to pay in the former action. So a person in any degree liable to the costs of a cause was held not to be a competent witness. The mode of taking the objection was by what was called examining the witness on the *voire dire*, that is, asking him on his oath, in which he swore *to speak the truth*, whether he was interested or not.

But the law on the subject was illogical and inconsistent.

* Even now attesting witnesses to a will are by express statute not allowed to take an interest under the will. This is certainly better than to permit them to retain their legacies and exclude their testimony in an attempt to prove the will. Perhaps, however, this is rather an Irish way of putting it — for if the evidence were excluded the will could not be proved, and therefore they must lose their legacies which depend upon the will.

For it professed to exclude the evidence because the party tendering it might be supposed to be under a bias towards the side for which he appeared, but it took no account of the interest arising from close relationship, except in the single case of husband and wife. A father might give evidence for a son, or a son for a father, but if the one had incurred the slightest pecuniary obligation for the other which could in any way be affected by the verdict, he could not be heard, except, indeed, in the unlikely case where his evidence would tend to fix his own liability.*

Of course, as a direct consequence of this rule—and indeed *à fortiori*,—the parties to a cause could not give evidence on their own behalf, and, therefore, when the transaction was such as could not be proved by a third person or by some document, a party who had nothing but his own testimony to rely upon necessarily failed. We remember hearing a story of an eminent advocate who employed a chimney sweeper to rectify a particular chimney that smoked, and afterwards asked him for what sum he would undertake to put right all the chimneys in the house. The sweep answered that his charge would be a guinea a chimney, on which the lawyer told him, no one else being present, that he might do it for that sum. Soon afterwards a bill was sent in claiming seventy guineas for the work done, and as the barrister had no means of proving what the contract was except by his own statement, which as the law then stood was inadmissible, and he knew that Sooty would bring a host of sweeps to swear that the bill was a reasonable one, he thought that the wisest course was to submit at once, and he paid the demand.

It must, however, in candour be admitted that those who argued against the proposed change and upheld the old maxim of our law, that *nemo debet testari in propriâ causâ*, made a very plausible case. They said that the interest was here too great and the temptation to perjury too strong. But we think it might be fairly replied that a rule of law, whereby honest men are defrauded of their rights, ought not to be permitted to continue, because dishonest men may avail themselves of its abrogation for the purpose of perjury. And it may be doubted whether the fear of this consequence which influenced so many in their opposition to a change in the law has been justified by the event. Lord Brougham of course did not overlook the obvious objection that would be urged against the admission of parties

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* Under the Civil Law the rule was, that *Parentes et liberi invicem adversus se nec volentes ad testimonium admittendi sunt.* Cod. iv. tit. 20. s. 6.

to give evidence when he proposed it in his speech in 1828; but he thus replied to it by anticipation: —

'Speaking from my own observation, I should say that there is more risk of rash swearing than of actual perjury; of the party becoming jealous and obstinate, and seeing things in false colours, or shutting his eyes to the truth, and recollecting imperfectly, or not at all, when the passions are roused by litigation.'

And in this opinion Sir J. Eardley-Wilmot agrees, who, being himself a County Court Judge of several years' standing, is entitled to speak with some confidence. He says that 'experience of the modern practice, tested daily in the County 'Courts, confirms the truth and soundness of the above observation. Perjury doubtless is increased, but very often testimony 'entirely contradictory may be accounted for in the way pointed 'out by Mr. Brougham, without necessarily arriving at the 'conclusion that parties are intentionally violating the sanctity 'of an oath.' To this we may add that the cases where the Judges of the Superior Courts feel themselves called upon to commit parties to a cause for perjury in their evidence are very rare.

But we cannot pursue the subject of Law Reform further at present. Much has been accomplished, but much still remains to be done. We cannot believe that the absurdity of shutting up a jury 'without meat, drink, or fire, candle light excepted,' until they are agreed upon a verdict, will be any longer tolerated; and we have in a previous article in this journal already expressed our opinion, that the requirement of unanimity of juries, ought, in civil trials, to be done away with, and the decision of a majority, which to conciliate our opponents we are willing to fix at two-thirds, accepted in its stead.* We can only regret that the attempt of the present Lord Chancellor during the last session, to effect a change in this respect was unsuccessful. The great argument with which he was met, was the infrequency of the occurrence of juries being discharged without a verdict, on account of their *not* being able to agree. But we attach little value to this circumstance even supposing it to be true to the extent stated — which we doubt, — for it is impossible not to feel persuaded, that in a vast number of cases the unanimity is a sham and not a reality; and the verdict represents not the deliberate opinion of the whole jury, but that of a majority to whom two or three out of the twelve surrender their convictions for the sake of conformity, forgetting that they are bound by their oath 'to give a *true* verdict *according to the* 'evidence.' We do not know whether Lord Brougham's opinion

* See 'Edinburgh Review' for October 1858, pp. 375–6.

on this question has undergone any change, but it certainly *was* adverse to that here advocated. In his speech on Local Courts in 1830, after saying that he would have a jury to decide all cases of conflicting testimony, he added, 'but I would not have 'that verdict the verdict of the majority, for, paradoxical as it 'may seem, I would have a forced unanimity among the jury. 'Were it otherwise, there would never be that patient investi-'gation which is necessary to come at the truth. There would 'be cries of "Question" such as are sometimes heard in larger 'and less judicial assemblies.' There is also the important question of our Bankruptcy Law, the present state of which excites such deep dissatisfaction in the mercantile and trading community; and no wonder when we consider the large proportion of every insolvent estate which is swallowed up in costs and percentages, not to mention the untenable distinction that exists between traders and non-traders as to the operation of the law. And a late notorious trial has furnished a strong argument in favour of those who insist that there ought to be a criminal Court of Appeal on questions of fact, which we incline to think might be safely established, if due care were taken to prevent the abuse of an absolute right of appeal, the effect of which would be that every capital case would be tried twice over. But we are free to confess that we see great difficulties in the way of such a measure, which we may, perhaps, take another opportunity of fully discussing. It is to be hoped also, that next session will see Bills brought in to regulate the transfer of land, and for quieting of titles, for the purpose of putting an end to the costly and cumbrous machinery of conveyancing as it now exists, and of making land a more marketable commodity. On one of the ancient bricks discovered at Nineveh, the cuneiform inscription is believed to be an Assyrian form of conveyance, and although we can hardly hope to reduce *our* forms to such narrow dimensions, we may beyond doubt effect a wonderful improvement in them both as regards simplicity and brevity. Then again, the important question of the mode of preparing Acts of Parliament must be dealt with; for it is a scandal and a disgrace that the following description of the process given by Lord Brougham in his speech on Law Reform in 1848, should still be the language not of satire but truth.

'No system whatever, nothing approaching to systematic, is to be seen; all is random, all haphazard, all blind chance, all acting in the dark, without rule or guide, or compass or concert. The bills propounded have a twofold origin; they come from Boards or departments of the State, or they come from private individuals, whom, without any disrespect, I may term amateurs in legislation. But the Boards,

independent and separate, act without any concert or any communication whatever, are entirely ignorant of what the other is doing; each proceeding upon principles of its own, if principle any of them ever think of; each taking its own views of the same subject matter on which the other is composing law; each employing a phraseology of its own; all generally in collision, and often in conflict. . . . . The result of this habitual carelessness and want of system in the preparation of our laws might easily be foreseen. A mass has been engendered, in which the obscurity of darkness alternates with the glare of cross light, meagre explanation with inexcusable prolixity, repetition with omission, repugnancy with truism, a mass which, if it be not termed nonsense and contradiction, only escapes those epithets from the respect due to the venerable name of a Statutory Record.'

We could amuse our readers with many proofs of this, and with instances where even 'the venerable name of a Statutory 'Record' has not deterred judges on the Bench from declaring provisions of Acts, which they were bound to interpret, nonsensical and contradictory. But we have not space to spare, and we must pass on to the remedy, which, we are inclined to agree with Lord Brougham in thinking, can only be found in the establishment of a Board formed of skilful professional men,—'not to super-'sede, but to aid both Houses of Parliament in the preparation 'of Public Bills.' At all events it would be impossible to controvert the canons he lays down as essential to be observed in the framing of statutes. 1. A statute should never be made without a careful regard to former statutes, *in pari materiâ*. 2. One part of a statute should ever have regard to all its other parts. 3. Alterations made in passing a Bill should carefully be made, having reference to the parts that are left unchanged.

And, in respect of the language in which they should be conveyed, it would be difficult to discover rules more apt and useful than the following, which will be found in the same speech, and some of which ought to be kept in view in every species of composition.

'1. Always use the least equivocal and the plainest terms.

'2. Never use a word which has two senses, without defining in which it is used.

'3. Never use the same word in two senses.

'4. Never use different words in the same sense.

'5. Never assume as known what has not been expounded.

'6 Never, if possible, enact by reference to another statute.

'7. If, to avoid greater prolixity, you must import another statute, regard carefully the text of the Act referred to.'

Closely connected with this subject are the questions of a Consolidation of the Statutes and a Code. With regard to the

necessity of the first there really can hardly be any difference of opinion. It is a work urgently required, and ought not to be any longer delayed. Our Statute Book is a tangled forest of legislation, in which, according to the old proverb, one cannot see the trees for the wood. None but the most experienced pioneer can hope to thread his way through the intricate labyrinth; and even he will be often lost in the brushwood of contradictory clauses, inconsistent provisions, and redundant and superfluous matter. What is wanted is a condensation of all statutes relating to the same subject into one or, if necessary, two Acts, framed upon the principles and in the language indicated by Lord Brougham, and a repeal of the previous legislation relating to it. This will be the starting point, and future alterations or additions can easily be made in separate Acts, until they become sufficiently numerous to justify a second total repeal, and the enactment of a fresh statute, framed upon the model of the former one. As to a Code, we doubt both its practicability and its expediency, for reasons which are generally lost sight of by those who advocate its adoption in this country. They forget that the English Courts never venture beyond the letter of an enactment. They expound the law, but never (at least in theory) extend it. We are not now speaking of the principles of the common law, which are elastic enough to admit of expansion without drawing upon the judges what they would consider the reproach of *making* law instead of *declaring* it, but of statute law: and no one at all conversant with the administration of justice in England, can fail to be struck with the jealous care with which our Courts confine themselves within the limits of written law. Their maxim is, *jus dicere et non jus dare*, and they do not stir a hairbreadth beyond what the legislature has enacted. If, then, we had a Code,—that is, a written statutory record of the whole law,—we should find the Courts trammelled by definitions and directions to which they would adhere with the most rigid exactness, but which would lead to many absurdities, and in not a few cases to a miscarriage of justice.

But supposing the difficulty to which we have alluded not to exist, there are other objections which we think deserve considerable weight. A Code must at all events be interpreted and applied to the facts of each case as it arises; and the English law abounds in the nicest and most subtle distinctions, some of them so shadowy that it is almost impossible to abstract them from the special circumstances which gave rise to them, and embody them in a general rule. Hence occurs the necessity of voluminous reports of cases, in order that the practising

lawyer may see whether or not they can be distinguished from, or whether they have the authority of precedents for, the particular case on which he is called upon to advise. There must, therefore, necessarily spring up as an excrescence from the Code a body of commentaries and reports without which the Code itself would be sure to mislead, but with which the public would be no better off than they are at present. And, besides all this, the active work of legislation would be constantly going on, adding to, and altering or modifying the provisions of the Code, so that in a few years it would be impossible to rely upon it as an exposition of the existing law. We might multiply objections further, but we cannot at present pursue this interesting subject, and we shall conclude by quoting a passage from Lord Brougham's speech on law reform in 1848, in which he said, on referring to the convulsions which in that year were shaking other states to their foundations —

'I have the most entire and undoubting confidence in the powers of our Constitution, and the loyalty, the virtue, and the courage of my fellow-subjects to sustain it. But the better the law is under which they live, the cheaper its administration to them, the closer its remedies are brought to their own doors, the plainer it is written for them to read, and the simpler to comprehend as digested, the more secure property becomes in the enjoyment, the easier to exchange and transfer, making it, as Blackstone says, answer more perfectly the purposes of civil life,—removing, as Locke hath it, the shoals and quicksands which beset the course of those who deal with it,—the better will our system deserve the people's love, with the more fervent loyalty will it be by them upheld, the more firmly nerved in its defence will be their gallant arms, the more inaccessible their honest hearts to the arts of all its enemies.'

These are eloquent words, but not more eloquent than true; and the effect of the legal reforms which have been accomplished within the memory of the present generation, has unquestionably been to perfect the noblest institutions of this country, and to strengthen the attachment of the people to the laws by which they are governed.

ART. VIII.—*Souvenirs et Correspondance de Madame Récamier.* Par Madame LENORMANT. 2 vols. Paris: 1859.

THE character and the life portrayed in these volumes are, in the strictest sense of the word, singular. When we regard the gifts, patent to all, with which Madame Récamier was endowed; the more subtle, and, we may say, unexplained, charm by which she won all hearts, as surely as her beauty attracted all eyes; her strange and unaccountable marriage, and the perils to which it exposed the object of so much passionate adoration; the strength and permanence of her friendships, or the influence which, without the smallest taste for, or (as far as we can see) attempt at, political intrigue, she exercised over the society of Paris, at a time when Paris was the willing slave of a tyrant, and that tyrant her avowed and relentless enemy,—we come to the conclusion that she was singular in her nature, in her fortunes, and in the impression she made and left on those who approached her.

The book now presented to the world is due to the filial piety of Madame Récamier's adopted daughter (a niece of M. Récamier), Madame Lenormant, to whom she bequeathed her papers, and the charge of protecting her memory from the impertinent intrusion of public curiosity and the rapacity of literary adventurers. We have not the smallest doubt that Mme. Lenormant has executed her delicate task with as much discretion and sincerity as it is possible to employ when dealing with the reputation of one so justly dear to her, and whose charming qualities have left their spell upon all who came under their influence. We cannot expect that the child of her love should enlarge upon her weaknesses. And, indeed, there are few people, except those actuated by a love of depreciation, who would not feel repugnance to handle roughly so delicate a creature, or to lay bare the faults of one who never was severe on the faults of others. It may be urged that no honest biography can be written under the influence of such feelings as these. This is true, and, accordingly, no honest biography *is* written, until the hearts that were interested in the subject of it are cold, until the affections cease to throw their veil or their halo round all that is doubtful and defective, or to bring into the fullest light all that is clear and admirable. And when that time comes, what is biography? Either it is cold and lifeless, or, if the biographer has been warmed by his subject, the enthusiasm of the author becomes as misleading as the love of the friend. We are,

therefore, disposed to accept with gratitude what Mme. Lenormant has thought proper to give us; and if we may sometimes regret that some things we would gladly have found in her interesting book are wanting, and other things which we had rather not have found, are there, let us admit that her task was one of no ordinary difficulty. It is evident that Mme. Lenormant has felt this. We cannot say that she has succeeded in making either the character or the life of Mme. Récamier entirely clear to us. Some of the most important passages are entirely unexplained, and as they now stand, inexplicable. What is offered as the solution of the singularity of Mme. Récamier's history, is in itself more perplexing than what it attempts to solve. A cloud of doubt and mystery hangs over the whole life, and the most important relation of it rests upon a fiction.

Mme. Lenormant says in her preface that one of the motives which determined the publication of this work was, the feeling that 'the general ignorance of the entirely peculiar 'circumstances under which Mme. Récamier lived, the dispro-'portion between the modesty of her life and the greatness 'of her fame, give her up as it were defenceless to all the pro-'fanation of conjectures. Even her panegyrists have uttered 'suppositions and judgments which cloud the purity of her me-'mory.' It appears that she was herself conscious of this danger, and, at the urgent request of her friends, several times began to collect materials for a history of her life. But her intention was never fulfilled. Among the causes which prevented it was what Mme. Lenormant justly calls 'a singular distrust of her own 'powers, inexplicable in a woman accustomed to such con-'stant and brilliant success. This was one of the most striking 'features of her character; courageous under all serious trials, 'and assured by a thousand proofs of her empire over all hearts 'and minds, she had fixed the limits of her powers far within 'their just and obvious extent.'

Whether this moderation was the result of genuine humility or of policy, it was, we are convinced, one of the main secrets of her ascendancy. We are far from denying that a great part of the fascination she exercised was involuntary, and as much a natural gift as her lovely face and her sweet voice; but she had far too much of that quick and delicate sense of the becoming and the attractive which we call tact, not to know that men would repay her moderation and forbearance with a double share of love and homage. In general, the substantial power of women (which can only be over the hearts and imaginations and senses of men), is destroyed by an attempt to com-

pete with them on their own ground, or to set up claims which wound their self-love. Mme. Récamier had too fine a womanly instinct not to perceive this; and no doubt policy combined with nature to keep her within the limits she had, with equal wisdom and taste, prescribed to herself. It appears, however, that she had an unfeigned distrust of all she did. She had proceeded a considerable way in her memoirs, when the loss of sight, which was one of the trials that rendered more conspicuous the sweetness, patience, and self-oblivion of her nature, arrested her progress, and her last commands were that the MS. should be destroyed. It was accordingly burnt. The passages quoted in Mme. Lenormant's work and in M. de Chateaubriand's 'Mémoires d'Outre Tombe,' were found scattered among her other papers.

We cannot say, however, that Mme. Lenormant has given any satisfactory explanation of the almost total absence of letters from Mme. Récamier. The great defect of her book is, that it contains so little of the fresh and genuine expression of Mme. Récamier's own sentiments and thoughts. We are left in no doubt as to the sentiments she inspired; but we want to see how her heart responded to the chivalrous and paternal care of Matthieu de Montmorency, the humble adoration of Ballanche, the overflow of generous love and tender pity of Mme. de Staël, the passionate homage of Bernadotte, the more serious and devoted love of Prince Augustus of Prussia, or the self-occupied confidences of M. de Chateaubriand. To all these, and to many more — as varied as their characters and their circumstances—this captivating woman must have returned appropriate, and, as it seems, satisfactory answers, since all loved her faithfully and fervently to the last moment of their lives. It is useless to say that these are matters too delicate for the public eye, since the public eye is invited to contemplate them, though on one side only. Mme. Lenormant says, with great truth in her preface, 'the few letters we have 'been able to collect, and have thought worth printing, will not 'fail to excite regrets;' regrets, we may add, not only that they *are* so very few, but that they contain so little that can throw any light on the character and sentiments of the writer. That they are full of the kindness, grace, and amenity which marked all she said and did, needs hardly be told. But we look in vain for a single opinion on any one of the great subjects, which must have presented themselves under such varied aspects to her mind. She lived in a time which tried men to the very core. All that is generous, and all that is selfish; all that is heroic, and all that is base; cruelty, perfidy and rapacity, con-

trasted with benevolence, loyalty, and honour; shameless treachery and desertion, with unshaken fidelity and friendship *à toute épreuve;* all the most striking contrasts of character and conduct, all those secrets of the heart, which in ordinary and tranquil times are covered under the veil of social decorum, brought out into the broad glare of political revolutions;—all these phenomena passed before her; formed, indeed, part of her daily and most intimate experience. Well may we, therefore, regret that we have no record or expression of the effect produced on Mme. Récamier's mind by such social aspects, and such wondrous events. We lay down the book with the unsatisfactory consciousness that we are entirely ignorant of the inward life of the woman whose outward life forms so remarkable a history. It appears incredible, that loved and admired as she was, all her letters should have been destroyed; or that one so delicate and refined, so kind and indulgent, should have left nothing that the tenderest regard to her memory and to the feelings of others could insert, as *pièces justificatives* in support of the representations of her friends.

With regard to the external circumstances in which she lived, they are so singular, so entirely unlike anything that could exist in this country, that nothing less than a perusal of Mme. Lenormant's memoir can give an idea of them to English readers. The story of her life, of which we propose to give a slight outline, will show what was the position she occupied in French society. It is one which no amount of beauty, talents, charms, or virtues, could give to a woman in this country, where the position of the sex is more obscure, more dependent, more consistent with nature and reason. But it would be a mistake to imagine that her whole life was one of mere representation and display; or that her desire to please, general as it undoubtedly was, disqualified her for serious and lasting attachments. Indeed, the most remarkable feature in her life was the dignity and fidelity of the friendships by which it was honoured and embellished.

Mme. Récamier began her reign under very peculiar circumstances. Society had been completely broken up and annihilated. People had lived from day to day hiding themselves from the Terror; and the possession of qualities which fit men to enjoy and embellish society were precisely those which were most likely to draw upon them the envious fury of vulgar demagogues. There existed, therefore, none of the *foyers,* or rallying points which are found in all stable societies, and the field was entirely clear for the formation of new ones. Mme. Récamier happened to combine all the qualities and conditions which

fitted her to assume this office. She was young, beautiful, rich, neither subject to domestic control nor occupied with domestic cares; tied to no party, bourgeoise by birth, aristocratic in tastes and manners—above all, eminently attractive, and gifted with the art of drawing people together and keeping them in good humour with themselves and each other.

Accordingly her house was the neutral ground on which met the most diverse and even discordant elements of the newly formed society of Paris, — the *débris* of the old aristocracy just returned from their long exile, and the men whom talent, force, or intrigue had raised from humble stations to the higher posts in the army and the state. Among the former were the Duc de Guignes, Adrien and Matthieu de Montmorency, Christian de Lamoignon, M. de Narbonne, and many others of less note; among the latter, Barrère, Lucien Bonaparte, Eugène Beauharnais, Fouché, Bernadotte, Massena, Moreau, revolutionary generals, and members of the assemblies, &c.

It is confidently believed by those who knew Mme. Récamier best, that she had no lovers, in the common acceptation of the word; whether from conscientious scruples, from coldness, or from a desire to retain her power (on which she certainly set a very high value) over every man whom her charms had subjugated, we do not attempt to determine. Mme. Lenormant has, as we have already remarked, not furnished us with the smallest indications of her aunt's sentiments on this or any other subject, except through her report of them. The fact of the opinion of those who knew Mme. Récamier well, is, therefore, all we affect to speak to, and of that we can speak with confidence. Accepting this opinion, we may affirm that Mme. Récamier was a singular example of a person more rigorous to herself than to anybody else. Her choice of female associates seems to show that she did not exact from them the severity she practised herself. But it is very possible that Mme. Récamier, so indulgent to the frailties of others, might have none with which to reproach herself.

It appears to us that what she valued above all things was homage and influence. Perhaps too, in making the sort of marriage she did, she had sealed up all the warmer fountains of a woman's heart. There is something shadowy and bloodless about the fair vision. She seems to have lived under a constant constraint; watching over the treasure of her beauty with anxious vigilance, and never for one moment off her guard; never melted to a perilous softness, nor exalted into the enthusiasm of that love in which self is forgotten. Parnell's exquisite song expresses far better than we can, the answer of a *true woman* to

her lover's doubt, whether she should be regarded as an angel or a woman:—

> 'There's a passion and pride
> In our sex, she replied;
> And thus (could I gratify both) would I do:
> An angel appear to each lover beside,
> But still be a woman to you.'

Mme. Récamier's fate, or her disposition, condemned her to be always an angel;—a character which it is not easy to sustain, but for which she appears to have had as many qualifications as can well fall to the lot of her sex.

But it is time that we should put an end to our reflections and enable our readers to make their own.

Madame Récamier (Jeanne-Françoise-Julie-Adélaïde Bernard), born at Lyons, in 1777, was the daughter of Jean Bernard, a notary. He was handsome, and married to a very pretty wife. From them the little Juliette inherited the beauty to which she owed her great celebrity. She received her early education in a convent at Lyons, and seems to have retained through life not only the faith she imbibed there, but the most affectionate recollections of the tranquil existence, with all its charms of incense, flowers, and ceremonies, by which the Church of Rome appeals so successfully to the feelings of the young and susceptible. She left her convent to join her parents at Paris, where her education — that is her taste for music and dress — seems to have been sedulously cultivated by her vain and frivolous mother.

In the year 1793, she married M. Jaques Récamier, the son of a hosier at Lyons, who had risen to great opulence at Paris. He was, according to Mme. Lenormant's representation, a handsome weak man, without strong principles or strong affections; content with everybody and everything; recklessly and indiscriminately generous; ready to do anything for his friends while they lived, and perfectly indifferent when they died. At the time he proposed marriage to the child whom he had seen grow in beauty, he was forty-two, and she fifteen. Concerning this singular union or contract, we must quote our author's words. 'It was quite voluntarily, without alarm or repugnance, 'that Juliette accepted his offer. Her mother in part fulfilled 'her duty by representing to her the objections arising from so 'great a disparity of age; but Juliette, accustomed to see M. 'Récamier at her father's house, to receive from him many marks 'of kindness, and all her finest dolls, did not doubt that he 'would be a most obliging husband (un mari plein de com-'plaisance), and accepted, without the smallest anxiety, the

'future which was offered to her.' Their relations, however, as we are given to understand, remained throughout life of a filial and parental character. We shall not discuss the nature and results of such a marriage. We try in vain to understand by what process the heart and mind of a girl of fifteen are rendered so dead to the soft promptings of nature, as willingly to renounce for ever the dearest and noblest hope of dawning womanhood — mutual and equal love, with all the train of holy affections and noble duties which it brings, — to think of a husband as a man from whom she is to receive wealth, civil attentions (*complaisance*), and a name — to abjure for ever that love which is the true life of woman, or to look for it out of the pale of marriage.

Of these alternatives Mme. Récamier, as it appears, chose the former. A resolution which did honour to her discretion and virtue, but condemned her at once and for ever to a life of hollowness and unreality. Spite of all her triumphs, spite even of those pure, faithful, and honourable friendships which were the charm and glory of her existence, we feel that it essentially missed its true aim; and that she was constantly occupied in an unquiet search for some substitute for happiness. Mme. Lenormant speaks of the 'moments of depression and disgust 'so frequent in an existence at once empty and brilliant;' and again, 'at the very acmé of her luxury, splendour, and renown, 'this existence so rich and so animated, was far from bestowing 'happiness on one so envied. The affections which constitute 'the true felicity and dignity of woman, were wanting to her '—and her desert heart, greedy of tenderness and devotion, 'sought an aliment for its cravings in the homage of passionate 'admiration which pleased her ear.' Nothing can be more true; but when Mme. Récamier's biographer tells us, that she was 'privée *par la destinée* des affections qui d'ordinaire remplissent 'et absorbent le cœur des femmes,' we think that destiny is very unjustly blamed for a choice which implies, either in the individual or in the society to which she belongs, a defective or distorted state of the moral sentiments. Several of the marriages mentioned incidentally in the course of these volumes, seem to have been contracted from similar motives, and with somewhat similar results.

M. Récamier had a certain pride in his young wife's beauty, and ministered profusely to her taste for the splendours and elegancies of life. In 1796, he hired the Château de Clichy, about two leagues from Paris, where his wife and her mother took up their abode. M. Récamier went there every day to dinner, after which he returned to sleep at Paris, 'whither

'his tastes, habits, and business conspired to recall him.' This singular arrangement continued for several years. In the spring, Mme. Récamier left Paris for Clichy, where she was within reach of the pleasures of the capital. In 1798, they quitted the house in which they had lived from the time of their marriage, and bought the hotel belonging to M. Necker, in the Rue du Mont Blanc (now, de la Chaussée d'Autin). The ardent friendship which existed between Mme. de Staël and Mme. Récamier, dates from this negotiation. Among the fragments of Mme. Récamier's MS. Memoirs, we find the following account of their first interview.

'One day, a day which formed an epoch in my life, M. Récamier arrived at Clichy, accompanied by a lady whose name he did not tell me, and whom he left alone with me while he went to speak to some persons in the park. This lady came to speak about the sale and purchase of a house. Her dress was strange. She wore a morning gown and a little dress bonnet ornamented with flowers. I took her for a foreigner. I was struck with the beauty and expressiveness of her eyes. I could not account for what I felt, but it is certain that I was more intent on observing and, so to say, divining her, than in addressing her in the usual phrases of civility. She said to me, with a lively and impressive grace, that she "was really delighted "to make my acquaintance, that M. Necker her father ——" At these words I knew her to be Madame de Staël. I did not hear the rest of her sentence. I blushed, and my embarrassment was extreme. I had just read her "Lettres sur Rousseau," and was intensely interested in them. I expressed what I felt rather by looks than words. She awed, while she attracted me. You immediately felt her to be a person perfectly natural, and of a superior nature. She, on her side, fixed her large eyes upon me with a kindly curiosity, and paid me compliments on my face which would have been exaggerated and too direct, if they had not seemed to escape her involuntarily, which gave an irresistible charm to her praises. My embarrassment did not injure me in her opinion. She understood it, and expressed a desire to see me frequently on her return to Paris. She was going to Coppet. Madame de Staël was then but as a transient vision to me, but the impression it left was most lively. I thought of nothing but Madame de Staël, so strongly had her ardent and powerful nature acted upon mine.' (Vol. i. p. 24.)

Such was the first meeting of these two remarkable women; the beginning of a friendship which for strength and fidelity, will stand a comparison with any friendship that has subsisted between the most magnanimous men. Both had great weaknesses; but the qualities and the sentiments that could inspire and maintain such a friendship through all the temptations and terrors of such a period, in the hearts of two women the most admired, the most flattered, the most eager for admiration,

the most dependent on the opinion and sympathy of others, that ever existed, suffice to convince us of the affectionate, generous nature which was almost the only gift they had in common. Their pretensions were indeed of a totally different kind; but we all know that this will not disarm the jealous rage for popularity, or the envy of any kind of superiority.

There is a curious example of this in no less a person than Napoleon Bonaparte. Mme. Récamier's first offence against him was, that she attracted the eyes of an assembly convened to do him honour. It was at the grand reception given by the Directory, in 1797, to the conqueror of Italy, in the great court of the Luxembourg.

'At the end of the court was an altar, and upon it a statue of Liberty; at the foot of this symbol the five directors clad in Roman costume, the ministers, ambassadors, and various functionaries ranged on an amphitheatre; behind them, benches for invited guests. On one of these were seated Madame Récamier and her mother. She had never seen General Bonaparte, but shared in the general enthusiasm for the youthful conqueror. At that time he was very thin, and his head had a striking character of grandeur and firmness. Madame Récamier, where she sat, could not distinguish his features, which she had a very natural curiosity to see, and while Barras was making a long speech she rose from her seat to look at him. At this movement, which disclosed her whole person, the eyes of the crowd were turned upon her and she was greeted by a long murmur of admiration. This noise did not escape Bonaparte. He turned his head suddenly to the spot to which the public attention was directed, to see what object could have diverted it from himself; he beheld a young lady dressed in white, and threw at her a glance, the sternness of which she could not sustain, and instantly sat down.' (Vol. i. p. 20.)

But Mme. Récamier's offences against the *amour propre* and the despotic will of Bonaparte did not end here. They soon became more serious and irritating. The picture of the Bonaparte family incidentally disclosed in this book, is extremely instructive as well as amusing; and we shall follow out the story of Mme. Récamier's relations with them, not only because they are among the most remarkable of the many remarkable persons with whom she came in contact, but because the characteristic traits of that family have acquired a considerable importance to the world.

The first who figures is Lucien, who, under the name of Romeo, made vehement and vulgar love to this Juliet, and, finding that he made no progress in his poetical character, proceeded to more direct appeals to her mercy in his own name. These letters she showed to M. Récamier, and begged

his advice. The prudent banker commended his young wife's virtue, but represented to her that 'to shut the door in the 'face of so great a man as the brother of the First Consul, would 'be to compromise and perhaps to ruin his bank;' and concluded by saying, 'she must grant her illustrious suitor nothing, but 'must not drive him to despair.' Such was the state of subjection to which terror had reduced the minds of men in France. The main strength of despots is that they generally succeed to periods of disorder and anarchy, of which indeed they are the lineal offspring. They find men cowed and demoralised and ready to become instruments of their tyranny or slaves of their caprice.

We had no idea that Lucien was so vulgar or so foolish as he appears in these letters. We come next to the ladies,—Mme. Bacciocchi and Mme. Leclerc, (Elisa and Pauline) soon to become imperial highnesses, and now exulting in their budding honours, and their newly acquired power. We shall see with what princely sentiments and manners they were likely to adorn their station.

M. Bernard, the father of Mme. Récamier, who had the office of Administrateur des Postes, was arrested on a charge of favouring a treasonable correspondence with the Royalists. This affair is fortunately related in Mme. Récamier's own words:—

'Madame Bacciocchi (Elise Bonaparte) wishing to know M. de Laharpe, asked me to give her a dinner to meet him. I consented, though we were by no means on such terms of intimacy as to warrant such a request; but the members of the family of the First Consul were beginning to assume princely airs, and seemed already to think that they honoured those who received them. The party consisted of Madame Bacciocchi, Madame de Staël, my mother, MM. de Laharpe, de Narbonne, and Matthieu de Montmorency. At the moment of our rising from table a note was delivered to my mother; she just glanced at it, uttered a cry, and fainted away.' . . . 'The note contained the news of my father's arrest. This was a thunderstroke to all present. I felt the necessity of controlling my emotion, and going up to Madame Bacciocchi, whose countenance expressed annoyance rather than sorrow, I said, "I must see the First Consul this very day, and I reckon on your kindness to obtain an interview for me." "But," replied Madame Bacciocchi, "I think you had better see Fouché first, to know exactly the state of affairs. Then, if it is necessary for you to see my brother, you'll come and tell me, and we will see what can be done." "Where shall I be able to find you, Madam?" I replied, in spite of the coldness of these words. "At the Théatre Français, in my box, where I am going to meet my sister, who expects me." Such a rendezvous at such a moment made me shudder.' (Vol. i. p. 67.)

Mme. Récamier then relates her fruitless attempt to move Fouché:—

'I quitted him,' she says, 'in a state of anguish impossible to describe, determined, whatever it might cost me, to follow Madame Bacciocchi to the theatre. When I arrived there I could hardly stand. I found Madame Bacciocchi in her box with Madame Leclerc. At the sight of me she could not repress a look of extreme vexation; but I was under the influence of a sentiment too strong to regard it. "I come, madam," said I, "to claim your promise. I *must* speak to the First Consul, or my father is lost." "Well," said Madame Bacciocchi coldly, "wait till the tragedy is finished, and I shall be at your service."' (Vol. i. p. 70.)

Poor Mme. Récamier dropped into a back seat, to await with such patience as she might the end of the play.

'While in this state,' she says, 'Madame Leclerc turning round to me suddenly, asked if I had seen Lafont before in the part of Achille, and without waiting for my answer, "He is very handsome," continued she, "but this evening he has on a horribly unbecoming helmet."' (Vol. i. p. 71.)

Bernadotte, whom Mme. Récamier saw for the first time in the box of these princesses, had more pity. He offered to intercede with the First Consul, and conducted her home, promising to return on the morrow. He obtained, after some delay, the liberation of the prisoner.

In the Mémorial de St. Hélène, Napoleon, referring to this transaction, says that 'he was hardly raised to the dignity of 'First Consul, when he found himself engaged in a conflict 'with the celebrated Mme. Récamier.' But the facts of the case are grossly misstated by him, and the motives for which, as he said, 'Madame Récamier and her partisans never forgave 'him,' are wholly misrepresented.

The next occasion on which Napoleon expressed his jealousy — for, strange as it may seem, that is the word — of Mme. Récamier, was during the trial of Moreau. From the time of her father's release, Bernadotte had continued to visit her on a footing of intimacy, and had expressed to her a feeling, then shared by many, of hostility to Bonaparte, and alarm for the freedom which France had bought so dear. In this she fully sympathised. She had witnessed the despair of Mme. de Staël at her exile from Paris, in 1803, and had from that time conceived a just aversion to a power exercised in so mean and pitiless a manner. Bernadotte one day showed her a list of republican generals upon whom he thought he could rely in an attempt to check the ambitious views of Bonaparte. But the only name which could be opposed to that of Bonaparte was the name of

Moreau, and it was impossible to induce Moreau to take any decisive steps. He saw the danger which menaced his country, but dreaded to plunge it into civil war. Thus it is that the virtuous scruples of the best of her citizens have more than once delivered over France to the grasp of fierce and unscrupulous despotism.

The arrest and trial of Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges Cadoudal; the banishment of the first, the mysterious and frightful death of the second, and the heroic conduct and language of the third, are matters of history. Nothing could exceed the gloom and terror which reigned during the whole trial; Pichegru was wanting, but his spectre seemed to stand among the accused, for it was known that he had perished in prison; and the tragical death of the Duc d'Enghien was present to all minds. At the request of Mme. Moreau, who was her intimate friend, Mme. Récamier went to the Palais de Justice, escorted by M. Brillat Savarin, a magistrate of gastronomic fame. As soon as Moreau saw her, he rose and bowed, which she returned, as she says, 'with emotion and respect.' As he went out, escorted by gendarmes, he passed her and uttered a few words expressive of his thanks, and his hope of seeing her there on the morrow. This transient interview was their last.

'On the following day, at seven o'clock in the morning,' she says, 'I had a message from Cambacérès. He begged me, even for Moreau's sake, not to go again to the court. The First Consul, on reading the report of the sitting, having seen my name, exclaimed sharply, "What was Madame Récamier doing there?"'

As Mme. Moreau joined in advising her not to go, she reluctantly yielded. Moreau was condemned, as we know, to deportation. One of the judges being told, that Bonaparte only wished Moreau to be condemned in order that he might grant him a pardon, answered, 'And who will grant *us* one?' These noble words deserve to be recorded by the side of those uttered by Georges Cadoudal, when his friends begged him to follow the example of the other prisoners, and petition for mercy. 'Me promettez-vous,' replied he, 'une plus belle occasion de mourir?'

After these incidents it will easily be understood how Mme. Récamier gradually became the centre of the circle least favourable to the domination of Bonaparte: and a last and deadly offence which excited the implacable rancour of Napoleon against Mme. Récamier was now at hand. At a ball given by Lucien, at which her husband's timid and interested scruples obliged her to be present, she met Napoleon for the second and last time in her life. She was dressed, as usual,

entirely in white, a practice which she never altered, and with her beautiful pearls and fairer skin was an object of universal admiration. Napoleon addressed some words to Fouché with his eyes fixed upon her, in such a manner that it was evident he was speaking of her. Shortly after, Fouché placed himself behind the chair in which she was sitting, and said to her in a low voice, 'Le Premier Consul vous trouve charmante.' Such a message, sent with so little *ménagement* by such a man, was obviously rude and insulting, and we hardly understand how after this, his attention to Mme. Récamier deserves to be called '*respectueuse*.' When dinner was announced, Bonaparte walked out first and alone, without offering his arm to any lady. On leaving the table he said to her, 'Why did you 'not come and sit next me?' 'I should not have presumed to 'do so,' said she. 'It was your place,' he replied. The dinner was succeeded by a concert, during which the eyes of Napoleon were riveted upon her with an intensity which made her uncomfortable. These short interviews, it appears, sufficed to leave a deep impression on the First Consul.

At the time of his elevation to the imperial throne in 1805, Mme. Récamier was living at Clichy, where Fouché's visits were so frequent as to excite her surprise that the minister of police could spare time for them. As he found her always surrounded by a numerous circle, he one day asked for a private interview, which was granted. He began by expressing great regret at the sort of opposition to the Emperor, which had gradually established itself in her *salon*. He said that Napoleon was extremely offended at it, and added, with an air of great interest, that he strongly advised Mme. Récamier to avoid any displays of an hostility which might irritate the Emperor. There was another woman he said, young and brilliant, high in rank and highly connected, who had shown something more than coldness for the new Court. But the Emperor had quickly conquered this feminine resistance, and with one of his usual *brusqueries* had reminded the haughty Duchess de Chevreuse of the origin of the great wealth of the family of Luynes, and of the possibility of another confiscation. The house of Luynes, and the allied house of Montmorency were too glad, added Fouché, to compel the Duchess de Chevreuse to accept the place of Dame du Palais to the Empress. We shall see hereafter what was the fate of this noble victim of mean-souled despotism. Mme. Récamier was rather surprised at Fouché's advice, but thanked him for the interest he took in her; she protested that she did not meddle with politics, but that it was utterly impossible for her to desert her friends, or to separate herself from them. That day the conversation went no further.

Some time after, Fouché walking with Mme. Récamier in the park at Clichy, said with a smile,—

'"Can you guess with whom I was talking about you for near an hour last night? The Emperor." "But," said she, "he hardly knows me!" "From the day he met you he has never forgotten you. He complains of your enmity, but he does not blame you, but your friends."'

Fouché then urged her to tell him her real opinion of the Emperor. She replied with perfect frankness that, at first, she had been a warm admirer of his genius and his glorious achievements, but that the persecution of her friends, the death of the Duc d'Enghien, the exile of Mme. de Staël, and that of Moreau, had wounded all her sympathies and changed her sentiments respecting him. In spite of this avowal, Fouché resolutely entered on the purpose of his visit. He urged the beautiful Juliette to ask for a place about the Court, and took upon him to promise that her request would be instantly granted. This unexpected proposal excited not only surprise, but the utmost repugnance in Mme. Récamier; but she collected herself, and gave various plausible reasons for declining such an honour, the chief of which was her love of independence. Fouché smiled, and protested that she would enjoy perfect liberty; then adroitly seizing the highest attraction which such a post could have for a generous mind, he dwelt on the great services she might render to the oppressed of all classes, and the beneficial ascendancy which a woman of her virtues and charms might exercise over the Emperor.

'He has never yet,' added he, 'met with a woman worthy of him, and no one knows what would be the love of Napoleon for a pure-minded woman; she would assuredly obtain an influence over him which would be most beneficent.'

The devil evidently knew with what bait to angle for his expected prey. He was so excited by the pursuit that he did not perceive the disgust with which he was listened to. Mme. Récamier thought it better to treat all this as a jest, and to laugh at the romantic dreams of the Minister; but such a conversation naturally rendered her very uneasy. The only person to whom she communicated it was her noble friend Duc Matthieu de Montmorency, who shared her anxiety, and advised the greatest prudence and reserve.

The next person employed in this honourable service was Mme. Murat, who wound up her persuasions, by saying, with an air of great affection, that if Mme. Récamier accepted the title of Dame du Palais, she expected and demanded that it should be in her

service. She remembered Mme. Récamier's admiration for Talma, and sent her an order for her box the nights he acted. Mme. Récamier used this twice, which, we confess, seems to us a strange departure from the dignified reserve with which the civilities of such people are to be received, or rather repelled. Need it be said that on both occasions the Emperor was in the opposite box, and ostentatiously kept his opera-glass directed towards her? We can hardly be asked to believe that a woman so accustomed to admiration did not anticipate this result. The courtiers, who watched every movement of their master, loudly predicted that Mme. Récamier was about to be elevated to supreme favour.

Fouché, meanwhile, did not abandon his negotiation, and openly talked of the project of attaching Mme. Récamier to the Court. At length, one day at Clichy, he took her aside and said, 'You can no longer refuse; it is not I, it is the Emperor 'himself, who proposes to you the place of Dame du Palais, and 'I am commanded to offer it to you in his name.' Fouché was so far from imagining a refusal possible, that he did not wait for an answer, and joined some persons present. Things being come to this pass, she thought it necessary to inform M. Récamier, who, we are happy to say, did *not* carry his solicitude for his bank so far as to try to overcome his wife's repugnance. 'He entered without difficulty into the sentiments she expressed, 'and left her at full liberty to follow them.' Fortunately for Mme. Récamier, she wanted nothing more than permission to preserve her own virtue and fair fame. Less aid or protection it seems impossible to have had from the person usually considered most interested.

On Fouché's return, she gave him her refusal, which, though decisive, was couched in the least offensive language, and sugared over with expressions of gratitude. But nothing could appease his irritation at seeing his plan defeated. He changed countenance, and in the violence of his anger broke out into invectives against Mme. Récamier's friends, especially Matthieu de Montmorency, whom he accused of having contributed to 'cause this outrage to the Emperor.' He ran on against 'la *caste nobiliaire*,' for which, he added, the Emperor 'had a 'fatal indulgence,' and quitted Clichy never to return.

From this time, Mme. Récamier had nothing to expect but a persecution as relentless as it was petty. It extended to all her friends, and even, as we shall see, to the very innocuous M. Récamier. When at the zenith of his power, the Emperor Napoleon was extremely irritated at seeing the most considerable men among his ministers and lieutenants assiduous visitors of Mme.

Récamier. He sometimes complained of it, and one day, when three ministers then in power had accidentally met at her house, the Emperor knew it, and asked them 'How long it was that 'the council had been held at Mme. Récamier's house.' He was equally impatient if foreigners of distinction frequented her *salon.* Metternich, then Austrian ambassador, at first wholly abstained from going, and when at length he took courage to brave the peril of such an enterprise, he only ventured to call at hours when he was not likely to meet people. Even sovereign princes were obliged to bow to the same petty and jealous tyranny. Among them was the reigning Grand Duke of Mecklenburg Strelitz, brother of the beautiful Louisa, queen of Prussia, who, being in Paris in 1807, had been under the humiliating necessity of visiting her *incognito.* In 1843, having never seen her in the interval, he wrote to her thus:—

'. . . Parmi les souvenirs précieux que je vous dois, il y en a un surtout que la mémoire du cœur ne cesse de me retracer avec tout le charme qui lui est propre: c'est la conduite si éminemment noble, généreuse et aimable que vous avez observée vis-à-vis de moi après que Napoléon avait hautement dit dans le salon de l'Impératrice Joséphine "qu'il regarderait comme son ennemi personnel tout "étranger qui fréquenterait le salon de Madame Récamier." . . .'

Up to this point we have followed Mme. Récamier floating on the full tide of success,—lavishly endowed with beauty, wealth, fame; surrounded by faithful friends and ardent lovers, courted, and courted in vain, by the man who gave law to monarchs. What could be expected but that this spoiled child of nature and fortune should become wilful, despotic, and selfish towards others; feeble, dependent, and defenceless against the strokes of adversity? She was neither. Power did not harden her heart, nor luxury unnerve her spirit.

We shall now see her tried by misfortune, showing a degree of firmness, courage, and fortitude, little to be expected from a woman of five-and-twenty, nursed in ease and luxury, and never even permitted to trouble herself with household arrangements, or to understand the value of money. She was at the zenith of her beauty and her power. Her husband's wealth had been employed in building a shrine suited to the idol who was to be worshipped in it. The house in the Rue du Mont Blanc was furnished with fabulous splendour. Every article in it was made from a model expressly designed for the occasion. It was in the monstrous style which so fitly characterised that period and was suited to the taste which then prevailed, but nothing was wanting to its magnificence. Mme. Récamier's life was, as we have said, an unnatural and factitious one; she

had renounced the nature and affections, the warm emotions, the passionate devotion, the soft compliances and tender cares of woman; she had, as a compensation, a golden pedestal on which her beauty sat enthroned. And now, in the plenitude of her power, all these splendours were suddenly taken from her. Her husband was a bankrupt, and what was worse, displayed a poverty of character and a prostration of spirit below even the level of his ruined fortunes. So far from doing anything to break the stroke to the young creature whom he had so ill prepared for the adversity in which he now involved her, he made no effort to sustain himself.

One Saturday in the autumn of 1806, M. Récamier came to his wife in a state of agitation impossible to describe, and told her that by a series of adverse circumstances, his bank was in a state of embarrassment, which however he hoped would be but momentary. He had applied to the Bank of France for a loan of a million on good security, and in case his request was granted he hoped that his affairs would be re-established; but if not, in forty-eight hours, he should be obliged to suspend payment. She was at first stunned by this abrupt announcement of so unlooked-for a reverse; but soon summoning all her strength, and looking her new duties clearly in the face, she tried to impart some of her own courage to M. Récamier. In vain. He hurried off to the country, leaving her to receive a large dinner party. She went through this horrible trial with such perfect apparent tranquillity, that none of the guests suspected the anguish that lay hid under her sweet smile, or the ruin that impended over the mistress of such a feast. The advance from the Bank of France which in other cases would have been granted almost as a matter of course, was harshly refused, and the house stopped payment. 'Mme. Récamier,' says her biographer, 'never disguised from herself that this 'refusal was prompted by the Emperor's personal resentment 'against herself. She accepted the loss of fortune with firm-'ness and serenity, without complaint and without ostentation, 'and evinced a promptitude and resolution which never deserted 'her in the various subsequent trials of her life.' All the gorgeous furniture and plate were sold, nor did Mme. Récamier reserve a single jewel that had adorned her lovely person. As a purchaser could not immediately be found for so large and costly a house, she immediately let the whole of it, except a small apartment on the ground floor, to which she retired.

But if the conduct of Mme. Récamier was worthy of all admiration and respect, that of the society in which she lived was no less so. It is with the liveliest satisfaction that we dwell

upon a feature of the French character which does so much honour to the nation. How the notion ever gained ground that the French are unstable in friendship, we have never been able to understand. The French are capable of sacrifices to friendship of which we have no conception. We do not mean the sacrifices of a great effort, or a munificent gift, or any act performed under the influence of strong and excited feelings, but the daily and hourly sacrifice of ease, of leisure, of the desire for change, or the indulgence of a personal taste or fancy. Well may Mme. Lenormant claim for her countrymen the honour so justly due to their fidelity to the unfortunate. 'Mme. Récamier,' she says, 'found herself the object of universal interest and 'respect — her door was besieged; everybody thought it an 'honour to express their sympathy with adversity so nobly 'borne.'

We have seen with what jealous disgust Napoleon regarded the homage paid to Mme. Récamier in her prosperity. The general sympathy with her in adversity was equally distasteful to him. When Junot, who was in Paris during this catastrophe, rejoined the Emperor in Germany, he enlarged upon it with great interest. The Emperor interrupted him, and said in a tone of extreme ill-humour, 'People would not pay so much 'homage to the widow of a Marshal of France killed on the 'field of battle.' On every occasion one sees how the sore rankled. He had coveted her beauty as an ornament to his new-made court, or for still viler ends. But as soon as he found that he could not turn it to his own uses, he regarded it with hatred and jealousy, as an enemy and a rival; and wreaked upon a gentle but high-spirited woman all the accumulated rancour of offended vanity, resisted power, and baffled desire.

The following summer Mme. Récamier went to Coppet, where she was received by Mme. de Staël with the most enthusiastic affection. Here she met Prince Augustus of Prussia, who had been taken prisoner in the campaign of 1806, and was residing at Geneva. As this was one of the incidents of her life the most remarkable in itself, and the most illustrative of her character, we shall follow it in some detail. Prince Augustus was, like his brother,—the heroic, captivating, and unfortunate Prince Louis Ferdinand,—remarkably handsome, brave, and chivalrous. He was the type of a frank and loyal German prince, and the reverses and humiliations of his country had only served to render his patriotism more fervent and devoted.

'The passion he conceived for Mme. de Staël's friend,' says the biographer, 'was intense. Being himself a Protestant, and a native

of a country in which divorce is authorised by law, both civil and ecclesiastical, he flattered himself that the beautiful Juliette would consent to dissolve her merely formal marriage, and proposed to make her his wife. Three months passed in the enchantments of a passion by which Mme. Récamier, if she did not share it, was deeply touched. All things conspired to favour Prince Augustus. Mme. de Staël's imagination, easily captivated by anything romantic and singular, rendered her an eloquent auxiliary of the prince, and the very scenes around them—the lovely shores of Lake Leman, peopled with romantic shadows,—were well fitted to trouble the reason.

'Mme. Récamier's resolution was for a moment shaken, and she accepted the proposal of marriage, which, coming from a prince of royal blood and impressed with a high sense of the prerogatives of his birth and station, was the strongest proof that could be given, not only of passion, but of esteem. Promises of marriage were interchanged, and Mme. Récamier wrote to her husband to demand that as their marriage was in fact null, it might be formally dissolved. M. Récamier replied that he would consent if such was her desire, but appealed to her better feelings, reminding her of the affection he had borne her from her childhood, and the entire deference he had shown for all her wishes. The generosity and paternal tenderness of this letter wrought an immediate change in her sentiments. She felt it impossible to desert a man who had lavished upon her every indulgence his large fortune could procure, now that age and poverty had overtaken him. She returned to Paris fully resolved in her own mind.' (Vol. i. p. 140.)

This was worthy of the kind and generous woman who, as Mme. de Staël said, never deserted an unfortunate friend. But we cannot admire or approve Mme. Récamier's treatment of her royal lover. Instead of candidly telling Prince Augustus the revolution which had taken place in her mind (and which did her so much honour), she allowed him to return to Berlin, eager to prepare the way for a union which was sure to be attended with great obstacles and sacrifices on his part, in full reliance on her vows ('*serments*'). Soon after her return to Paris she sent him her portrait — that celebrated portrait which was the ornament of the prince's residence at Berlin to the day of his death. She had also given him a ring, which was, by his desire, buried with him. In April, 1808, the period of his country's lowest humiliation, Mme. Récamier still flattered his hopes, and allowed him to regard her as his affianced wife. Meanwhile, the state of Prussia rendered it very difficult for the prince to carry on a correspondence with a person who was the object of the active *surveillance* of a suspicious police; nor could he see her, for the king forbade him to venture into France, where he would probably have been treated as a prisoner. 'Tortured by all these anxieties, 'public and private, he fell dangerously ill.' The sentence which follows this seems to us strange enough.

'Mme. Récamier on her side, having returned to her family (what family?), weighed, with more *sang froid*, and with a more dispassionate reason, all the chances, all the temptations, and all the disadvantages of the prospect offered to her. Though penetrated with the most profound gratitude for the loyal and devoted affection of Prince Augustus, she felt, on sounding her own heart, that she could but imperfectly respond to the sentiments she inspired, and she scrupled to accept so serious a sacrifice from a man whom she could not requite with equal love.' (Vol. i. p. 144.)

Her religious scruples and the dread of quitting her country for ever, did the rest.

She wrote Prince Augustus a letter intended to put an end to all his hopes. 'I was struck as with a thunderbolt on re-'ceiving your letter,' he says in his answer. He refused to yield to her decision, and continued to insist on his right to see her once more. After evading for four years the interview which he demanded, in 1811 she appointed to meet him at Schaffhausen. This project was frustrated by the sentence of exile which met Mme. Récamier on her arrival at Coppet. Prince Augustus continued to correspond with her till the year 1815, when he entered Paris with the allied armies. He commanded the Prussian artillery, and wrote to her, from every one of the French towns which he besieged and took, letters full of passion and of Prussian patriotism — a combination certainly not very cunningly imagined, and which the equally patriotic French woman never forgave. His last interview with Mme. Récamier was in 1825, when he found her in her retreat at the Abbaye-aux-Bois.

This is (so far as it appears in the book before us) the solitary approach to a love-passage during the long reign of the idol of so many hearts. Our readers will determine whether or not we are mistaken in our view of her character. If any man could have kindled a passion in the heart of woman, surely a prince, young, handsome, brave, unfortunate, and so much in love as to be willing to exchange all that he possessed for her love, was the man to do so. But it is clear that, though her imagination was for a moment excited and dazzled, she never loved him; and as soon as she returned to the way of life, and the *entourage* which habit and taste rendered necessary to her, she recovered her '*sang-froid*,' and broke the vows which bound her to her idolising lover without the smallest difficulty.

We come now to the crowning act of Napoleon's revenge, the banishment of Mme. Récamier from Paris. Mme. de Staël, as our readers know, had incurred a similar sentence in 1803. Mme. Récamier's generous and courageous sympathy at that time had drawn much closer the bonds which united these remarkable

women. They were now to be the common objects of the inexorable vengeance with which Napoleon visited the genius and the beauty which he could neither buy, nor seduce, nor intimidate.

In Mme. de Staël's 'Dix Années d'Exil,' she speaks of the generous hospitality offered her by Mme. Récamier, the first time she excited the alarm and incurred the resentment of Napoleon: she says:—

'This woman, so celebrated for her beauty, and whose character that beauty so truly expresses, sent to propose to me to come to reside at her country house, two leagues from Paris. I accepted, for I did not then know that I could injure a person so entirely a stranger to politics. I thought her safe from everything, spite of the generosity of her character. The most agreeable society met at her house, and there I enjoyed for the last time all that I was about to leave. It was in those stormy days that I received Mr. Mackintosh's speech. It was in that house that I read those pages in which he portrays a Jacobin who, after having been during the Revolution the terror of old men, women, and children, bends under the rod of the Corsican, who strips him of every atom of that liberty for which he pretended to have taken up arms. This passage, full of the noblest eloquence, moved my inmost soul. Writers of a high order sometimes, unknown to themselves, soothe the unfortunate of all countries and all ages. After passing some days at the house of Madame Récamier without hearing anything more of my exile, I persuaded myself that Bonaparte had given it up. General Junot, for her sake, promised to go the next day to speak about it to the First Consul, which he did with great earnestness.'

Mme. de Staël deceived herself in hoping to be forgotten by the suspicious police of that period. Her sentence of exile was confirmed, and she determined to set out for Germany. She employed the period of her residence in that country in collecting the materials for her celebrated work 'de l'Allemagne;' and passed the years 1808 and 1809, at Coppet, occupied in completing it. The following year Mme. de Staël went to spend a few days at a house belonging to Duke Matthieu, near Blois. On her return from this excursion she learned that the whole edition of her book was seized; and at the same time received from the Duc de Rovigo the injunction to return immediately to Coppet, there to remain till her intended departure for America. Thus was Europe reduced to a state of lawless oppression which invaded even the sanctuary of private life. Public opinion became more and more alarmed and indignant at the monstrous abuse of power; and, as a natural consequence, the police, more and more watchful and jealous. Any one who was suspected of opposition to the government immediately be-

came the object of an active and minute surveillance. Not only Mme. de Staël, whose literary eminence and liberal opinions rendered her formidable, but several other women who had taken no part whatever in politics, were condemned to exile.

After the seizure of the 10,000 copies of her book, Mme. de Staël remained at Coppet, in the greatest anxiety, her mind torn between the determination to go to seek an asylum in Sweden and the grief of quitting France. Mme. Récamier being resolved to see her once more, gave out, in the spring of 1810, that she was going to the baths of Aix, in Savoy, for her health, and procured a passport for that place. She was, however, warned of the dangers of a journey, the real object of which it was easy to divine. She was cautioned against 'suffering herself to be led away, by an excess of kind feel-'ing, to commit an act of imprudence useless to her friend, 'and likely to bring upon herself the most deplorable conse-'quences.' To these timid counsels Mme. Récamier replied that the visit of an inoffensive woman to an unhappy friend, who was about to quit France, was so natural and innocent a step, that it was impossible to believe that the government could take umbrage at it. But be the consequences what they might, she was determined not to withhold from a persecuted woman this proof of affection and respect. She accordingly set out for Coppet in August, 1811. The readers of the 'Dix Années 'd'Exil' may remember the eloquent passage in which Mme. de Staël relates the circumstances of this extraordinary and heroic interview. Both Mme. Récamier and M. de Montmorency expiated the crime of attachment to a proscribed friend by a sentence of banishment from Paris.

Mme. Récamier fixed on Châlons-sur-Marne as her place of exile — *triste* enough, but in the neighbourhood of Montmirail, the magnificent seat of the Duc de Doudeauville (La Rochefoucault), whose son had married the only daughter of Matthieu de Montmorency. Those who had incurred the displeasure of the Master were shunned by all but the most devoted friends, and even they found it difficult to visit them. M. de Montmorency, who was staying at Montmirail, was three months without obtaining permission to spend a few days with his friend at Châlons. Mme. Lenormant remarks, that none but those who have witnessed the abject state into which men sink under absolute government, and the baseness of their conduct towards any one who has incurred its displeasure, can imagine all the forms and shades which servility and meanness can assume.

To the honour of the sex be it said, this idolised beauty, driven from the scene of all her pleasures and all her triumphs,

nay, even from the vulgar comforts and conveniences of life, rejected every proposal made to her to solicit her recall to Paris. She desired those of her friends who, like Junot, had familiar access to the Emperor, never to utter her name in his presence. It is impossible to read such traits as this, without feeling that Mme. Récamier was a person of honour in the highest sense of the word: she had great, perhaps excessive, indulgence for frailty, she had none for baseness. Her love of power was great, but disinterested. It was what in a man would be called honourable ambition. She liked to feel that she exercised power, but she never used it to obtain the smallest thing for herself. Yet there were moments when she might have had anything she asked for. During all the period of her adversity it never seems to have occurred to her to use the talisman she possessed for her own advantage. This is the real glory and distinction of Mme. Récamier. When we see how women, with not a tithe of her ascendancy, employ all their little means of captivation in order to 'get things' for husband, and sons — that is for themselves,—we think with infinite respect of one who having an unequalled influence over the hearts and wills of men scorned to ask a favour, and endured the poverty for which she was so ill prepared, and the exile which fell with tenfold severity upon one so beloved and admired, without the smallest sacrifice of dignity and independence.

After staying nearly a year at Châlons she removed to Lyons, where she found a sister of M. Récamier, who seems to have been a very estimable woman. Here, too, she found another victim of imperial resentment, the Duchess de Chevreuse, accompanied by her mother-in-law, the Duchess de Luynes. The Duchess de Chevreuse had, as we have seen, been sacrificed to the *ménagemens* which were thought necessary to the safety of her husband's family and fortune. But though she was forced to appear at the new Court, she carried with her all the haughty disdain which a woman of her high spirit and high birth could not but feel for such a parody. The Duchess de Chevreuse was not regularly beautiful, but singularly elegant and seductive. The Emperor, it was said, had been not insensible to her attractions, but she received his admiration with impenetrable coldness. At the time of the arrest of the royal family of Spain, Napoleon proposed to attach the Duchess to the service of the Queen. When this was communicated to Mme. de Chevreuse, she said, 'they might make her a prisoner, 'but never a gaoler,' a reply which immediately brought upon her sentence of exile. When Mme. Récamier met her, she had been dragging about in different parts of France, a malady

which was killing her. 'It appeared to her,' says Mme. Lenormant, 'more easy to renounce life than Paris.' This sentiment, which we find expressed with almost equal vehemence by Mme. de Staël, and even by the gentler and more patient Mme. Récamier — which, indeed, encounters us everywhere; this way of regarding France as a desert, and its inhabitants as barbarians with whom it was impossible to associate or to sympathise, diminishes our surprise at the unstable condition of a country where society rests not on its base but on its apex. If, as we are assured, disgust at the present state of things, and at the persons who now figure in the highest places at Paris, is gradually liberating the really good society of France from this bondage, and from the effect, at once exciting and enervating, of living for and in society; if it be true that the men of old family and territorial importance are living more and more on their estates, and attending to the improvement of men and things about them; if Frenchmen are learning to regard France, and not Paris, as their country, the present government will have rendered the greatest conceivable service to France. It may undo, in some small degree, the work of Richelieu and Louis XIV., and restore what remains of the highest classes in that country to their true duty, interest, and honour.

In January 1813, Mme. Récamier went to Rome, at that time the capital of a French department, governed by a French prefect, and without a Pope. But though even here she was still in the power of the rude hand which had exiled her from Paris, she found compensation in the society which surrounded her. Canova became one of her most devoted friends, saluted her every morning with a note or a sonnet by his brother the Abbé, and almost by stealth transferred her adorable head to marble. The bust displeased her, and the artist assigned to it the name of 'Beatrice.' After his death it was sent to her with a line of Dante, which singularly reminds us of Mme. Récamier herself:—

> 'Sovra candido vel, cinta d'oliva,
> Donna m' apparve.'

From Rome, Mme. Récamier proceeded to Naples, where she was received by the King and Queen with the greatest cordiality, and treated with every mark of attention, for in spite of the hostility of Napoleon she had always preserved her friendly relations with other members of the imperial family, and with none more than with Caroline Bonaparte. It was just at the moment when Murat had to decide between his fidelity to the man to whom he owed his crown, and the necessity of separating his own interests and those of his subjects from the ruin which Napoleon had provoked. He had made several

attempts to persuade the Emperor to make peace, but Napoleon, who treated his vassal kings with inconceivable *hauteur*, did not even deign to answer his brother-in-law's letters.

Murat, after a severe struggle, signed his adherence to the Coalition, on the 11th Jan. 1814.

'At the moment when this was made public, Murat entered his wife's room, where he found Mme. Récamier: he came up to her, expecting, no doubt, that she would approve the part he had taken, and asked her opinion. "Sire," said she, "you are a Frenchman! You must be faithful to France." Murat turned pale; and throwing open the window of a great balcony overlooking the sea, with violence, "I am then a traitor," said he, pointing to the English fleet, then sailing into the port of Naples. And sinking down on the sofa, he covered his face, and burst into tears.'

From Naples Mme. Récamier came back to Rome, where she witnessed the triumphant return of Pius VII. to the Vatican. The French domination was at an end. The usual fate of dethroned power was exemplified in the case of General Miollis; she had left him Commander of the French forces, and master of Rome; she found him living alone in his villa, with an old soldier, who was his only servant. He professed himself extremely touched and almost surprised by her visit, and told her that it was the *only one* he had received since he ceased to be Commandant of Rome.

Mme. Récamier returned to Paris under every conceivable circumstance of *éclat*. Her beauty was in its full and perfect flower; her joy at finding herself once more in her usual haunts, gave it additional radiance; and to all her natural charms were added the interest and the glory attached to the persecution she had undergone, and the firmness and generosity of her conduct. Her house became the resort of the most choice society, and the numerous eminent men of all countries who now resorted to Paris solicited the honour of being received by her. This was, according to Mme. Lenormant, the most brilliant period of her aunt's life. M. Récamier's fortune was to a certain extent restored, and his wife had inherited her mother's property, which amounted to 400,000 fr. She was, therefore, once more enabled to procure for herself all the comforts and indulgences of life. Above all, she found again the friends to whom she was so ardently and firmly attached; especially Mme. de Staël, Matthieu de Montmorency, and the widow of Moreau, from whom she had been separated by ten years of exile. Three generations of Montmorencys met in her *salon;* and it was on observing the passionate admiration with which she inspired his grandson Henri, that the old Duke said so prettily — '*Ils n'en mouraient pas tous, mais tous étaient frappés.*'

Paris, which had been crushed under another terror and another tyranny, once more rebounded and showed itself in all its former animation and brilliancy. The pride of the nation was indeed wounded by the presence of foreigners, but found a balm, as we are told, in the thought that French soldiers had bivouacked in the palace of every king on the Continent. The want of this strange consolation must have rendered the presence of our countrymen a source of unmitigated disgust. We fancy we trace some remains of this feeling in the succeeding pages which relate to the Duke of Wellington. We venture to think the insertion of the fragment of a diary, kept at the time by Mme. Récamier, a mistake. The Duke of Wellington had considerable defects, and among them was a certain bluntness of perception on some points, and a want of tact which not unfrequently accompany simplicity and directness of character like his. It does not at all surprise us that Mme. Récamier should have felt shocked and displeased at the coarseness which led him to imagine that her patriotic sorrow at the result of the battle of Waterloo would be lost in her joy at the fall of her personal enemy. We fully admit that the words which he is said to have addressed to Mme. Récamier the first time he saw her after his great victory over Napoleon — '*Je l'ai bien battu*,' were in very bad taste. The consequence of this speech was, as we are informed, that Mme. Récamier's door was shut against him; so that, by a singular chance, the same lady who had rejected Napoleon's attentions at the height of his power, affected to avenge his fall upon his too successful antagonist. We happen to know, however, that Mme. Récamier was by no means so incapable of appreciating the Duke of Wellington as these frivolous expressions would lead us to imagine. She was much struck with the truth and simplicity of his character, and estimated these qualities as they deserved. It will probably be long before the grounds on which rest our veneration for him will be fully understood in France, where military talents take precedence of all others. But we have ourselves heard perfectly just and candid opinions of him expressed by generous and discriminating Frenchmen.

The society of Paris under the government of the Restoration, was precisely that which was best fitted to the tastes and habits of Mme. Récamier; and although she cannot be said to have identified herself with any political party, it was at this period of her life, and under the reign of Louis XVIII., that those persons to whom she was most attached, were called upon to take an active part in public affairs. This was, in fact, the time at which she created the *salon*, which remained to the close of her life, one of the most attractive and polished houses

in France. It was frequented by foreigners as well as Frenchmen—the Duchess of Devonshire, the late Lord Bristol, the Duke of Hamilton, Lady Davy and Sir Humphry, with whom Mme. Récamier had ascended Mount Vesuvius, Humboldt—and of her own countrymen, the Montmorencys, the Bertins, the Periers, Benjamin Constant, M. Villemain, and at a later period Count Montalembert, M. de Tocqueville, Thierry, Salvandy, Sainte Beuve, Merimée, and Ampère. Amongst this group of men, distinguished by so many excellences, the principal place belonged to Duc Matthieu de Montmorency, M. de Chateaubriand, and M. Ballanche. We have, therefore, reserved for this place a brief notice of them, without which no sketch of the life of Mme. Récamier could be complete.

First in order of time, first in high descent, first in honour and virtue, and in pure, lofty, courageous, and disinterested friendship, was Duke Matthieu de Montmorency. The class of men to which he belonged, and of which he may be accepted as a representative, has ceased to exist. The few specimens that survive only serve to fill us with deep but vain regret that such models of social grace and refinement have passed away. In these respects the French Revolution has thrown back civilisation to an incalculable extent. Nor can we console ourselves with the notion that society has gained in virtue what it has lost in grace. Politeness,—by which we mean regard for the feelings of others, for the feelings especially of the weak, the inferior, the aged, the unprotected,—politeness, was the special quality of the highest classes of France, and from them descended through all ranks. The restraints and the duties imposed by those laws of politeness by which every gentleman felt himself bound, softened the asperities of harsh tempers, and added irresistible grace to gentle ones. This fairest flower of high culture was allied to many of the most important virtues,—humanity, honour, generosity;—and it cannot be denied that some of the most eminent examples of it were to be found in the aristocracy of France. It was in the year 1799 that Mme. Récamier became acquainted with the two cousins of that illustrious race, Adrien de Montmorency, Prince, and afterwards Duc de Laval; and Matthieu, Viscomte, afterwards Duc Matthieu de Montmorency.

'Messieurs de Montmorency,' says Madame Lenormant, 'were both just returned from emigration. They were cousins-german, nearly of the same age, and attached to each other from infancy by the most intimate and unchanging friendship, though nothing could be more unlike than their characters.'

Passing over the Prince de Laval, as not only inferior to his cousin, but a less important personage in our history, we shall

present to our readers the striking portrait given by Mme. Lenormant of Matthieu de Montmorency.

He was born in 1760, and served in America under his father, who was colonel of the regiment of Auvergne. He belonged to that small group of the high aristocracy, in which enthusiasm for the ideas of progress, reform, and of social revolution, was most intense. He was a great deal in the society of Mme. de Staël. It will be remembered that it was on a motion of Matthieu de Montmorency, deputy to the States-general, that, on the 4th of August, the Constituent Assembly decreed the abolition of the privileges of the noblesse.

'In 1792 he emigrated, and in his retreat in Switzerland learned that his brother, the Abbé de Laval, whom he loved most tenderly, had fallen under the revolutionary axe. This horrible event nearly affected his reason. In his despair he accused himself of causing the death of his brother, who had fallen a victim to the Revolution of which he had himself been a partisan. His remorse partook of the intensity of his passionate nature. Madame de Staël's friendship, her delicate sympathy, and her ingenuous kindness, succeeded in some degree in calming the violence of his anguish; but it was in religion alone that he found peace. From that time this impetuous, seductive, and frivolous young man became an austere and fervent Christian.

'He was about thirty-eight when he was introduced to Madame Récamier; his handsome and noble face still bore the trace of the sorrows and the struggles which had convulsed his mind. He was tall and fair, and when he became bald, which he did at an early age, his beautiful hair formed a sort of *auréole* around his fine and regular head. His manners were at once the most noble and the most elegant. His politeness was perfect; and his dignified courtesy kept people very much at a distance. It was evident that he was naturally violent, and that the serenity which had become habitual to him was an effort of virtue. His charity was boundless. He had subdued his passions, but the tenderness of his nature gave a warmth to his friendship which rendered him singularly attaching. He was a devout Catholic, but in spite of the difference of religious belief he had a profound affection for Madame de Staël, and a tender compassion for weaknesses of which he was not ignorant, but which he always hoped to help her to conquer.

'I do not know if Matthieu de Montmorency could be esteemed what is commonly called an *homme d'esprit*. He had certainly more greatness and loftiness of soul than reach of intellect, but his opinions, sentiment, and language were characterised by the most remarkable delicacy and distinction. The recollection of the errors of his youth tempered his severity, and the austerity of his life from the time of his conversion added weight to the authority he easily acquired over all who approached him. The most complete sympathy naturally arose between him and Mme. Récamier, and his friendship for her was the more fervent for being always tinged with anxiety. He lived in continual dread of the dangers arising from the desire to

please, of which he vainly tried to cure her, and from the frivolous but intoxicating homage of a crowd of adorers interested in her ruin. He loved her like a father, and watched with jealous solicitude over her sentiments. His consolations, counsel, and pious exhortations, were associated with every sorrowful or perilous event in the life of Mme. Récamier. He often had to rouse her energy in those moments of discouragement and disgust so frequent in an existence at once empty and brilliant. M. de Montmorency distinctly felt that the craving for admiration, and the absence of the near and dear affections of home, were formidable dangers to the virtue of his charming friend, and his whole correspondence shows how earnestly he laboured to make her understand her danger. That correspondence is a matchless monument of an affection as pure and delicate as it was lively and profound.'

This intimacy was uninterrupted by a single cloud during the long period of twenty-seven years. It was only terminated in 1826 by the touching and impressive death of Duke Matthieu, who in the act of performing his devotions at the foot of the altar, on Good Friday in that year, in his parish church of St. Thomas d'Aquin, suddenly fell backwards and expired.

M. de Chateaubriand fills a still larger place in these volumes, and in the life of Mme. Récamier, than M. de Montmorency, but his friendship was of a less devoted and disinterested character, and in his intercourse with her he seems never to have lost sight of the supreme object of his selfish gratification. The last 120 pages of the first volume are chiefly devoted to the history of his attachment to Mme. Récamier, and his letters to her. We confess that we do not see any adequate reason for the publication of most of these letters. Those who have read the Mémoires d'Outre Tombe are already fully acquainted with all the facts to which they relate, and with that astounding self-occupation and self-glorification which formed the weak side of that writer's character. We lament to see them still further displayed. M. de Chateaubriand had qualities which entitle him to respect. At a time of universal meanness, cowardice, and servility he maintained a firm and dignified resistance to the insolent tyranny of Napoleon. It is little to say of such a man that he was utterly inaccessible to the vulgar seductions of pecuniary interest. The very intensity of his self-esteem placed him far above the possibility of feeling humiliated by poverty, or exalted by wealth; but it was no small merit in so vain a man to disdain a power which could have placed him in the most conspicuous stations in the eyes of Europe. When the Restoration arrived, it might have been thought that his road to the highest offices in the state was clear. But the Restoration deviated from the path which he thought the only true and loyal one, and M. de

Chateaubriand was again in opposition and disfavour, having been summarily dismissed from office by the sovereign he had served. To crown all, when the errors against which he had protested had brought down the legitimate throne, M. de Chateaubriand remained faithful to the princes whom he had disapproved and offended, and having had no share in their delinquencies, he chose to share the consequences of them.

There is so much that is noble and affecting in this career, that we would fain forget that such qualities were united to others, which it is impossible to think of without something approaching to contempt. If we had a less lively sense of the noble parts of M. de Chateaubriand's character, we should call his vanity and conceit, his wayward fancies, his fretful lamentations and jealous suspicions, ludicrous. That Mme. Récamier, after reigning so long over others, should have voluntarily taken upon herself so intolerable a burthen as that of the discontents of an insatiable vanity, has always seemed to us the strongest proof that every woman, sooner or later, feels the necessity of making herself a slave.

'Mme. Récamier,' says Mme. Lenormant, 'had a degree of pity and sympathy for the sufferings of *amour-propre*, which are rarely granted them. Nobody knew so well how to dress the wounds which are not avowed, to calm or soothe the bitterness of literary jealousies or hates. Everybody who approached her experienced, more or less, that, for all moral sufferings, for all those pains of the imagination, which acquire such a fearful intensity in certain minds, she was the Sister of Charity, *par excellence*. Over and above all the charming gifts she had received from heaven, she had two very rare qualities—she could listen, and she could occupy herself about others.'

This we believe to be strictly true, and no doubt she felt that her wonderful power of pouring balm into wounded spirits, would find ample exercise with M. de Chateaubriand. She continued to perform the task to the last day of his life. For, as M. de Chateaubriand himself said to her with that exquisite grace of style which constituted the real charm of his writings and the secret of his success:—

'Songez qu'il faut que nous achevions nos jours ensemble. Je vous fais un triste présent que de vous donner le reste de ma vie; mais prenez-la, et si j'ai perdu des jours j'ai de quoi rendre meilleurs ceux qui seront tous pour vous.' (Vol. ii. p. 225.)

The task was rendered still more difficult by the fact that M. de Montmorency and M. de Chateaubriand were political rivals, and that the former was in fact ejected from the office of Foreign Minister of Louis XVIII. by the irritable ambition of the latter. All the tact of Mme. Récamier must have been

required to maintain an equality of friendship and regard between two rivals at once in private and in public life. Yet even in this she succeeded.

To this period, the serene evening of her days, seems most properly to belong the portrait of M. Ballanche, who in fact occupied an apartment in the same retreat, and was an essential portion of her chosen circle. M. Ballanche was the son of a printer at Lyons. In the intervals of his attention to that business, he had cultivated his natural taste for poetry and philosophy, which finally procured for him the reputation of one of the best prose writers of his age, and raised him to a seat in the French Academy. Perhaps his 'Orphée,' and his 'Essais sur la Palingénésie 'Sociale,' are already almost forgotten, but his style and his learning deserved a better fate. At the time Mme. Récamier first knew him in Lyons he was obscure. He was labouring under the depression resulting from a disappointment in love, and was singularly *gauche* and timid:—

'His ugliness,' says Mme. Lenormant, 'had something strange about it. It was the result of an accident, or rather, of an imprudence. He had put himself into the hands of a charlatan, to be cured of violent head-aches from which he suffered. The treatment prescribed by the quack had been followed by caries of the jaw-bone, part of which had to be removed. He had likewise to undergo the operation of trepanning. One side of his face was consequently completely deformed. The deformity of his features was, however, compensated by magnificent eyes, a lofty forehead, a singular expression of gentleness, and, at certain moments, a sort of inspired look, which rendered it impossible not to perceive what noble and beautiful qualities were hidden beneath that unsightly exterior.'

The first sight of M. Ballanche was a kind of shock; but it was impossible to see him often without feeling attracted, and even attached, by the simplicity, modesty, and benevolence, so unmistakable in his conversation and manner. It seemed as if in that remarkable group, the part allotted to M. Ballanche was to counteract the effect produced by M. de Chateaubriand, whose presence was saddening and oppressive. He was generally silent, and his silence was not even passive; it seemed an expression of dissatisfaction and contempt. The relation between Ballanche and Mme. Récamier was in every respect most remarkable. From the moment he saw her, she took entire possession of him. From that day it may, without the least exaggeration, be said, that he lived only to worship and to serve her, without a pretension or a hope beyond that of being permitted to do so. He never aspired to be a lover, he was a devotee, of Mme. Récamier; and she, on her part, repaid him with entire confidence and affection.

The intimacy between Mme. Récamier and M. de Chateaubriand dates from 1818. She was then living in an hotel Rue d'Anjou, which she had purchased and fitted up, and where she hoped to pass the rest of her life in peace and security though not in splendour But she was destined to experience another reverse of fortune. After generously giving up a part of her own fortune to prevent a second catastrophe in her husband's affairs, she soon had the cruel certainty that her sacrifices had been vain; she determined, therefore, to withdraw entirely from the world and to take up her abode in a religious community which would justify her in separating herself from M. Récamier. She engaged to maintain him out of the wreck of her own fortune, on condition that he never again engaged in speculations which had been so fatal to him. To the last moment of his life, she was his kindest and most constant friend, and provided for all his wants with affectionate care. A new era in Mme. Récamier's life, therefore, begins from the day when she established herself at the Abbaye aux bois.

It was thus, surrounded by those who never ceased to pay her in her later age the same affectionate homage which her beauty had commanded in earlier life, that Mme. Récamier passed the last thirty years of her existence. The most eventful period of her career was past; though it was still her fate to witness two revolutions, which once more frustrated the sanguine hopes of her friends and overthrew the constitutional monarchy of France. Still she kept the noiseless tenor of her way, and, indeed, as the chief happiness of her life lay in the society of her friends, so the only calamity she feared was the last separation from them. In her latter years, blindness, as in the case of Mme. du Deffand, was added to her other trials; yet what a contrast between the peevish and irritable being whose letters we reverted to in our last number, and the serenity, grace, and contentment which Mme. Récamier preserved unbroken in her retreat! Thus she lived, and thus in May 1849 she died, being carried off suddenly by an attack of Asiatic cholera—a disease she had always dreaded. Of her character the reader will already have received a sufficient impression from this sketch of her life. Her tastes were elegant; her disposition benevolent; her temperament unimpassioned; probably her talents were considerably below the standard of her reputation. But by her incomparable tact she left her mark on the French society of the nineteenth century, and we are persuaded that many of our readers will derive great pleasure from following the record of her life in greater detail through these very interesting and curious volumes.

ART. IX.—1. *Financial Reform Tracts.* Liverpool: 1859.

2. *People's Blue Book.* London: 1856.

3. *American Almanac of General Information.* 1857–1859. New York.

4. *Annuaire d'Economie Politique et de Statistique.* 1857–1859. Paris.

5. *Report on Finances.* By the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States. New York: 1858.

6. *On the Pressure of Taxation.* By GEORGE W. NORMAN, Esq. 1850.

7. *Report on Taxation, direct and indirect, adopted by the Liverpool Financial Reform Association.* 1859.

THERE are three fallacies in regard to taxation, widely spread and deeply rooted in the popular mind of England. It is currently affirmed, and all but unanimously believed, *first*, that the people of Great Britain are ground to the earth by an intolerable and perpetually increasing burden of taxation; *secondly*, that we are more heavily taxed than any other country; and *thirdly*, that the mode in which this taxation is levied and apportioned is singularly costly, onerous, and unjust. Thousands believe these things because they were taught them in their youth, in the old days before retrenchment and reform; the masses believe them because they are assured of them daily by their orators and leaders; and these leaders continue to preach them, some from habit, a few from conviction, but many, we are compelled to conclude, long after they are satisfied of their unsoundness, or at least long after the means of so satisfying themselves have been placed within their reach and pertinaciously forced upon their attention. It is, therefore, we think, well worth while to spend a few pages in exposing the fallacy of these assertions, and reducing whatever amount of truth they may contain to its proper dimensions; the more so as their advocates are said to threaten an active and organised agitation against the existing fiscal system, and have lately secured the adhesion of some chiefs of eminent reputation, and entitled to respect from the memory of former services. It is impossible to be brilliant or amusing on such a subject, and it would be a mistake to attempt it; but the subject itself is one of great interest and universal concern, and we can at least promise to be brief and to be clear, to avoid all abstruse or subtle discussion, and to confine ourselves strictly to the practical matter in

hand — to the simple principles involved and the real facts at issue. And our readers will be surprised to find how distinctly the facts speak for themselves, and how very obvious and intelligible are those fundamental doctrines, the practical application of which is the problem which Finance Ministers have to solve. Without further preface, then, we proceed to take the three fallacies — as we venture to pronounce them — in the order in which we have stated them.

I. It will of course be admitted on all hands that in order to estimate the pressure of taxation, whether as compared with former periods or with other countries, we must regard not simply the actual sums paid into the national treasury, but those sums in reference to the wealth and numbers of the nation. Now, we shall find that, thus considered, our taxation has been vastly and rapidly, if not quite steadily, diminishing since the beginning of the century; so that, compared with our fathers and grandfathers, we may be said to be a very moderately burdened people. The case stands as follows: —

	Population.	Revenue.	Taxation per head.
1801	15,800,000	£34,113,000	43*s.* 0*d.*
1815	19,000,000	72,200,000	76 0
1821	21,200,000	55,800,000	52 6
1851	27,000,000	52,300,000	39 0
1858	30,000,000	*61,812,000	41 2

It appears clear, therefore, that the pressure of taxation *in proportion to numbers* has been decidedly and largely diminishing ever since the termination of the Napoleonic wars, and that it is now less than at the beginning of the century. Let us now endeavour to ascertain how the case stands as regards the pressure of taxation *in proportion to wealth.*

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* We have taken the actual net revenue paid into the Exchequer in this as in former years, as our basis of comparison, both because we wish to lay ourselves open to no charge of partial selection or modification of figures, and also because it is possible that this sum, however abnormally large in reference to the past, may represent the average revenue we shall in future need. But it should be borne in mind that this sum is nearly *nine* millions in excess of that levied on the average of the ten years preceding the Russian war,—an average which may therefore be regarded as indicating the revenue required by a simply peace establishment. The revenue in these years scarcely varied at all, and averaged 53,300,000*l.*,—leaving a surplus of about two millions annually. The taxation per head during this long and quiet period scarcely reached 38*s.*

There are many means of proving *generally* the enormous progress in affluence of Great Britain since the beginning of the century. Thus the real or declared value of the exports of British produce was 39,700,000*l.* in 1801, 50,000,000*l.* in 1838, and 116,000,000*l.* in 1858. The amount of property in England and Wales insured against fire was 219,000,000*l.* in 1801, 503,000,000*l.* in 1833, and 864,000,000*l.* in 1855. But only two sets of data exist for really estimating in any definite way the increase of national wealth, viz. the assessments under Schedule A. of the income tax, which show the *real* property, and the legacy and probate duties, which show the *personal* property made annually amenable to taxation. From these data, and still following Mr. Porter's lead, we have constructed the following comparison, which, however, can only be regarded as a fair approximation to the truth* :—

		Property.		Revenue.	Tax per cent.
1803	*Real* -	£1,063,000,000			
	Personal	800,000,000			
			1,863,000,000	£38,600,000	2·07
1814	*Real* -	1,650,000,000			
	Personal	1,200,000,000			
			2,850,000,000	71,000,000 †	2·49

* The *real* property in 1803 in *Great Britain*, is given by Mr. Porter at 967,000,000*l.* To this we have added *one-tenth* for Ireland, the proportion shown by the 'Inland Revenue Tables' in 1858. Mr. Porter gives no estimate of the amount of *personal property* in 1803, though he does for 1814; we have, therefore, considered real and personal estate to bear the same relative value in 1803 as in 1814. To find the *personal* property in 1858, we have taken, as Mr. Porter did, the basis of the probate duty. In 1845 this tax yielded 1,095,800*l.*, and was considered to indicate an aggregate personalty of 2200 millions; in 1858, it yielded 1,338,000*l.*, which would indicate a personalty of 2775 millions. To find the *real* property, we have taken, as Mr. Porter did, the property rated under Schedule A. of the income tax at twenty-five years' purchase, at which rate 128 millions (the amount charged with duty in 1858) would give an aggregate property of 3200 millions. We have no doubt, after consulting the highest authorities on this subject, that twenty-five years is too high an estimate, as houses, and railways, canals, &c., are included under this schedule, and that twenty-two years would be nearer the mark. But we have followed Mr. Porter's figures and mode of calculation, without change in this table, because, as our immediate object is a *comparison* of different epochs and not a *positive* result, the only very essential matter is to pursue the same plan and accept the same data throughout.

† The depreciation of the currency at this period was (according to Mr. Norman) *twenty per cent.*; but as this is a disputed point

		Property.		Revenue.	Tax per cent.
1845	*Real* -	2,300,000,000			
	Personal	2,200,000,000			
			4,500,000,000	53,000,000	1·18
1858	*Real* -	3,200,000,000			
	Personal	2,775,000,000			
			5,975,000,000	61,800,000	1·034

This result will surprise many and must be satisfactory to all. But this is not the whole case Since 1845 nearly all protective duties on home produce have been swept away: in other words, those heavy taxes which were levied on the people without being paid into the Exchequer have all been repealed. What their aggregate amount may be can only be conjectured; but assuredly, unless the financial reformers of to-day are disposed to unsay the words and repudiate the estimates of the Anti-Corn Law Leaguers of fifteen years ago, they will not quarrel with us if we set down the figure as 10,000,000*l.* at the least. If this be so, our present percentage of taxation is only half what it was in 1803, and only four-fifths of what it was in 1845, notwithstanding the large increase of expenditure caused by the reconstruction of our national defences.

And here let us say, once for all, that we do not pretend to affirm the *precise* or unassailable accuracy of our figures, whether calculations or quotations. We give our authorities, which are very accessible, and for the most part official and unimpeachable; — we give the formula and principles on which our estimates are framed, which are simple enough; — and sceptical or contentious readers may verify both our data and our calculations for themselves. Possibly some estimates may be open to dispute; possibly some slight errors may be detected by a vigilant statistical computer; but none, we feel confident, that will disturb the substantial truth of our conclusions. Candid men of all opinions will admit that in questions of this sort minute correctness is unattainable — and the affectation of it is always a just ground of suspicion.

II. Let us now compare our taxation with that of other countries — in reference, of course, still to the same necessary elements of equitable comparison—numbers, and wealth. And when we speak of 'other countries,' we always have an eye to the two countries with which alone any comparison can be instituted,

among political economists, we have taken the official figures simply as they stand. If Mr. Norman's estimate be correct, the real taxation in 1815 would be 60*s.* per head, and just *two per cent.* on property.

or is of any interest or importance — France and America: France, because it is our European equal and competitor — America, because it is the nation whose economical administration, self-governing skill, and popular justice, are constantly and reproachfully quoted against us by the tribunes of the people.

We must, however, guard ourselves against cavil at the outset by stating in the plainest and strongest manner that a perfectly fair and accurate comparison with either of these countries, or with any foreign country at all, is a simple impossibility. Accounts are differently kept; expenses, which in one country are provided for by local rates, or voluntary contributions, are in others paid out of the national or the State exchequer — such as roads, hospitals, charities, local improvements, &c. Our local taxation is enormously heavy; that of France is comparatively light. The *communes* of France can scarcely ever increase their levies, but on the other hand, they run recklessly into debt: the 'indebtedness' of the municipality of Paris, for example, is at this moment enormous. In England, on the contrary, the local rates are augmented as circumstances require, and local debt is unknown except perhaps in the case of turnpike trusts. France, again, has no poor rates: ours exceed seven millions annually. On the other hand, the *octroi*, a local urban tax unknown here, is most burdensome in France — its entire amount we have found it impracticable to ascertain; but in Lyons it yielded in 1830 2,300,000 francs; in Paris it yielded 33,000,000 francs in 1849, and 49,000,000 francs in 1859. In England, again, the clergy are paid by tithes; in France they are paid to the amount of 1,800,000*l.* out of the imperial revenue; but this obligation was incurred by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property at the epoch of the Great Revolution, — a confiscation which greatly relieved the revenue at the time, and thus diminished the debt and its permanent charge. The Crown lands or national domains, too, the receipts from which diminish *taxation* to an equivalent amount, yield very different sums in different countries: — in England they yield about 280,000*l.*; in France about 1,500,000*l.*; in America from 1,000,000*l.* to 4,000,000*l.* Finally, the comparison between different countries, and more especially between England and France, is constantly vitiated by the fact that one country provides for its *extraordinary* expenditure by loans, and another by taxes raised within the year. Thus France scarcely ever ventures to impose a new tax or increase an old one, whatever may be her necessities, or however great the augmentation of her expenditure; she borrows what she wants. England, on the

other hand, shrinks from loans, but thinks nothing of adding to the annual taxation. As we have seen, she now raises nine millions more than sufficed in 1850. France would simply have borrowed the nine millions — and perhaps the sum for paying interest on it as well. With these preliminary cautions—which we entreat our readers to bear in mind throughout this article —we proceed to the comparison with France, confining ourselves to Imperial revenues alone.

The amount of the French revenue (according to the *Budget Provisoire* * for 1859), is given as 1774 millions of francs, or 70,960,000*l.* The revenue of the United Kingdom for 1858, the last year made up, was 61,812,000*l.*, to which we must add the gross cost of collection to make the comparison a fair one, as this item is included in the French accounts. This cost was 4,493,000*l.*†, making a total for comparison of 66,305,000*l.* Now the population of the United Kingdom is 30,000,000, and that of France 36,000,000; the taxation *per head*, therefore, is 44*s.* 2*d.* in England, and 39*s.* 5*d.* in France.

But as so large a proportion of our revenue in England is required to pay the interest of a debt incurred in former times, and over which now Government has no control, let us further compare the proportional sums levied from the citizens of the two countries for the actual current expenditure or present necessities of the nation. The total expenditure of France‡ (inclusive always in both countries of payments for collection of revenue) was 1766 million of francs; of this the interest of the debt absorbed 530 millions, leaving 1236 millions, or 49,440,000*l.* for current actual expenditure. The total expenditure of this country, after deducting the interest of the debt (which was 28,750,000*l.*), in 1858 reached 36,428,000*l.*

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* This is based on the expenditure of 1858. Two Budgets are published—the *Provisoire* and the *Definitif:* they do not differ materially; and as the latter is not made up usually till four years later, we have been obliged to take the former. But the receipts vary little, for the reasons above given.

† This sum includes the cost of the post-office, which is in no sense expenditure for collection of revenue, but the expense of managing a government monopoly. It is, however, included in the French accounts. The *real* cost of collecting our revenue was in 1858, 2,600,000*l.*

‡ That is to say, these are the official figures; but it is questionable, after recently alleged occurrences, whether they can always be relied upon. The Budget is drawn up to provide for a peace establishment, and the surplus expenditure, which in some years is very large, is defrayed by loans.

The cost of government in France, therefore, is a heavier burden on the people than in England, being 27*s.* 5*d.* a head against our 24*s.* 3*d.*

Man for man, then, it can scarcely be said that the Englishman is more heavily taxed by his government than the Frenchman, the difference being only one-ninth. Putting aside the interest due on the public debt, the taxation in France for the actual government expenditure, is decidedly heavier than in England in proportion to the numbers of the people: and when we come to take into account the relative wealth of the two countries, and the proportion which the 44*s.* 2*d.* and 24*s.* 3*d.* in the one case, and the 39*s.* 5*d.* and 27*s.* 5*d.* in the other, bear to the respective incomes of the men who pay them, the comparison becomes enormously favourable to the Englishman. Unhappily, on this head we have no data on which to base even an approximate calculation. But Mr. Norman, who took great pains to arrive at a just conclusion, estimated the taxation of the Frenchman, in proportion to his income, to be at least double that of the Englishman.*

We will now turn to America, the land of economy and popular vigilance, *par excellence;* the land, in Radical estimation, not only of promise but of performance also; the land where no privileged class 'fattens on the plunder of the public;' the land, too, whose vast unoccupied territory yields by its sale a large yearly revenue in aid and in lieu of taxes; the land whose recent erection into national existence exempts it from the weary burden of a debt handed down by ancestral folly and extravagance; the land, finally, whose peculiar and nearly isolated position enables it to dispense with those standing armies and costly navies which absorb so large a portion of the revenue of older states. If there ever was a country where taxation ought to be so light as to be almost unfelt, it is the United States of America. If an American pays only one-fourth the

* 'On the whole (he says, pp. 43, 45.) we can hardly be wrong, or if wrong at all we are under the mark, in estimating the collective wealth of the British Islands at double that of France. If so, a system of taxation which raises any given sum per head in the latter, is doubly as severe as one which raises an equal sum per head in the former country.

'N.B. In estimating the relative taxation of the two countries, we must not forget the indirect and unstated, but very heavy taxation imposed by protective duties in France, which, though not going into the exchequer, comes out of the pockets of the people. The protective duty on iron alone, is calculated to tax Frenchmen to the extent of 2,500,000*l.* per annum, by raising the price of iron 5*l.* a ton.' (*Norman,* p. 42.)

sum paid by an Englishman or a Frenchman to the national exchequer, we have a right to say that he is heavily mulcted, and that his government must be extravagant in the extreme. What, then, is the fact?

The taxation in America is two-fold; the federal and the state taxation. The former is furnished almost entirely by Customs' duties and the produce of the sale of public lands, the latter resource (which, be it remembered, reduces taxation to an equivalent amount) having furnished, on an average of the last twenty-five years, an annual sum of 5,400,000 dollars, or 1,148,000*l.**, and sometimes three or four times that amount. The latter (or state taxation) is supplied mainly by direct taxes levied on all real and personal property. But as these state taxes include many, if not nearly all, of those contributions which are known among us as local rates, we must, in any fair comparison with the United States, add our poor rates and county rates to our imperial revenue.

Now, as we have seen, our gross revenue, including cost of collection, is 66,305,000*l.* Our entire local taxation is known to reach 15,000,000*l.*† This makes a total for comparison with America of 81,305,000*l.*, or 54*s.* 3*d.* per head.

In 1856 and 1857 the Customs' duties levied on federal account averaged 64,000,000 dollars for a total population of 28,000,000. Now, as the population of New York State at that period was 3,500,000, the proportionate amount of *federal* taxation (independent of land sales) contributed by that state was just *one-eighth* of the whole, or 8,000,000 dollars. The 'American Almanac,' compiled yearly from official sources, gives the *State* revenue of New York for 1856-7 as 15,166,000 dollars‡;—which, added to the 8,000,000 dollars of customs'

* We have taken the value of the dollar, for convenience of calculation, at 4*s.* 3*d.*; M'Culloch gives it at 4*s.* 3½*d.*

† The sums levied in England and Wales for poor rates, county rates, &c., reached in 1858 to 8,189,000*l.*; the church rate was 594,000*l.*; highway rates (1857) 1,950,000*l.*, and in 1856 the turnpike tolls reached 1,051,000*l.*, making a total of 11,784,000*l.* And this does not include quite all. The local rates of Ireland reach 1,752,000*l.*, and those of Scotland 1,045,000*l.*

‡ It is important to notice that this taxation would be even heavier than it is, were it not for the revenue yielded by the property belonging to the State *as a State*, which, on an average of the six years from 1849 to 1854 inclusive, furnished a *net* sum of 2,030,000 dollars, besides 857,000 dollars which accrued from educational state funds or endowments. Thus, had it not been for the existence of these sources, the actual taxation of New York would have been about 3,000,000 dollars heavier than it was, or nearly 4*s.* a head.

duties, as above obtained, makes an aggregate sum of 23,166,000 dollars, or 4,922,750*l.*; which, among 3,500,000 of citizens, gives 28*s.* 2*d.* per head.

This comparison is, no doubt, at first sight favourable to the American, though considerably less so than that usually given forth. But there are two other methods of comparing the taxation of the two countries, both of which it is necessary to resort to before we can draw any fair proportionate conclusions. We have seen that the cost of the British Government to the British tax-payer (*independent of the charge on the ancestral debt*) for services annually rendered, is now 36,428,000*l.* If to this we add 15,000,000*l.* for municipal rates, the rate of *effective* expenditure per head for purposes of comparison, will be 34*s.* 3*d.* The aggregate *federal* expenditure of the United States (exclusive of the interest on the public debt) was, in 1856-7, 64,878,000 dollars. The proportion of this assignable to New York State (in the ratio of the population) was 8,110,000 dollars. The *state* expenditure of New York is set down at 10,177,000 dollars, and the interest of the state debt is given at 1,950,000 dollars, leaving 8,227,000 dollars for annual cost of local or state government. The account will therefore stand thus: —

For share of federal expenditure	-	8,110,000 dollars.
„ „ state „	-	8,227,000 „
		16,337,000 „

This, among 3,500,000 citizens, would give 19*s.* 10*d.* per head.

It is, however, obvious, as we remarked at the outset, that the real pressure of taxation depends entirely on the wealth of the people pressed upon; and 19*s.* 10*d.* a head in one country may in reality be a far heavier burden than 34*s.* 3*d.* in another. Let us endeavour then to arrive at some approximate estimate of the relative wealth of Great Britain and America—i. e. their relative power of enduring fiscal extractions. In the latter country we have pretty accurate data for our calculations, for in most of the States the real and personal property of the citizens is minutely assessed, and the taxation levied on that assessment. Now the 'taxable property,' in the State of New York, was, in 1856–7, assessed at 1,432,000,000 dollars, of which 1,112,000,000 dollars was real estate, and 320,000,000 dollars personal estate. The entire taxation levied on the New York citizens for state and federal purposes was, we have seen, 23,166,000 dollars with, or 16,337,000, without, the interest of the debt. This equals a tax on the aggregate property assessed

of 1·62 per cent. in the one case, and 1·14 per cent. in the other.

The aggregate real and personal estate of the United Kingdom is more difficult to ascertain. Still it may be arrived at approximatively in various modes. Mr. Porter's plan, as we have seen, gives it at 5,975,000,000*l.* Again, the amount charged under Schedule A., which embraces *at least* all the *real* property of the kingdom, was, in 1858, 128,000,000*l.*:—This, at 22 years' purchase (and as so much of it consists of houses, railways, mines, &c., we have no right to take a higher valuation) would give 2,816,000,000*l.* as the aggregate amount. The probate duty in the same year yielded 1,338,000*l.*; and, as this duty averages as nearly as possible 2 per cent., we arrive at 67,000,000*l.* as the total *personal* property charged in that year. But, as the annual deaths among the *legacy-leaving* classes do not exceed 1 in 50*, we must multiply 67,000,000*l.* by 50, to reach the aggregate, which is, therefore, 3,350,000,000*l.*, —to which we may add 50,000,000*l.* for those small amounts (under 20*l.*) which are exempt from Probate duty—making a total of 3,400,000,000*l.* The case would then stand thus:—

Real Property of the Kingdom -	£2,816,000,000
Personal do. do. - -	3,400,000,000
	£6,216,000,000

But a considerable amount of property, leaseholds and shares for example, is assessed as *realty*, under Schedule A., and also pays as *personalty* to the probate duty. Probably — it is of course only a conjectural estimate — we ought to strike off 400,000,000*l.* on this account, which would leave the total for the kingdom, 5,816,000,000*l.*

Or we may take the Poor Rate assessments as our data for ascertaining real property. Calculating from the latest official returns, the valuation, under this assessment, will be 76,200,000*l.* for England and Wales; 12,100,000*l.*, for Ireland; and about 12,200,000*l.*, for Scotland; or a total of 100,500,000*l.* This assessment is, however, taken considerably below the actual annual rental; and we may therefore safely multiply by 28 years' purchase, thus reaching a total for realty of 2,814,000,000*l.*

* The *entire* deaths in England averaged, in the ten years last given, 1847–1856, 2·276 per cent., or one in 44; in 1850, it was reduced to 2·05 per cent., or one in 49. But the deaths among the richer, or legacy-leaving classes, if taken by themselves, will show a decidedly smaller percentage.

This sum, added to the *corrected* total (as above) of personalty, would yield an aggregate of 5,814,000,000*l.*

Or, finally, we may take the legacy and succession tax as our data. This tax embraces all property, real as well as personal. The authorities charged with the special duty of supervising the levy of this tax, consider that it strikes 100,000,000*l.* of property annually, which, as not more than 1 in 50 of the *legacy-leaving* classes die annually, indicates a total of 5,000,000,000*l.* This would probably be the best test of all, but for the fact that all legacies left to *widows* are exempted. What their aggregate amount may be, it is impossible to say, but it must obviously be very large — probably not less than 10,000,000*l.* annually. This would raise the gross total of property to 5,500,000,000*l.*

Now, the average of these four estimates is 5,776,000,000*l*; and this we will take as our basis for comparison. On this sum, our annual total *levy* of 81,305,000*l.* is 1·4 per cent., and our annual net *expenditure* (imperial and local) of 51,428,000*l.* is 0·89 per cent.

To sum up, then, the comparison of fiscal pressure in the two countries will stand thus:—

	England.	America.
Total *taxation* levied - - per head	54*s.* 3*d.*	28*s.* 2*d.*
Total *expenditure* - - „	34 3	19 10
Taxation compared to property, per cent.	1·41	1·62
Expenditure - - - „	·89	1·14

Per head, then, we are decidedly more heavily taxed than the Americans: *in relation to our means of payment*, decidedly more lightly. Yet the revenue levied by taxation in the United States is aided and diminished to an extent varying from *one* million to *five* millions sterling per annum by the produce of the land sales — a resource of which we are destitute; and, in comparison with Great Britain, it may be said that they have no debt, no paupers, no army, and no navy, to provide for.

III. The indictment brought against our existing system of taxation, when analysed, will be found to resolve itself into three several counts; which, like the two popular fallacies we have already examined, will be found to contain a few grains of truth amid many bushels of error. Some of the allegations must be admitted, though with much reserve and with large deductions; but the doctrinal conclusions built upon them can only be regarded as the produce partly of vast exaggerations, and partly of the omission of considerations most essential to the question. Indirect taxation—taxation levied on articles of consumption—as compared with direct (it is alleged) — is very costly in the

collection; is extravagant and impolitic, because it takes much more out of the pockets of the tax-payer than it pays into the Exchequer; interferes with the springs of industry and the expansion of commerce; and presses preponderatingly, and therefore unjustly, on the poorer classes. Now, all this *might* be true of taxes on consumption: much of it *was* true years ago; but it is not true of our revenue as at present collected except to a very trifling extent, and, with a few feasible alterations, will cease to be true at all. And whatever impolicy and want of parsimony must be conceded as apparent, admits of a simple and triumphant defence.

1. We will speak first of the *cost of collection.* As obtained from official returns, the cost of levying the direct and indirect taxes appears to be as follows, in this and other countries:—

			Per Cent.
America *	(1857)	Customs' duties - - - -	7·75
France	(1857)	Douanes et contributions *indirectes* -	16·00
„	„	Contributions *directes* - - -	3·75
England	(1858)	Excise, *indirect* - - - -	4·82
„	(1858)	Taxes, *direct* - - - -	4·09
„	† (1859)	„ „ - - - -	2·87
„	‡ (1855–7)	Customs, *indirect* - - - -	5·2
„	(1858)	„ „ - - - -	3·6

But several changes have been introduced at different dates into the mode of keeping the accounts, or rather in the items charged to the

* Customs' duties 64,000,000 dollars, cost of collection 4,986,000 dollars; of which 1,824,000 dollars was for custom-house building and repairing.

† This difference between the two years arises from the fact that in 1858 the income tax yielded 11,767,000*l.*, and in 1859 only 6,812,000*l.*

‡ The following table shows the cost of collection in the three principal branches of the revenue for some years past. The percentage is calculated on the gross revenue:—

	Excise.			Customs.			Taxes (direct).		
	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*	£	*s.*	*d.*
1839	6	15	3	5	9	9	4	17	8
1842	6	15	7	5	10	2	4	0	9
1848	5	18	2	5	15	3	3	6	1
1852	5	1	5	5	13	8	3	6	2
1855	4	16	1	5	11	2	2	8	3
1856	4	7	5	5	7	1	2	10	8
1857	4	15	9	4	12	5	3	4	10
1858	4	16	9	3	11	6	4	1	10

cost of collection in the case of the Customs, which render the comparison for this branch scarcely a fair one.

These are the apparent facts, as far as official documents show them; and they are satisfactory as proving, *first*, that we collect our revenue much more economically than the two rival countries, and *secondly*, that we collect it more cheaply than we used to do. But as far as regards the cost of collection of Customs' duties in the United Kingdom, the above figures cannot be accepted without large modifications and deductions. And as the question we are discussing lies between the relative economical merits of direct and indirect taxation, we must beg the close attention of our readers while we proceed to show, by an analysis of official returns and carefully procured information, what the actual cost of levying the Customs' revenue really is, when fairly stated, and what it might be reduced to by a few simple alterations. We believe we shall be able to satisfy them that the Customs' revenue of this country (whatever may be said of the Excise, as to which we speak less confidently), is or may be collected at a cheaper rate per cent. than the same *twenty-three millions* could be obtained by any other equitable or endurable process of direct taxation.

In 1858 the gross revenue derived from Customs' duties reached 23,603,700*l.*, and the charges of collection were 843,757*l.* But to this latter sum two additions must in fairness be made. The *first* of these is the amount of contributions annually deducted from the salaries of the officers, towards the fund for providing them with retiring allowances when superannuated. The sum of these abatements in 1857, the last year for which they were levied, was 18,190*l.* The *second* addition is the cost of the Preventive Service, or Coast Guard. This branch of the service — always a sort of anomalous one, having duplicate functions — was, in 1856, transferred from the Customs to the Admiralty, and now appears in the estimates of the latter department. The Coast Guard was created and kept up ostensibly and principally for the prevention of smuggling, and the protection of the revenue, but also in great measure as a nursery for seamen, who, in case of need, might be drafted off thence into the royal navy. This latter object has now been made the chief one; the Coast Guard having been, by a vote of Parliament, nominally doubled in numbers, and placed under the control of the Admiralty. It never was satisfactory as a protection to the revenue, either as regards efficiency or economy; and had revenue considerations *alone* been involved, or had the sort of Preventive Service desirable been left to the decision of the Customs' authorities, it is certain that a very different sys-

tem would have been adopted. In all probability arrangements would, in that case, have been made with the constabulary force of the maritime counties, which, aided by a few small and light-armed steam cruisers, under the sole control of Customs' officers, would have formed a more efficient protection than the Coast Guard ever was,—while costing far less. It is believed by those best qualified to form an opinion, that this system might be carried out at a maximum expense of 150,000*l.* per annum, while the Coast Guard costs three times that sum.* It is the smaller sum only, therefore, that can equitably be added to the charges for collecting the Customs. The account will then stand thus:—

Charges of collection as per official report - -	£843,757
Superannuation abatements on superannuation account	18,190
Estimate for preventive service - - - -	150,000
	£1,011,947

This, on a revenue of 23,603,700*l.*, is 4·28, or 4*l.* 6*s.* per cent.

But 1,011,947*l.*, though the fairly computed expense of the Customs' department, is by no means the sum fairly chargeable as the *cost of collecting the Customs' revenue.* Before arriving at the latter sum, we have three several deductions to make from the former.

(1.) In the *first* place, we must strike off the expenses involved in the discharge of those various functions now assigned, for convenience' sake, to the officers of Customs, which yet are in no way necessarily connected with or belonging to the collection of the revenue. These *extraneous and miscellaneous functions*, connected with statistics, light-dues, and the working of the Merchant Shipping Act, are numerous, important, and costly; and involve an annual expense of 77,200*l.* This sum, deducted from 1,011,947*l.*, will leave 934,747*l.* as the net cost of collecting 23,603,770*l.*, or rather less than *four* per cent.

(2.) In the *second* place, we must make abstraction of the whole cost of the *bonding or warehousing* department. This does not belong, by any natural connection, to the duty, pure and simple, of collecting the revenue. It adds enormously to the expense and trouble of the Customs' officers, without adding one farthing, unless in the most remote and indirect manner, to the amount of revenue received. It grew up originally out of

* In 1856 the Coast Guard cost in salaries and expenses 368,000*l.*, and in pensions and retired allowances 62,000*l.*, making a total of 428,000*l.*

a mere plan for giving credit to the merchant—for, in fact, economising his capital, partially at least, at the cost of the capital of the Crown, i. e. of the community. Its operation now is twofold:—it enables the merchant to postpone the payment of duties till the moment when he requires the article imported for actual use; thus saving him often one or two, and sometimes more than five, years' interest on the money paid; — and it enables him to put off to an indefinite period his decision as to the ultimate destination of the goods imported,—that is, whether this shall be re-exported or entered for home consumption. It is not easy to overestimate the value of the accommodation thus afforded to the mercantile community, or the facilities and encouragement thus given to the trade of the country; and no man in his senses would dream of withdrawing a boon so great, so profitable, so fertilising, and so long established. But it must be obvious at once that the department entrusted specially with the collection of the Customs' revenue cannot in the eye of reason, and ought not in public estimation, to be charged with the expenses of a system whose immediate aim and effect it is to enable the merchant to postpone the payment of that revenue to a period regulated entirely by his own convenience. If it were not for this convenience,—if the Crown regarded only its own immediate advantage—it is clear that all duties would be levied direct from the importing ship; by which system (the natural and original one) the whole heavy cost of the warehousing department would be saved. It is true, no doubt, that the facilities afforded by this system for rendering Great Britain an emporium for the merchandise of the world, and for the expansion and remuneration of commercial enterprise, vastly contributes to the prosperity and wealth of the country, and therefore to its power of purchase and consumption, and thus indirectly fosters the growth of the revenue. This consideration may fairly enough be admitted *quantum valeat* in mitigation of our argument; but it cannot overset the logical plea — that the cost of a system, devised expressly to relieve and accommodate the mercantile community, cannot legitimately be charged as part of the necessary expenses of a department whose special function it is to mulct the public through the medium of that very community. Granting that it is most desirable that the bonding system should continue; granting that, for the convenience and simplicity of the public accounts, the expenses it involves should still appear in the annual estimates of the Board of Customs; we contend that in all fair and honest comparisons of the relative cost of direct and indirect taxation, these expenses must be left out of the calculation as

an entirely irrelevant item in the accounts. Now they amount, as shown by a Parliamentary Return presented last session, to 209,965*l.** — which, deducted from the sum arrived at above (934,747*l.*), leaves 724,782*l.*, or *three* per cent. as the real cost of collecting the Customs' Revenue.

(3.) *Thirdly*, when the assault is made, as by the Liverpool Financial Reformers, not against Customs' duties as imposed by the existing tariff, but against all such duties in the abstract, as altogether and in principle impolitic and unjust, we are entitled, before we consent to enter on the above-mentioned comparison, to make abstraction of the cost of collecting all those duties which are imposed, not for the sake of revenue, but for the purpose of protecting native industry; deducting at the same time, of course, the sums yielded by such duties. We must also throw out such duties as are collected at an expense out of all proportion to their produce — all such as yield little and cost much. In a word, we must reduce the tariff to its most purely profitable dimensions; and ascertaining, as far as possible, what would be the actual cost of collection, if no articles were placed in the tariff except in the interest of the revenue alone, and if none but fiscal considerations were allowed to intervene.†

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* The Parliamentary Return states 217,038*l.*; but this sum includes one-third of the Central Statistical Office, the whole of which we have already deducted, as belonging to the '*extraneous* functions.'

† We do not, however, propose now to enter at large upon this investigation, for two sufficient reasons: in the first place, we should be trenching on the province and possibly forestalling the views of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; and in the second place, we should be introducing an element, which must of necessity be more or less conjectural, into an argument which we are desirous to keep as much as practicable within the domain of ascertainable and demonstrable facts. But some notion of the degree to which a judicious and *single-eyed* revision of the tariff might reduce the charges of collection, as soon as 500,000*l.* of revenue can be spared, may be gained by giving a few moments' reflection to the two following considerations. One is, that the duty on foreign silks, which was imposed purely for the behoof of the British manufacturer, yields only 270,000*l.* a year to the revenue, while it demands the exclusive attention of a number of the most experienced and highly paid Customs' officials, whose task it is to discriminate between the various articles imported, and to assign each to its appropriate designation under the tariff — a function involving much difficulty, and leading to frequent disputes and lengthened correspondence. The second consideration is this: — the entire number of dutiable articles enumerated in the tariff is 153, many of which are subdivided into several classes, each subject to a

How far such improvements might still further reduce the cost of collecting this branch of the revenue it is not easy to calculate, and would be scarcely prudent to conjecture: probably at least one quarter per cent., leaving it at $2\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. We are, however, content to estimate it at what we have seen to be its veritable amount, viz. *three per cent.*

Let us now devote a few minutes to a consideration of the probable cost of levying an equal amount of revenue in an equitable form by direct taxation. Our materials for coming to any confident conclusion on this matter are, it must be confessed, meagre and inadequate; but we must make the most of the few we possess.* First, it is obvious that *cæteris paribus* the cost of

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different tax;—the subdivisions of 'Silk Manufactures,' for example, are *forty-six*. The aggregate of these 153 articles yielded in the year ending December 31st, 1858, 24,155,852*l*. Of this sum, 23,383,078*l*., or *ninety-six and three quarters* per cent., was furnished by *thirteen* articles only; while 22,098,437*l*., was drawn from *seven* articles, being *ninety-one and a half* per cent. of the total customs' revenue.

'Sugar and molasses yielded - -	£6,252,322
Tobacco - - - - -	5,454,216
Tea - - - - - -	5,186,171
Spirits (foreign) - - - -	2,226,788
Wine - - - -	1,827,087
Timber - - - - -	565,070
Corn - - - - - -	586,783
	£22,098,437'

* We content ourselves for the most part with placing before our readers plain statements of fact which are derived from authentic documents, and leaving them to be contrasted with the reckless estimates and wild figures of the Liverpool financial reformers. In several of the pamphlets issued by them, in the 'People's Blue 'Book,' which they patronise and extol, and in the 'Report' which they recently read before the 'British Association for the Pro-'motion of Social Science,' they affirm the cost of collecting the excise and customs' duties to be (not, as we have seen it is, $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. and 3 per cent. respectively, but) ostensibly *ten* per cent., and really *one hundred and thirty-four* per cent. on the gross produce. They affirm that 'the present restrictive, and to a great 'extent prohibitory system of indirect taxation,' injures trade to the extent of 51,057,419*l*. (they love to be precise) per annum, and landed property to the extent of 28,000,000*l*. One sentence will suffice to give an idea of their mode of arriving at desired results. 'The cost of collection of customs and excise duties, as given in the

levying any direct impost will vary inversely according to the number of persons on whom it is levied, and the largeness of the sums in which it is levied. In other words, it will be much cheaper to levy twenty millions from one million of tax-payers than from thirty millions—if it can be done at all. Now, we do not know the numbers who pay the direct taxes in Great Britain (land tax, assessed taxes, and income tax), but we do know that in reference to the total population they are comparatively few.* The cost of collection ought, therefore, *for a case of direct taxation*, to be unusually low. In the year ending March 1858, a sum of 14,923,022*l.* was levied at a cost of 3·23 per cent.; and in the following year 9,975,294*l.* was levied at a cost of 4·1 per cent.†; the average being about that which we have seen to be the real expense of collecting the customs' duties. If we confine our attention to the income tax alone, we find that the rate per cent. at which it was collected during the Napoleonic wars varied from two to three per cent., averaging *two and a half*. Since its re-imposition by Sir Robert Peel, the rate has ranged from 1*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* up to 3*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* per cent. If, on the other hand, we inquire into the cost of collecting the direct taxes before the income tax was imposed, we shall find that from 1839 to 1841 inclusive it averaged 4*l.* 11*s.* 10*d.*, or about 4·6 per cent. These results certainly would not encourage us to hope that a system of direct taxation levied equitably on the entire population, whatever form it might take, would be a very cheap fiscal device. The author of the 'People's Blue-book,' however (p. 236.), has the hardihood to assume that a revenue which included both stamp duties‡ and a *capitation tax*, to be imposed on all above fourteen years of age, would be collected at a charge of *one and a quarter* per cent.

Observe, we do not for a moment mean to deny that a revenue derived *solely* from a tax on the income of real and

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'government finance accounts, is 2,578,069*l.* *To this must be added* '*the cost of collection of the whole revenue under the present mixed* '*system*, MODERATELY ESTIMATED AT 10 PER CENT., *the actual cost* '*being well known to be much more, which amounts to* 7,055,214*l.*' (*People's Blue Book*, p. 188.)

* The total number *assessed* under Schedules D. and E. in April, 1856, was under 500,000, but of these 202,000 were exempted.

† In 1857, when the income tax was much heavier, 19,503,564*l.* was collected for 2½ per cent.

‡ The stamp duties in 1856 (the year referred to by this writer) cost 2*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* per cent. to collect.

personal property * might not be collected at a comparatively low rate (say two per cent.), if statesmen could be found dishonest and impolitic enough to propose, and a Legislature self-denying and short-sighted enough to sanction, such a fiscal system. But it is impossible to argue seriously with writers who can propound such a scheme as possible, or defend it as either just, decent, or safe. The Report of the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, recently presented at Bradford, indeed, mentions this as one of the several conceivable substitutes for the present system of taxation, which would be 'immeasurably preferable;' but the author of the 'People's 'Blue Book' avoids this folly, and proposes a 'capitation tax' of one pound per head on all persons above fourteen years of age, as the means of making the working classes pay their fair contribution to the revenue of the country. This tax, he calculates, would yield 7,500,000*l.*, and of this sum the working classes would have to pay probably about six millions.

Now we will not here pause to inquire whether an equitable regard to relative means possessed and relative benefits enjoyed would decree that the middle and upper classes, who constitute about *one-fourth* of the community, should pay sixty millions, while the lower classes, who constitute *three-fourths*, pay only six millions. We will not enter upon a description of the intolerable irritation and the constant pressure which the visits of the tax-gatherer to demand his three or four pounds per annum would cause to the poor man, who can with difficulty pay his rent, and who never has money in his purse. We will not even ask whether those who suggest such a tax do not do so with some secret suspicion in their hearts that it never could be permanently levied, and would soon be abandoned as impracticable. We will simply ask our readers to picture to themselves the difficulty and expense of collecting such an impost strictly and fairly. On an average, the family of the labourer will comprise three members above the statutable age—frequently more. The larger his family, the more pressing will be his needs, and *the heavier his taxation*. If the tax be demanded from him all at once, payment will be usually impossible.

* The 'People's Blue Book' proposes a tax of 4*s.* in the pound, or 20 per cent., on the annual value of all land, buildings, mines, &c., and on the dividends from the consolidated fund, from railways, canals, joint-stock, and public companies; though why joint-stock companies should be mulcted and private mercantile firms escape, does not appear. The aggregate of these sums would amount to nearly 300,000,000*l.*, and the proposed tax thereon to about 60,000,000*l.* per annum.

He must run into debt, or he must go to prison. If, on the other hand, in order to mitigate the pressure, it be demanded from him in small sums—at the rate of eighteen pence a-week, or six shillings a-month—not only will the annoyance be incessant, and the sore kept always raw, but what more concerns our present argument, the expense entailed by these perpetual visits of the tax-gatherer will soon amount to a sum which will throw customs and excise collections into the shade. If contrivances be adopted to secure the payment of the tax by attaching his wages, or levying it through his employer—which in all probability would be found necessary—the complication of arrangements and accounts involved by such contrivances would soon multiply expenses far beyond the sum to be recovered. If the poor man did not or could not pay when required, legal processes must be resorted to; imprisonment must often follow, and the defaulter must be maintained at the public expense while in prison. For, be it remembered, no arrears could be allowed, no exemptions sanctioned, no pleas of incapacity listened to for a moment—or the tax might as well be given up at once. In the case of the existing income tax on incomes between 100*l.* and 150*l.* a-year, it is often found necessary to excuse defaulters and to wipe out arrears, simply because it would prove costly and perhaps impossible (without distraint or prison) to enforce payment. But in the case of a capitation tax, no considerations of this sort could be permitted to intervene. If allowed in a single instance, they would be pleaded in five cases out of six. To all these causes of difficulty and expense must be added the necessity of a searching investigation into any secret deposits in savings' banks or any subscription to friendly societies belonging to the defaulter, and capable of being made available to the baffled tax-gatherer. Now, when these considerations are placed in array before us and duly weighed, we ask with confidence, is there any man of sense or experience in such matters who believes that such a poll-tax could be collected for less than *five* per cent.—or could be collected at all for two years running—or could be collected for a single quarter without causing the poor man to curse the day when his Financial Reform friends took a fancy to protect him, and to quarrel with customs' duties on his behalf? We can quite comprehend the reasoning and penetrate the motives, though we may not be able to commend the wisdom or the justice, of those who would exempt the labouring classes from taxation altogether and levy the whole revenue from property or income; but those who repudiate this extreme and perilous doctrine have no tenable position from whence they can assail the

existing system of indirect imposts.* Every sound or practical politician will admit that no fiscal system can be safe or equitable which does not embrace *all* classes in its grasp; and few now, we think, will be found to doubt that only through the medium of duties laid on articles of universal consumption can the most numerous classes of all be made to contribute their quota without intolerable inconvenience, intolerable irritation, and intolerable expense.

That a judicious system of indirect taxation costs more in charges of collection than an equitable system of direct taxation, we hold, then, to be entirely disproved. That no objections can be brought against customs and excise duties which in some degree must be admitted as a set-off against their obvious and manifold advantages, we are by no means prepared to assert. Fiscal imposts are always burdensome, always vexatious, and almost always mischievous; in their best estate they are only necessary evils; and a choice among objectionable expedients is all that fate leaves to the wisest and blandest Chancellor of the Exchequer. But our argument is that, while the drawbacks on indirect taxes are enormously overstated by the 'Financial Reformers,' their counterbalancing recommendations are entirely overlooked or audaciously denied. That indirect imposts act injuriously in hampering commerce and manufactures is true only where these imposts are injudiciously chosen or clumsily levied. At least we may safely make this assertion as far as import duties are concerned. The time was, no doubt, when restrictions on trade and on the production of exciseable articles were so numerous and so unwise as materially to cramp enterprise and interfere with ingenuity; but since 1842 the Government has been on its guard against this danger, and the charge, if true at all, is true only in a most insignificant degree, and will shortly, we hope, cease to be true in any degree whatever. The steady increase in the produce of the malt and spirit duties on the one hand†, and the vast increase in

* Some have suggested a house tax from which there should be *no* exemptions. At present all under 20*l.* rent are exempted, or nine-tenths of the entire number: 500,000 houses yield 764,000*l.* But, as is well known and proved by the analogous case of parish rates, a tax on houses inhabited by the working classes could only be enforced by levying it from the landlord, who would rarely be enabled to recover it in the form of extra rent; so that it would become in reality a mere special tax on cottage property.

† The number of gallons of spirits paying duty had risen from 18,842,000 in 1842, to 23,199,000 in 1858; and the duty received thereon, from 5,046,000*l.* to 9,177,000*l.* The number of bushels of

the importation of dutiable articles from abroad on the other*, may be appealed to as triumphant confirmations. The marvellous expansion of our commerce, both inwards and outwards, during the last fifteen years, shows conclusively at least that no fiscal impediments can have operated to prevent that expansion. Nor, we are certain, need they ever do so, where the duties are moderate, and the collection of them is hampered by no needless or cumbersome formalities.

The next charge against them has more validity. That indirect imposts—and Customs' duties among them—are in one respect more costly than direct ones, we freely admit. They involve to the ultimate consumer not only an enhancement of price equivalent to the duty, but to the duty augmented by the profit chargeable on that portion of the merchant's and tradesman's capital which is employed in advancing the duty. That is to say, if an article is worth 100*l.*, and is charged with a duty of 10 per cent., the merchant, who in the first instance pays that duty, must recover his profit out of the consumer not on 100*l.*, but on 110*l.*; and all tradesmen through whose hands the article subsequently passes must do the same. The extent of the indirect burden thus laid upon the capital of the country is variously estimated by different writers, and in our opinion is enormously overstated by most. Sismondi puts a case in which this burden *might* reach 70 per cent. (!) Ricardo appears to have estimated it at 10 per cent. Mr. Greg, in his 'Essay 'on the Principles of Taxation,' calculated it to vary from $1\frac{1}{4}$ to 5 per cent. One of the tracts issued by the Liverpool Financial Reformers, calls it roundly 25 per cent.; while the 'People's Blue Book' puts it down at the sum of 10,211,483*l.* a year. These widely divergent estimates suffice to show how little reliance can be placed on any which claim to be precise. But in truth this argument against Customs' duties, valid enough once, has lost nearly all its weight under the combined operation of railways and the bonding system. Not only are the stocks held by tradesmen far smaller than formerly when

malt had increased from 35,851,000 to 42,794,000, and the malt duty from 4,848,000*l.* to 5,800,000*l.*

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	Imports. Official value.	Exports. Official value.	British Exports. Real value.
1842 -	£65,253,000 -	£113,842,000 -	£47,381,000
1858 -	138,159,000 -	305,543,000 -	116,609,000

The fact is that our trade, in spite of customs' dues, has increased as fast as ships could be built to carry it. The existing tonnage of the British Empire, which in 1842 was 3,620,000 tons, was in 1857 5,532,000 tons.

communications and means of supply were so much less rapid and less easy, but importers now scarcely ever pay duty till they have secured a customer for their goods: nay more, they constantly sell their goods *in bond*, and the retail dealer who purchases from them only liberates the goods a day or two before he actually needs them to supply the wants of the ultimate consumer. This is especially the case with high-duty goods, such as tea, which often pays duty one chest at a time, as the grocer happens to want it; so that in a vast proportion of cases the duty is only paid by the proprietor a few days before he *re-coups* himself from the consumer; and the *ten per cent.* per annum which he is supposed to charge as profit upon the capital advanced, is chargeable only for these few days, and becomes, therefore, almost an infinitesimal amount.

But, even if the *soi-disant* Financial Reformers were correct in their assertion that customs and excise duties cost more to collect than equal amounts equitably levied by direct taxation — which, as we have shown, is the reverse of true; nay, even granting — which is true — that the pecuniary burden of these duties is materially enhanced by the extra-profit charged by the importing merchant or the original manufacturer, and by all subsequent distributors; — these gentlemen appear to us in all their arguments to fall into one capital and fatal error. They fix their exclusive attention on *one* attribute of taxation, and neglect other and more important attributes. In their estimates the cheapest impost is the best:—*Cæteris paribus*,—that is, the pressure on the various classes of the community being equal,—that form of taxation which takes least out of the pocket of the tax-payer in proportion to the amount paid into the Exchequer, carries its own paramount recommendation with it, and is to be preferred to all others. Now this we hold to be an unquestionable fallacy. Why is a costly tax an objectionable one? Because it robs the tax-payer needlessly, and therefore does him an injury and an injustice. But a man may be injured otherwise than in his purse, and may be injured much more seriously than by any mere pecuniary mulct. He may be injured in his convenience; he may be injured in his feelings; he may be injured in his temper. The State wants 20*l.* from him. 'This,' say the financial reformers, 'it can obtain, under a direct 'levy, by taking from him 20*l.* 5*s.*; whereas, if you get it by 'indirect taxation, you must take from him 21*l.* or 22*l.*—clearly, 'therefore, the former is the only right mode.' (The proportions, as we have shown, are not as here alleged; but never mind that: we are concerned here with the abstract argument.) But what if he is called upon to pay the 20*l.* 5*s.* at a very in-

convenient time, in a very peremptory manner, in a large sum, in an undisguised and offensively ostensible form,—while the 21*l.* or 22*l.* he pays just when he pleases, in as small sums as he pleases, and what is still more to the purpose — without being aware that he is paying a tax at all? What, if instead of being irritated beyond endurance by the quarterly visits of the tax-gatherer—always sure to be as ill-timed as possible, or to appear so—he never sees the face of that obnoxious functionary from the cradle to the grave? What, if instead of being goaded into fury by discussions, and proofs, and affidavits, and references to parish registers as to the age — taxable or exempt—of his children, his most annoying dispute is with his grocer,—whether he shall pay 4*d.* or 5*d.* a pound for his sugar? What, if being something of a practical philosopher, as nearly all of us are, he should be of opinion that in no way could the extra 15*s.* or 35*s.* a year be so well laid out, that in no way could it be made to produce so much comfort or spare him so much pain — as by substituting indirect for direct taxation? What, if he naturally prefers insensible perspiration to forcible extraction? What, in fine, if he should prefer *paying* not only 22*l.* but 25*l.* in the one way, to having 20*l.* *torn* from him in the other?—as every man of common sense, every man who is neither a pedant nor a *doctrinaire*, unquestionably will. Clearly, money is valuable only inasmuch as it can purchase the good things of life; clearly, freedom from periodical irritation is one of the best of these good things; clearly, therefore, if it is worth while to pay 20*l.* a year to Government for protection, security, and justice, it is worth while to pay 20*s.* more for peace—a calm temper and an unblaspheming tongue. Taxation must of necessity be a painful operation; it is simple cruelty and folly not to perform it under the influence of chloroform. To us it seems too obvious to need argument that, if only our fiscal burdens are equitably apportioned and so contrived as neither to fetter industry nor to repress enterprise, that mode of levying them must be the best, which is — not the cheapest, but — the least unpleasant and the least felt. Now there can be no doubt that indirect taxes are the least unpleasant; and as we have endeavoured to show, there is every reason to believe they are really the cheapest also. As has been well said: 'To obtain a large revenue you must levy it '*from* the many: to obtain it cheaply, you must levy it *through* 'the few.' Customs' and excise duties fulfil both these requirements.

We are well aware that this very unconsciousness with which indirect taxes are paid is one of their especial sins in the

eyes of 'Financial Reformers.' They would have taxation made as ostensible and vexatious as possible, in order that, being annoying to the people to pay and difficult for the Government to collect, there should be a constant and combined pressure towards its reduction to the smallest practicable amount. With reference to this argument we have only two or three brief remarks to make. In the first place, we are at a loss to perceive the wisdom or logical consistency of aggravating a burden as a step towards lightening it,—of augmenting one unpleasant attribute of taxation with a view of diminishing another and less unpleasant attribute,—of increasing its pressure on the temper, in order to lessen its pressure on the purse. In the second place, we are far from clear that it is desirable to heighten, by any artificial measures, an impatience of fiscal burdens, which will always and of necessity be strong enough. As it is, there is a continuous and earnest demand for a reduction of taxation, and (except in our moments of undignified panic or aroused national pride) for a perilous, fitful, and costly diminution of expenditure. It is precisely our disgust at taxation, and especially at direct taxation, which brings about those invariable reductions in our army and navy which are insisted upon the instant a panic or a war is over, and which necessitate a three-fold outlay the instant a panic or a war returns. It is true that of late years our civil estimates have largely increased; but we are sure the increase was desirable, and we believe that for nearly the whole of the increase we have got our money's worth. It is true that just now our naval and military estimates are deplorably enhanced; but this is mainly because a few years ago they were deplorably reduced; and we are quite certain that any 'ignorant impatience of taxation,' arising out of a spiteful augmentation of our direct imposts, which should now lead to either branch of our national defences being cramped or starved, would be an unmitigated evil, and a shallow and expensive folly. In the third place, it must be borne in mind that of our present net revenue of 61,800,000*l.*, more than 28,750,000*l.* is mortgaged for the interest of the debt, and is therefore sacred and untouchable, leaving 33,000,000*l.* for the entire government expenditure, on which sum alone can any saving be effected. Of this, eight millions are swallowed up by the civil charges which few would desire to reduce, and which are probably destined to a further increase, as education, police, and the administration of justice are still further improved. Twenty-five millions only remain for economic critics to operate upon; and supposing that it were found possible and wise to retrench five millions out of these, this would only amount to

one twelfth of the entire revenue which we now levy. Now, as we have seen, the plan of the advocates of direct taxation arranges that of this revenue the working classes should pay only about six millions:—the whole saving to them, therefore, of a parsimony which might imperil the country, shatter industry, and paralyse trade, would be about 550,000*l.* a year, or among their twenty-two millions, just *sixpence a head.*

Strong objections are urged against these customs' and excise duties on another ground—the irresistible temptations and opportunities which it is alleged they offer to fraud and evasion. The impeachment must be admitted;—as long as these duties exist there will be attempts, and successful attempts, at smuggling and illicit distillation. But the objection applies—and probably with equal force—to all species of taxation. Payments to the revenue, however levied, will always be evaded when evasion is possible; and fraud, lying, and concealment, with all their demoralising consequences, will result. Even now the dishonest practices, stimulated by Schedule D. and the legacy and probate duties, are formidable items of comparison to set against the violations of excise and customs' laws; and the fearful extent to which the former would be multiplied were direct taxation levied on the masses instead of, as now, only on the few, no man can foresee. Moreover, there is one fertile source of temptation and of fraud appertaining to direct taxation, from which indirect is wholly free,—namely, *exemptions.* Every magistrate is more or less cognisant of the deplorable amount of equivocation and false swearing employed to prove, for example, that a house is only worth 19*l.* 19*s.*, and is, therefore, exempt from the house tax;—that the effects of a deceased person were under 20*l.* in value, and that therefore Letters of Administration need not be taken out;—that the income of the appellant is less than 100*l.*, and that therefore he is exempt from the income tax;—that his carriage, or his horse, or his dog, or his gun, or his under gardener is exempt from duty, on this or that assignable plea. When all things are taken into consideration, it becomes impossible to decide between the relative degrees of demoralising temptation assignable to the two fiscal systems; and we shall, therefore, leave this class of considerations out of the question on both sides.

In what we have written hitherto, we have not designed to defend our existing system of taxation as either positively light, or ideally cheap, or practically faultless. We have only been concerned to show that those who affirm that the pressure of taxation is increasing, that it is heavier than in France or America,

that it is collected at a great expense, and at a far greater cost than a directer system which might be substituted for it, and that it is inherently and incurably objectionable, are making assertions which we can prove to be either enormously exaggerated or wholly false. It now only remains to show that the same character must be assigned to the assertion habitually put forward by the same parties, and with equal confidence,—that the actual incidence of taxation in England is grievously burdensome and grossly unjust to the working classes — that, in fact, we levy our revenue mainly from the poor instead of from the rich. And in entering on this inquiry — which we shall make as brief as possible — we, in the same way, do not intend to argue that this incidence is theoretically, accurately, and precisely fair, in a rateable proportion, — but merely that it is far, indeed, from being *as* unfair as popular orators are wont to represent it.

And at the outset we must remind our readers that the taxation of the poor man is *entirely voluntary*. He assesses himself, and he need not contribute one farthing to the revenue unless he pleases.* No actual *necessary* of life is taxed. Bread and meat pay no customs' duties and no excise. Tea, coffee, sugar, spirits, tobacco, and beer — though now by habit become almost indispensable — are in no fair and intelligible sense *necessaries:* a man may live, as all men used to do, and as numbers do even now, in perfect health, strength, and comfort, without touching one of them;—nay, he will improve his health by abstaining from at least two out of the number. They are all, with the exception of beer, *recent* articles. The ancients were unacquainted with spirits:—distillation was not invented till the middle ages. Tea and coffee were introduced into Europe at the end of the seventeenth century; and tea is still little consumed in any European country, except England. Sugar was first imported into Europe in the twelfth or thirteenth century, and tobacco dates only from the discovery of America. They are all luxuries and superfluities:—it is very right that the working man should have them, if he chooses; but why, any more than the rich man, he should have them without paying for them, it is impossible to see. If he can purchase them, it is because he has money to spend on superfluities, and the portion of his income that he can set aside for superfluities is surely a fair subject for taxation. If he pays any tax

* The sole exception to this statement — the only inescapable tax, the only tax on an article of *indispensable* necessity — is to be found in the timber duties. These duties, on the quantity and kind of wood used in the construction of a working man's cottage, amount to 4*s.* 3*d.*; they will augment his yearly rent by about 4*d.*

at all, it is because he has stepped voluntarily into the tax-paying class.

With this preliminary remark we will now proceed to ascertain in what proportion the existing taxes are divided among the upper and middle classes on the one side, and the working classes on the other,—the propertied classes and the *prolétaires*. By the working classes we mean those who live by weekly wages or by handicraft, as distinguished from those who live on incomes derived from property, trades, and professions. The distinction is broad and intelligible, if not exact. Our figures—as we have already taken occasion to warn our readers—can only be approximations; but they have been prepared after consulting with the best informed persons in each department, and we believe them to be correct in the main. We will take the year 1858, using the *Third* Annual Reports of the Customs and Inland Revenue Departments as our authorities for reference.* The gross receipts were as follows:—

Customs - - - - -	£24,155,852
Excise - - - - -	18,480,572
Stamps - - - - -	8,247,342
Taxes (including income tax) -	9,975,294
	£60,859,060

If to this we add the annual amount of poor rates and county rates, and other local taxation, which as we have seen reaches 15,000,000*l.*, we come to a total of 75,859,060*l.*

Of this amount, the propertied classes (as we will call them for brevity) paid certainly fourteen-fifteenths, if not more of the poor and county rates, and the income tax, the land and assessed taxes, and the house tax *exclusively*†—the latter being only leviable on dwellings valued above 20*l.* a year. The same remark applies to the probate and legacy and succession duties, and to all the other items classed together under 'Stamps'—unless we except a very small proportion of the newspaper and medicine stamps, which together only amount to 200,000*l.* The propertied classes also pay, out of the various excise duties, the whole of the game certificates, and race-horse tax; probably three-fourths of the hackney and stage carriages and paper duty; all the railway tax‡, and perhaps one-third

* The Inland revenue accounts are made up to March 31. 1859, those of the Customs' report three months earlier, Dec. 31. 1858.

† If there be any exceptions, the amount is too trifling to require notice.

‡ We say *all* the railway tax, because receipts from passengers who pay only one penny per mile are exempt from taxation. In

of the licences.* It is estimated, by the most experienced officers of Excise, that one-eighth in England, and *at least* three-eighths in Scotland and Ireland of British spirits, are consumed by the upper and middle classes: if therefore we allot to them *one-fourth* of the entire spirit duty, we shall certainly be under rather than over the mark. The consumption of beer and porter in London and some other towns, by the working classes is enormous; but in Scotland and Ireland, as well as in the cider districts of England, they drink it very seldom: the middle classes, on the contrary, consume it everywhere in England freely. We shall be safe, therefore, in calculating that they and the upper classes pay at least three-eighths of the duty on malt and hops.

So much for the division of the Inland revenue. Of articles subject to Customs' duties, the working classes are estimated to consume one-fifth of the butter and half the cheese imported, about half the coffee, and probably two-thirds of the corn—(the other classes having to provide for the consumption of their servants as well as themselves)—one-third of the currants and raisins, and one-fifth of the silk-manufactures. A parliamentary paper, dated July 16. 1857, shows, as the result of very elaborate inquiries, instituted by the Board of Inland Revenue, that the working classes consume forty per cent. of the sugar, and forty-four per cent. of the tea. The proportion of tobacco duty paid by the two divisions of the community, we have no means of ascertaining with accuracy.† Nearly all the manufactured tobacco, namely cigars, which pays 9*s.* per pound, is consumed by the upper classes, and much also of the snuff, which pays 6*s.* per pound. If we assume that the upper and middle classes pay only *one-fourth* of the total duty, we shall probably be not far from the truth. The whole of the imported brandy, but only one-fifth of the rum, is calculated to be consumed by the upper and middle classes. The wine duty, of course, is paid exclusively by the propertied classes. The timber duties may perhaps be equally divided; the foreign timber which pays the high duty being

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1857–8 the amount of passenger receipts on which duty was levied, was 6,972,220*l.*; the amount exempt from duty was 3,076,516*l.*

* It is not possible to form more than a rough guess at the mode in which the licence duty should be apportioned. Of the whole amount (1,425,000*l.*) about 815,000*l.* is derived from public houses, beer shops, and gin shops. Probably the working classes pay ultimately *three-fourths* of this tax on a liberal estimate.

† The duty on manufactured tobacco and snuff amounted in 1858 to 122,692*l.*; but the consumption of British-made cigars by the middle classes must be very large. The immense number of shops for the sale of ornamental pipes and high priced cigars and tobacco, gives an idea of the consumption of the upper ranks.

chiefly used by the rich.* Of the mass of minor articles enumerated in the tariff, the upper classes must consume far the largest proportion: we will assign to them two-thirds of the duties thereon, which reach to about 773,000*l.* in the aggregate. Let us now reduce the foregoing to a tabular shape.†

	Propertied Classes.		Working Classes.	
		£		£
LOCAL TAXATION —				
Poor rates, county rates, &c.	14/15	14,000,000	1/15	1,000,000
TAXES —				
Income tax, assessed taxes, &c.	all	9,975,294		
STAMPS —				
Probate, legacy duties, and stamps	„	8,247,342		
EXCISE —				
Game certificates and race-horse tax	„	17,999		
Hackney and stage coaches	3/4	155,359	1/4	51,786
Railway passenger tax	all	339,569		
Paper duty	3/4	960,767	1/4	320,256
Licences	1/3	478,964	2/3	957,928
British spirits	1/4	2,297,210	3/4	6,891,632
Malt and hops	3/8	2,253,413	5/8	3,755,689
CUSTOMS —				
Butter	4/5	76,391	1/5	19,098
Cheese	1/2	22,185	1/2	22,185
Coffee	1/2	221,060	1/2	221,060
Corn	1/4	195,594	2/3	391,189
Currants and raisins	2/3	299,153	1/3	133,077
Silk manufactures	4/5	216,429	1/5	54,107
Brandy	all	830,521		
Rum	1/5	279,253	4/5	1,117,014
Sugar and molasses	per cent. 60	3,751,330	40	2,500,888
Tea	„ 56	2,904,256	44	2,281,915
Tobacco and snuff	1/4	1,363,554	3/4	4,090,662
Wine	all	1,827,087		
Timber	1/2	282,535	1/2	282,535
Miscellaneous articles	2/3	515,183	1/3	257,591
		51,510,448		24,348,612

* One of the pamphleteers who advocate direct taxation, in his anxiety to prove that nearly all the customs' duties are paid by the poor, affirms that the largest portion of the timber imported is used in making matches! We have been at some pains to ascertain the real quantity thus consumed annually. Lucifer matches are made of the best *colonial* deals. It is calculated by the trade that the manufacture reaches 520,000,000 boxes yearly, and requires 224,700 deals, or 10,000 loads. Now the colonial *deals* alone, entered in 1857, reached 720,000 loads; the quantity of other descriptions of colonial timber (to say nothing of the high-duty *foreign* timber) was immense. But such are the absurd and reckless statements in which some writers feel themselves privileged to indulge.

† We have throughout taken round numbers to avoid complication

In round numbers, then, it appears that of an aggregate amount of taxation of 75,859,060*l.*, the working classes pay only 24,348,612*l.*, or thirty-two per cent. Now, can we form any estimate of the ratio which this proportion bears to their relative *numbers*, and their relative *income*? We think we may, though, of course, we can give such estimate only as a rough approximation. A comparison of the table given at vol. ii. p. c. of the Census of 1851, with the one given at p. 72. of 'Porter's 'Progress of the Nation,' as well as several other indications * which we need not particularise, seem to warrant the conclusion that the working classes of the United Kingdom form, *at least*, three-fourths of the total population, or 22,500,000, leaving *one-fourth*, 7,500,000 for the middle and upper classes,—including among these, all who do not live by wages. Thus much for their numbers: now as regards their income.

By the last census there appear to be 4·8 individuals to a family. There will therefore be about 4,700,000 working-class *families* in Great Britain and Ireland. It was calculated from the data supplied by the 'Report on the Employment of Women 'and Children in Agriculture,' that the average wages of an agricultural labourer's family in Great Britain could not fall short of 13*s.* a week. They have risen much since that time; we may therefore take this sum, at least, as the earnings throughout the kingdom, including Ireland. Those employed in manufactures earn at least twice, and sometimes three times that sum, as many individuals of a family besides the head are employed in factory labour and in mines. In Ireland especially, not only have the wages of agricultural labours risen considerably, but the introduction of needle-work among the peasant-girls often now enables the females of the family to earn as much as the head of the family formerly earned. A glance at the tables given by Mr. Porter, in his fourteenth chapter, will astonish many of our readers. Among the operatives employed in the iron trades especially, the wages are often enormously high. The estimate of that high authority was, that ten or twelve years ago, the average earnings of a working man's *family* in these islands, could not fall short of 40*l.* a year; if so, they cannot certainly now be less than 45*l.*, and are probably 50*l.* But if we take only the smaller sum, it will give us, as the aggregate income of the 4,700,000 labouring families in the United Kingdom,

* Mr. Newmarch, in his Electoral Statistics (Journal of the London Statistical Society, June, 1857,) gives the proportion of 70 per cent. of the population in *England and Wales* as living in houses rated under 10*l.* per annum.

211,500,000*l.*; — and if we add to this, as we certainly must, a further sum of 13,500,000*l.* for that portion of the wages of domestic servants, which properly belongs to this category, we arrive at a total of 225,000,000*l.* as the annual income of the working classes.

All whose income exceeds 100*l.* a year are now assessed to the income tax, and the amount of income charged under the five schedules, was, in 1858, 293,011,215. To this must be added the income of those who are above the working class, but yet in receipt of less than 100*l.* a year. The amount of these incomes must be mainly matter of conjecture; but as we know* that the aggregate sums brought under charge by the extension of the tax (in 1853) from 150*l.* to 100*l.* incomes, only reached in Great Britain *fourteen* millions, we can scarcely be far wrong if we assume twenty-seven millions for the whole kingdom as the sum of the annual incomes of those of the middle classes who have less than 100*l.* a year; at least if we are in error, that error will lie in the direction of excess. This would give the entire revenue of the upper and middle ranks as 320,000,000*l.* The comparison will then stand as follows.

The working classes, 22,500,000 in number, and with an aggregate income of 225,000,000*l.* a year, pay 24,500,000*l.* of taxes, — that is, 22*s.* a head, or not quite 11 per cent. The upper and middle classes, 7,500,000 in number, and with an aggregate income of 320,000,000*l.*, pay 51,500,000*l.*, — that is, 6*l.* 17*s.* 4*d.* per head, or 16 per cent.

In conclusion, let us briefly sum up the several results in which our course of inquiry has landed us.

First. It appears that our taxation *per head*, so far from increasing, has been steadily diminishing, ever since the termination of the Great Napoleonic wars, and is now less than it was at the beginning of the century.

Secondly. That in relation to our wealth, the diminished pressure of taxation has been even more remarkable, the percentage annually levied by Government on the aggregate real and personal estate of the community being only half what it was after the Peace of Amiens, and on the eve of Napoleon's downfall—having fallen in fact from 2·07 per cent. in 1803, and 2·49 per cent. in 1814, to 1·034 per cent. in 1858.

Thirdly. That revenue for revenue, we are scarcely more heavily taxed than France, while wealth for wealth, or expenditure for expenditure, our fiscal burdens are unquestionably lighter.

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* First Inland Revenue Report, p. 33.

Fourthly. That even as compared with America, the comparison is less to our disadvantage than is usually represented, and certainly not at all to our discredit; the proportion of each man's income demanded by the State being considerably smaller here than in the United States.

Fifthly. That the current charges of excessive costliness in the collection of our revenue, are entirely groundless; — that it is collected much more economically than that of either France or America; — that it is collected at a much less cost than formerly; — and that our indirect taxes — the Customs' duties certainly, and the Excise probably—are collected for a smaller percentage on the sums obtained than could possibly be the case with any equitable system of direct taxation.

Sixthly and lastly. That our present fiscal system — selecting, that is, last year when the income tax yielded only seven millions, — does *not* press with any unfair severity upon the working classes, as is usually alleged; inasmuch as the amount they pay per head is not *one-sixth* of that paid by the middle and upper classes, and bears a much smaller proportion to their income.

Since the preceding pages were in print, Mr. Bright has promulgated a detailed plan for the reorganisation of our finances, which we cannot, consistently with what is due to his political position and influence, leave unnoticed. It is contained in a speech delivered at Liverpool on the 1st of December last, at a meeting arranged by the Financial Reform Association, with whose opinions on taxation his scheme generally coincides. The meeting was held after a long notice and much preparation, and the speech must be considered as the result of careful deliberation. We will lay before our readers a summary of his plan, derived from the authentic report of his speech in the 'Financial Reformer' for December, 1859, and will subjoin to it some remarks for the purpose of exhibiting its character and probable results.

The main object of the plan is to repeal taxes which fall upon the bulk of the community and upon persons with precarious incomes, and to substitute for them taxes upon 'property,' by which term we understand him to mean realised property, producing a fixed income. In order to carry this object into effect, he proposes to repeal the income tax, the assessed taxes (except the house tax), the tax on marine insurances, and the tax on fire insurances. These four are all direct taxes, and the latter is even a tax on realised property, yielding nearly 1,500,000*l.* a year. The four taxes in

question, taking the income tax at 7*d.* in the pound, may be estimated as producing a gross annual revenue of nearly 11,500,000*l.* He further proposes to repeal the excise duty on paper, an indirect tax now producing nearly 1,300,000*l.* a year. With the customs' duties he deals on a still more extensive scale. He strikes 439 articles from the tariff*, including the duties on tea, sugar, coffee, corn, currants, raisins, silks, timber, and books. He likewise reduces the duty on foreign wines from 5*s.* 6*d.* to 1*s.* a gallon. The only productive customs' duties which he would leave are those on foreign spirits and tobacco, which, with the reduced duty on wine, would yield an annual sum of about 7,800,000*l.* He estimates the entire yearly revenue thus remitted at upwards of 26,000,000*l.*

In order to cover the enormous deficiency thus created, he proposes to substitute a tax upon property. From Parliamentary Returns he calculates the whole property of the country (excluding persons whose property is less than 100*l.*) at 7,000,000,000*l.*; but he deducts 300,000,000*l.* from this sum, and puts the property of the country at the reduced amount of 6,700,000,000*l.* Upon this assessment he imposes an annual tax of 8*s.* per cent.; the produce of which he estimates at about 27,000,000*l.* If, therefore, the grounds of the calculation be correct, the substituted property tax would more than cover the deficit caused by the proposed remission of taxation.

In the first place, we have to remark that the general effect of this plan is not to substitute direct for indirect taxation, inasmuch as it repeals direct taxes producing nearly 11,500,000*l.* a year. The income tax and the assessed taxes are direct in their incidence; and Schedules B., D., and E. of the income tax, —the schedules of farmers, trades and professions, and public officers, — which this scheme repeals without a substitute, are just as much direct taxes, and possess as much of the advantages ascribed to that class of imposts, as Schedules A. and C., the schedules of land and the funds. Neither can it be said that it is a substitution of taxes levied on the rich for taxes levied on the poor. Many of the taxes proposed to be repealed are taxes whose incidence is not upon the poor: such are the income tax, the assessed taxes, the duties on fire and marine insurances, the duties on paper, books, raisins, foreign wines, silks, timber. The true object of the plan, as has been already stated, is to

* How he contrives to do this, however, is a mystery, seeing that the entire number of articles charged with duty in the tariff (see the Supplement for 1857, the last issued), including all the subdivisions of the principal articles, is only 392.

transfer fiscal burdens from the trading and professional classes to the classes possessed of fixed or realised property.

It is not very clear what Mr. Bright intends to include under the head of 'Property.' If he means 'realised property,' as his language would lead us to believe, — that is to say the property charged with income tax under Schedules A. and C., property invested in the public funds and in land, buildings, mines, railway and canal shares, &c., then his estimate of the total amount of such property is wild and inaccurate in the extreme. The aggregate sum charged with duty under Schedule A. was, in 1858, 128 millions, of which nearly 60 millions consisted of houses and buildings, which cannot be capitalised at a ratio of more than 14 years; and upwards of 12 millions more consisted of railway and canal dividends, which cannot be taken at more than 25 years' purchase at the outside. The average of the whole, as we stated at p. 245., cannot be capitalised at more than 22 years' purchase, yielding a total of 2816 millions. If to this we add the assessment under Schedule C., viz. 29,500,000*l.*, capitalised at an extreme value of 33 years' purchase or 957 millions, we arrive at an aggregate of 3773 millions instead of Mr. Bright's estimate of 6700 millions. If, then, Mr. Bright means by the word 'Property' what we have assumed him to mean, his calculation is nearly 3000 millions over the truth, and his required sum of 27,000,000*l.* annually would demand a tax not of 8*s.* per cent, but 14*s.*

But if we adopt for a moment Mr. Bright's own basis, and assume the taxable capital at 6,700,000,000*l.*, it is true that a tax of 8*s.* per cent. will produce about 27,000,000*l.* The exact sum is 26,800,000*l.* An annual tax, though calculated upon an assessment of property, will in practice be a charge upon income. If we assume that realised property produces in this country, on an average, a clear annual income of 3 per cent — a supposition which is rather over than under the truth — the proposed tax would in effect be a tax of 8*s.* on every 3*l.* of annual income; in other words, it would be an income tax of 13*l.* 6*s.* per cent., more than 31*d.* in the pound, or more than a seventh of the income. Now it will be observed that this heavy tax would fall, not exclusively on the rich, but upon all persons deriving an income, however small, from realised property, provided that property amounted to 100*l.* For example, a merchant, a banker, a manufacturer, a railway contractor, a barrister, a physician, an engineer, or even a minister of state receiving a clear income of 5000*l.* a year, would escape untaxed; but every person who had invested 100*l.* in the funds or in a

savings' bank, would receive his dividend with a deduction of more than 13 per cent.

Mr. Bright's estimate, however, is, as we have shown, quite erroneous, and on the *real* aggregate of 3773 millions, a tax not of 8*s.* but of 14*s.* would be required. Now 14*s.* on 100*l.* of property, or 3*l.* of annual income, is an income tax of 56*d.* in the pound, or 23⅓ per cent., or nearly *one fourth* of the income.

Such a tax, moreover, being laid exclusively on real and government securities, would discourage investment therein, and would depreciate the value of both to an amount which, though impossible to estimate, would certainly be considerable. It would operate to drive money into trade, and to keep it there; it would induce parties to hold ships in preference to land; and where timidity or ignorance did not prevent, would induce capitalists to invest their savings on foreign securities. Land and Consols would sell for fewer years' purchase than formerly; and the present holder of both would therefore be robbed to the full extent of the depreciation.

But if, as his figures though not his language would suggest, Mr. Bright meant to include under the term 'Property,' not only land, buildings, railways, Consols, and other fixed securities, but also ships, stock in trade, and all which on a man's death is valued as *personalty* for the probate duty, then his amount is still inaccurate and exaggerated, and his scheme becomes liable to a different set of objections. It is then merely a clumsy and imperfect mode of re-enacting the income tax, with a special exemption for the merchant or manufacturer who makes his 5000*l.* a year of profit; the Lord Chancellor or Secretary of State who receives his 5000*l.* a year of salary; and the physician or barrister who realises his 5000*l.* a year of professional fees, but calling on the widow who has 100*l.* in the funds for 13 per cent. out of her annual pittance. On this second supposition of Mr. Bright's meaning, he would appear to have arrived at his figures in the following mode: —The 128 millions charged under Schedule A. at 25 years' purchase gives in round numbers 3200 millions of *real* property, and 1,338,000*l.* of probate duty indicates, as we have shown (p. 245.), 3400 of *personal* property, making a total of 6600 millions. These may have been, and probably were, Mr. Bright's data, if he used the somewhat loose word 'Property' in its more comprehensive signification. But in this case, he has fallen into two capital errors. In the first place, as we have shown, the property assessed under Schedule A. cannot be capitalised at more than 22 years' purchase (instead of 25), which reduces the

realty by 384 millions, or to 2816 millions; and in the second place, leaseholds, mortgages, railway shares, &c., which are taxed under Schedule A. also pay probate duty as personalty, and are thus reckoned by Mr. Bright *twice over*. Moreover, under the probate duty all household furniture, pictures, books, even clothes, are taxed. To include these under Mr. Bright's tax an *annual valuation*, such as now takes place only at a man's death, would be required. A further deduction to an indefinite amount must thus be made from Mr. Bright's estimate, which it will be seen by reference to our previous calculations (which we need not here repeat) is at least 1000 millions too high. If, therefore, we suppose him to have intended to include personal as well as real property in his scheme, a tax not of *eight* but of *ten* shillings would still be needed to produce the sum required, or more than 16 per cent. And this would be imposed, not, as we have seen, to relieve the poor man from taxation, but in order that trading and professional incomes may go free. With these remarks we leave Mr. Bright's scheme to such further elucidation as he may vouchsafe, and we also leave his accuracy and candour as a financier to the judgment of the country.

Lord Macaulay.

THE melancholy event which suddenly terminates the labours of the most illustrious man of letters whom England had in this age produced, claims in so peculiar a manner from ourselves the expression of that sorrow and regard which is shared by the whole nation, that we hesitate not to depart on this occasion from the usage of our Journal, and to record in these lines our sense of so irreparable a loss.

Others will relate, as long as literary history excites the sympathy and the curiosity of future ages, the varied and inexhaustible gifts which marked out THOMAS BABINGTON MACAULAY from all his contemporaries. The astonishing activity of his mind had ranged from early youth through every path of literary research; the capacity and precision of his memory retained and arranged for instant use every page, every thought, every incident, and every name which had at any time attracted his attention. All he read, all he knew, — and what had he not read? what did he not know? — was reflected by some spectral process on his memory, where it remained, subject to no change but that of mortality. Accordingly, the studies of his earlier years, the sublime language of the Hebrew Scriptures, the tragic grandeur of the Athenian stage, the eloquence and wisdom of the orators and historians of antiquity, and even the discourses of the Christian Fathers, formed the basis of his mental culture, and were no less present to his mind than every other part of the vast structure of modern literature and history he raised upon it. But whilst the universal range of his acquirements had rendered him familiar with all that was beautiful and elevated in the literature of other ages and other lands, the focus of his genius centred in the history, the language, and the literary life of England. Profoundly versed in the story of her growth, and imbued with the spirit of her freedom; admirably skilled in the use of his mother-tongue, of which it may be said as Wordsworth said of Milton, that in his hands 'the thing became a trumpet;' incredibly familiar with the writings and the lives of every man who has left a trace in the letters of this country, till he seemed to have the power of recalling the dead by the vivacity of his own impressions of them, Lord Macaulay was essentially English in his habits of thought and in his tastes. The strongest of all his feelings was the love and pride excited

in him by his native land; for he knew her and admired her, not only as the England of this age, but from the dawn of her annals to the fulness of her strength.

In other men gifted with these extraordinary powers of memory, it has been remarked that the mind is over-burthened with its own stores, and that powers of vigorous thought are not unfrequently wanting to animate and control the mass of acquired knowledge. The intellect of Lord Macaulay was more perfectly constituted. He combined so vivid an imagination with so solid a judgment, that if he had not been a great historian he might have passed down to posterity as a great poet; and whilst the amount of his intellectual wealth would have overwhelmed a mind of less original power, with him it remained subordinate to the genius of the Master. No man was more remarkable for the nice discrimination of his critical powers, or for the ingenious combinations by which he threw a new and vivid light on the course of events, the play of human character, and the principles he lived to advocate and defend. It was this rare union which gave so wonderful a charm to his style; every sentence was instinct with life; every word touched by his pen left its mark; and the same spell which captivated the most accomplished of his contemporaries, and overruled the hostility of his antagonists, gave him an unequalled popularity wherever the language of England is understood or admired.

We speak of Lord Macaulay, mainly, as a man of letters, because without doubt that is his chief glory and his most imperishable character. For although we have seen and admired the part he sometime filled in political debate, and his speeches in the House of Commons were not unworthy of himself, he early discerned that he was the heir of a loftier fame than political services can earn, or political distinctions confer. When called by the just favour of the Crown to the august ranks of the British peerage, and to that Senate which alas! he was never able to address, the nation felt that his coronet rested upon his matchless literary eminence and not upon mere party connexion. No peerage conferred by a Minister was ever more cordially sanctioned by the nation, for it was felt that the lustre thrown by his genius upon the peerage surpassed the distinction conferred by the peerage upon himself. No doubt Lord Macaulay was strongly attached to his political friends, and deeply imbued with those immortal principles which have assigned to the Whig party so glorious a share in the annals and government of this country. But he raised those principles to a higher power. He gave them a broader and more universal character. He traced them along the mighty streams of

history, and he expanded them till they embraced the noblest destinies of man. Enshrined in the memorable Essays which first appeared in the pages of this journal, and embodied in the great History, which though still incomplete, includes the most remarkable epoch and the most formidable crisis of British constitutional freedom, these truths will be remembered in the language he gave them, when parliamentary orators and the contentions of statesmen are forgotten. Above all things his public career was singularly high-minded and pure; he was actuated by no selfish motives; he disdained every vulgar reward; and bound by principle to the Whig party, he never made the slightest sacrifice of his own judgment and independence to the demands of popular prejudice or to the dictation of authority.

The brilliant efforts of accomplished rhetoric, the graphic scenes traced by a vivid imagination, the energetic defence of political principles, would, however, fail to secure to Lord Macaulay that place which he deserves in the memory of his countrymen, if his prodigious intellectual powers had not been allied to a still nobler temperament. It has been said by some, who must indeed have known him imperfectly, and judged him very unwisely, that he lacked the warmer qualities of the heart. Is it credible that without the highest qualities of the heart a man could live the enthusiastic admirer of all that was generous, disinterested, genial, and good — could die without one single action to be recorded of him which does not do honour to his name? No one, indeed, who has lived in, or heard of, the society of London in our time could be ignorant of the animation and brilliancy of his conversation — of the fascinating influence which drew the hearers round his chair — of the varied and abundant stores of past knowledge and sudden inspiration by which he was wont to illuminate his path through life with a preternatural radiance. But it requires a more intimate acquaintance with the unobtrusive tenor of his private life to know with what sympathy and munificence he was ever ready to assist with his counsel and fortune those who were struggling in the humbler walks of literary toil; and if we were at liberty to follow him into the narrower circle which bounded his domestic ties, it would be seen that no man ever lived of a more tender and affectionate nature. Many are they who at this hour feel, as we do, that they have lost one of the kindest as well as the greatest of their friends: and although the applause and veneration of the world does, in one sense, perpetuate the existence of so illustrious a writer, we cannot forget that the virtues and the graces we loved in his life and conversation have vanished for ever.

Though singularly inaccessible to the ordinary temptations of vanity or ambition, one wish of personal distinction we know him to have entertained, and that wish has been fitly fulfilled. He more than once expressed his earnest desire that his mortal remains might rest in that sepulture of the illustrious dead of England, which inspired one of the most exquisite contemplative essays in the language to Addison, and which has oftentimes been described as the last bourne of human renown by Macaulay. Between the men who made these names immortal there are now but a few feet of stone ; both of them are gathered in the same spot to the silent company of their compeers. In that assemblage of poets, orators, statesmen, and patriots, there rests no nobler Englishman than he whom we have so recently laid there; and though other occasions will arise for a more ample consideration of his genius and his writings, we drop this tribute of profound sorrow upon his grave.

NOTE

TO ARTICLE II. IN No. CCXXIV. ON DR. CAMPBELL'S VISIT TO ENGLAND IN 1775.

SINCE the publication of our last Number we have received from the Editor of Dr. Campbell's Diary, who resides at Sydney, some further particulars which complete the identification of the nephew of Dr. Campbell as the person by whom the Manuscript Diary was conveyed to New South Wales. It will be remembered that we showed (p. 327.) that Mr. Thomas Campbell proceeded from the Cape of Good Hope with Governor Macquarrie in 1810 to New South Wales. Mr. Raymond now informs us that he had previously ascertained that the Diary had been in the possession of John Thomas Campbell, brother of the Rev. Charles Campbell of Newry. This gentleman was Provost Marshal and for some time Colonial Secretary at Sydney. He died in 1829, and it appears from his will registered in the Supreme Court of New South Wales, that he bequeathed a considerable property to his sisters resident in Ireland. These facts complete the explanation of the singular removal of the Manuscript Diary from Ireland to the place where it was discovered at the Antipodes. It will be interesting to our readers to know that the materials for the article on Dr. Campbell's Diary were communicated to us by Lord Macaulay, and that this very note was, in fact, his last contribution to these pages, made within a short time of his death.

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No. CCXXVI.

ART. I.—1. *Examen du Système Commercial connu sous le nom du Système Protecteur.* Par M. MICHEL CHEVALIER, Membre de l'Institut, Conseiller d'État. Deuxième Édition. Paris: 1853.

2. *Etude Économique sur les Tarifs des Douanes.* Par M. AMÉ, Directeur des Douanes et Contributions Indirectes à Bordeaux. Deuxième Edition, revue et augmentée. Paris: 1860.

3. *Mélanges d'Économie Politique et de Finances.* Par M. LÉON FAUCHER. Membre de l'Institut, Ancien Ministre de l'Intérieur. 2 vols. Paris: 1856.

THE Emperor Napoleon I., who, at the height of his power, used and abused the prohibitive system to the last excess, as an instrument of war against this country, appears, before the close of his life, and in the solitude of St. Helena, to have formed a more correct and dispassionate judgment of the true commercial policy of France and of the commercial interests of mankind. It is related in one of the conversations of the exiled conqueror, that he wound up his opinion on the restrictive or protective system of commercial policy, as applied to the French nation, by these remarkable words:—'*We must fall back on the free 'navigation of the sea, and the entire freedom of universal inter-'change.*'

M. Michel Chevalier, who quotes this sentence in the last page of his book, then proceeds to terminate his unanswerable confutation of the protective system, by the no less pregnant

and prophetic remark — 'It is from the heir of Napoleon that 'we dare to ask the fulfilment of this design.'

The Emperor of the French has proceeded to fulfil this design by the only means in his power, namely, by a Treaty of Commerce with the nation most advanced in freedom of trade, inspired and negotiated by an Englishman whom we are proud to call the Apostle of Free Trade, and extending quite as far as it was possible for the French Government at this time to advance. It would be unworthy of the freedom we ourselves enjoy, and of the candour we profess, if we could hesitate to acknowledge the wisdom and the courage of this action on the part of the present Head of the Government in France, however much on other grounds we may dislike his policy and distrust his character. If, as we trust, this Treaty lasts long enough to bear its natural fruits, it will be regarded hereafter as the most important victory Napoleon III. could achieve, for it has been won over the prejudices and ignorance of his own subjects, and the interested hostility of many of his own supporters and advisers. The wisdom of his policy will be recognised in France, when, by the removal of commercial restrictions, he has succeeded in placing the first necessaries of life at a cheaper rate within reach of the masses of the people, and in opening broader channels of communication between that country and the other nations of the earth. No doubt, this measure is of incomparably greater moment to France than it can be to ourselves, and we are surprised that this remark should have been pressed into the service of the objectors to the Treaty. In France it inaugurates a new era by substituting protection for prohibition, by relieving the raw material of manufactures from pernicious restrictions, by introducing a change which will be felt in all the relations of social and domestic life. Such a revolution is comparable — and alone comparable — to the effect in this country of the measures of commercial reform which were commenced by Sir R. Peel in 1843, and consummated by the Repeal of the Corn Laws. It is a truism to say that on our side very little remained to be performed. But is that a reason for underrating the magnitude of the change abroad? To the British Parliament and the British nation belongs the lasting glory of having led the way in that course of social improvement which the economists and philosophers of this country had been the first to urge upon the convictions of mankind. Having therefore but little change to make in the tariffs of England in order to bring them to an exact conformity with the standard of our principles, it is a memorable achieve-

ment that these last reductions should have helped to bring about in France changes of far greater magnitude. It is further remarkable, that this work has been to a great extent effected by the same man to whom England owes, by the avowal of Sir Robert Peel himself, the repeal of the Corn Laws. That triumph indeed was shared by many others, not in our judgment less deserving of praise than Mr. Cobden; for in that contest, he had in fact become the representative of a power more irresistible than his own eloquence, the enlightened will of the people of England. But in the negotiations which led to the conclusion of the French Commercial Treaty, Mr. Cobden must have displayed the same force of argument, clothed in a more flexible and insinuating form. He has adapted himself with great tact and skill to a state of circumstances the very reverse of that with which he had formerly dealt as a tribune of the people. Secresy, minute diplomatic precautions, the habits of a Court, and that the Court of an absolute Sovereign accustomed to conceal his thoughts even from his own ministers, were the conditions under which Mr. Cobden found himself called upon to act. The result shows that the Emperor of the French has not failed to comprehend the design embodied in the remark of the founder of his throne—that he has thought it his interest and his duty to look to the general interest of the consumer, rather than to the monopoly of the producer—that he believes abundance to be a better foundation of his power than scarcity—and that he hopes to solve the problem which no other country in Europe but England has hitherto attempted to deal with, namely, to reduce the price of living for the mass of the population, or, what is the same thing in other words, to enable them to obtain on easier terms a more adequate supply of the necessaries of life. These are the arguments, these are the facts, which brought conviction to the mind of the Emperor, and enabled him to act on the advice of M. Fould, Ministre d'État, M. Rouher, Ministre du Commerce, M. Michel Chevalier, and Mr. Cobden. To these five persons the knowledge of the transaction in France was strictly confined; and, strange as it may appear, the most advantageous measure to popular interests ever taken by the French Government was carried on with as much mystery and precaution as a conspiracy against the liberties of the nation. We shall presently see that by no other means could the measure, or even the removal of the prohibitive laws, have been carried at all.

It is not our intention in this place to deal with the objections which have been urged against the treaty on this side of the

Channel. They have been made and answered in the proper place. Some of them are no doubt well-founded, and we should have preferred it if the French Government had been in a condition to adopt the principles of Free Trade, without any negotiation or any treaty at all. One reply meets almost all these objections; they are addressed to what may be termed the accidents or outward conditions of this transaction—the time, the nature of the reductions, the mode of levying the altered duties, the amount of revenue to be made good, &c.; but before the Treaty has been in operation three years these details will be forgotten; already they have lost much of the importance at first attributed to them, and the two richest and most civilised countries in the world, united by closer bonds of interest than a political alliance can create, will gradually become more and more indispensable to each other's welfare. Remove these barriers, by whatever process, and depend upon it the fertilising stream will flow. The exchange of a hundred commodities, heretofore scarcely known, will have commenced. Interests will spring up of far greater moment to the peace of this world than those monopolies which conceive themselves to be threatened with instant death in the atmosphere of commercial freedom. This is the principle on which the treaty has been negotiated; and if this be not defence enough, it is not upon the narrower grounds of an international bargain that we shall seek to justify it. Yet even in England objections of every kind have been taken, and instead of the eagerness we once professed to urge foreign nations to follow us in the career of Free Trade, it might be supposed from the tone of the debates in both Houses of Parliament, that we grudged them a participation in that system which has been of such incalculable advantage to this country. The restrictive and prohibitive system of France has operated indirectly as a protection on British produce and industry, because it places the French producer and manufacturer under a disadvantage in all foreign markets where he has to compete with ourselves, and therefore forsooth we have no interest in overturning it. Thus it is that something of the old jealousy of the wealth and success of foreign nations lurks at the bottom of this opposition to the Treaty. It is beneficial to ourselves, but we are a little afraid it may prove more beneficial to them, inasmuch as we have already entered upon a large amount of that commercial freedom which they are now about to taste. Such an argument is utterly inconsistent with the true doctrines of Free Trade, and the true interests of civilisation — such a sentiment is utterly unworthy of the character of this country. Let us have the wisdom and the courage to act upon the principle ex-

pressed more than a century ago by David Hume, in his essay on the *Jealousy of Trade*, when he exclaimed, that 'Not only as 'a man, but as a British subject, he prayed for the flourishing 'commerce of Germany, Spain, Italy, and even France itself.' For it is certain that the attempt to decry the first efforts of France to break the bonds of the prohibitive system originates in motives nearly akin to those which formerly dictated the enactment of hostile tariffs and protective duties against her. The one is as narrow and malignant a fallacy as the other; and the time cannot now be very distant when both nations will look back with amazement on the broken barriers which ignorant prejudices and mischievous laws once raised between the two wealthiest and most industrious countries in the world.

The best evidence of the magnitude of this exploit, and of the prodigious obstacles to the success of such a negotiation, is to be found in the past history and present condition of the French tariff; and as these facts will serve to illustrate the whole system of the commercial relations of the two countries, we shall without further preface conduct our readers rapidly through the long series of these aberrations, which are described in detail in the excellent works before us. For it must here be observed, that although France has produced not a few of the most eminent economists of the last and of the present century — although she may boast of the benevolence and originality of Turgot, the honest independence of Mollien, the scientific precision of Jean Baptiste Say, the wit and logic of Bastiat, the energy and courage of Léon Faucher *, and the indefatigable perseverance of Michel Chevalier in the cause which he has at last had the happiness of bringing to a successful termination, the progress of Free Trade opinions has been extremely slow — all the arguments and eloquence in the world have utterly failed to produce any impression on the banded ignorance and interests of the French Protectionists, and they will yield, like our own agriculturists, to no demonstration but that of positive experience. By a singular inversion of the natural order of

* M. Faucher and M. Bastiat, alas! have not lived to witness the growing success and ultimate triumph of the principles of Free Trade, which they so ably defended. Their honourable and useful career was prematurely closed: but in the 'Mélanges d'Économie 'Politique' of the one, and the 'Harmonies Économiques' of the other, they have left to their country a repertory of the facts and arguments which justify this change in her commercial policy. M. Léon Faucher's answer to the Manifesto of the Central Protectionist Committee in 1847, is in particular a masterpiece of reasoning and composition. (Vol. ii. p. 509. of his Miscellaneous Works.)

things, every one in France eagerly espouses the cause of the producer, especially if he be protected by monopoly, and denounces the interest of the consumer. A single individual who manufactured needles in one of the central departments had at one time succeeded in convincing the community at large, that the national interest required that no points and eyes but his own should be admitted to use. A larger class of capitalists has brought the country to believe that the perfection of public interest, rightly understood, is to buy in the dearest market, and to sell as little as possible. Principles which would be scouted as ruinous by the meanest private trader have been rigorously applied to the collective mercantile operations of the empire: and so little influence has all the writing of all the economists produced on the mind of the French nation, that these delusions are now giving way, not to conviction, but to the authority of absolute power.

The cause of this phenomenon is, however, a simple and an obvious one. For the last fifty years the dominant power in France, and the leading organs of public opinion, have been chiefly, if not exclusively, in the hands of that class of society which was most interested in the maintenance of industrial protection. The legislative and administrative power of that class was used, at the expense of the consumer, to keep up high prices and to exclude competition. The great industrial capitalists of France defended the protective system precisely on the same grounds that the great territorial aristocracy of England defended the Corn Laws: they substituted their own interests for the interests of the nation. By a curious turn in human affairs, the French Revolution, which was pre-eminently directed against the privileges of caste and the monopolies of rank, ended in creating privileges and monopolies at least as odious and unjust, though they were concealed under the mask of commercial and manufacturing industry. But the many still paid to enrich the few: and whilst the fortunes of iron-masters and cotton-spinners increased enormously under a system of artificial prices, the condition of the mass of the people improved less rapidly than in any other country of Europe. Commodities of primary necessity elsewhere, such as iron utensils of all kinds, cheap woollen clothing, and colonial produce, including sugar, nay, even meat and foreign articles of food, were still excluded from general consumption by high duties and prohibitive laws; and it was thought more tolerable that the supply of these commodities should be restricted to those who could afford to pay double their value, than that the French consumer should deal on equal terms in the markets of the world.

The middle classes in France may depend upon it that the selfish rapacity with which they have constantly defended their protected interests against the interests of the people, is one of the true causes of the loss of their political power; and that in our times no class of men can retain political power, which is not ready and willing to sacrifice its own pecuniary interests to the welfare of the mass of the people.

'The society of France, the society of Europe,' says M. Chevalier, in a passage not more remarkable for its originality and its eloquence than for its truth, 'is *poor*. Not, indeed, if it be compared with society as it existed in antiquity, for the whole structure of the fabric was then different, and the great majority of human beings, degraded by slavery and excluded from all futurity, even beyond their present life, were sunk in privations of every kind. Now, on the contrary, we live surrounded by men, our equals in the eye of God, our equals in the eye of the law: but it is impossible for us, who belong to the affluent or easy classes of society to deny, that there is a strange disproportion between the physical condition of the lower orders and their moral and legal rights. It is impossible not to admit, that society as a whole is *poor*.

'These words "the society of France is poor," mean that France, by her daily work, as it is now constituted, does not produce the quantity of food, of clothing, of fuel, of furniture, and of divers other commodities which are required to give to thirty-six millions of human beings even a very scanty degree of comfort. We boast of an enlightened age; but whatever may be our pride, this is the cruel proof that our vaunted civilisation is still extremely imperfect: we have not yet succeeded in extracting from this planet, fertile as it is, the means of a tolerable subsistence for the bulk of the individuals of which great nations consist, notwithstanding the unremitting toil to which they submit.' (*Chevalier*, p. 115.)

The great problem of the government of modern society is, on the one hand, to raise the value of human labour by creating a more constant and abundant demand for its products, and on the other hand to lower the price of the natural or artificial necessaries of life by creating a more constant and abundant supply of them. This is the problem which freedom of trade, and the free exchange of commodities according to the wants of man, undertakes to solve: this is the object to which the protective system, as it has existed in France, is directly opposed, because on the one hand it depresses the value of labour by limiting the demand for its produce to the home market, and, on the other hand, it confines to the home market, where prices are raised by artificial restrictions, the supply of the necessaries of life. There cannot be too much of anything in the world, because from the moment its price brings it within the reach of

those classes which were previously deprived of it, their power of consumption and their desire of procuring it is absolutely illimitable. To produce an artificial scarcity in order to keep up an artificial price is, on the contrary, to augment, by bad legislation, those privations which are still the lot of the majority of mankind. But this has been the object to which the commercial legislation of France has hitherto tended for a long series of years.

The Imperial Government, on the contrary, has been led by a very natural and correct process of reasoning to an opposite conclusion. The Emperor owes the boundless power which he enjoys to the votes of the people at large. The upper and middle classes do not materially contribute to his political strength — a large proportion of them are decidedly adverse to his government. If, then, he can succeed in increasing the supply of the first necessaries of life, and in lowering the prices of them, whilst he augments the demand for French produce in the foreign market, he will confer a direct practical benefit on that numerical majority of the population which placed him on the throne. No other consideration would have had sufficient force to defy the opposition which Free Trade measures have constantly encountered in France; no other result can justify to the French nation the course which the Emperor has had the resolution to adopt.

M. Michel Chevalier and M. Amé supply us in the two works before us with an interesting and instructive narrative of the origin and rise of the protective system in France. The French tariffs were first reduced to a systematic form by the minister Colbert, in 1664, who lowered the duties on exportation and on raw material, and established protective duties on foreign manufactures. These measures were no doubt the germ of the system, but Colbert himself established no prohibitions of foreign produce. Prohibitions were first introduced in 1686, three years after his death. The duties paid under the tariffs of 1664 and 1667 were, in fact, so moderate, that their re-establishment at the present time would be hailed as a decided step in the path of Free Trade, and would now be denounced as a betrayal of national industry by the protected interests of the French manufacturers. With some modifications, the commercial system of Colbert may be said to have lasted till the Revolution; though the tendency of commercial legislation lay towards greater severity of restriction. The two most important deviations from this system may both be traced to diplomatic arrangements with England.

Upon the arrival of Mr. Prior in Paris, in December, 1712,

to open the secret negotiations with M. de Torcy which led to the peace of Utrecht, one of the first points the British agent was instructed by Lord Bolingbroke to press upon the French minister was, the restoration of the commercial relations of the two countries to the basis of the tariff of 1664 (which still at that time regulated the trade of the French with the Dutch), and the removal of the prohibitions which had been subsequently laid on by the French tariffs of 1699 and 1701. The French consented to give England the benefit of the tariff of 1664, provided that the British Parliament should, two months previously, have reduced the English duties on French produce to the same rates.* The Commercial Treaty of Utrecht was accordingly signed between the two crowns in these terms. The 8th article provided that all the French edicts and restrictions imposed on British trade and produce subsequent to the year 1664 should be abolished, on condition that Parliament should on this side make the same concessions. But this treaty was received in England with a storm of opposition. Forty-six petitions from trading and rural communities were presented against it.† The merchants of London asserted that Free Trade with France would be a worse calamity than the Great Fire; the Whigs of that day applauded the prohibitions Charles II. — so subservient in every other respect to France — had imposed on French produce; the fury of party heightened the terror of the Protectionists, and on the question that 'this bill be now engrossed,' the Government were beaten, and the Treaty lost, by a majority of 194 to 185.

From that time down to 1785 the trade of the two countries was placed under the closest restrictions; and it must be acknowledged that, according to the mistaken opinions of the times, the prohibitive policy of England provoked and inflamed the retaliatory measures of France. We are indebted to Lord

* The whole question is discussed by Bolingbroke in his despatch to Prior of 19th January, 1713, published in the Hardwicke Papers, vol. ii. p. 506.

† An abstract of these petitions is given in a French edition of the Commercial Treaties of 1713 and 1786, published at Paris in 1814. The magistrates of the county of Worcester petitioned against it on behalf of the proprietors of orchards in that county, who represented that the brandy distilled from cider, perry, and verjuice could scarcely be distinguished from French brandy, but that the admission of French brandy would be fatal to the trade. We laugh at the folly of our forefathers, yet has not precisely the same argument been repeated by some of the opponents of the Treaty of 1860, even on this side of the Channel?

Overstone for a reprint of Dean Tucker's rare and curious essay on the 'Advantages and Disadvantages which respectively 'attend France and Great Britain with regard to Trade,' a tract which first appeared in 1750, and has now been republished in the collection of scarce and valuable tracts on commerce edited by Mr. Maculloch, and printed for private circulation. But though the Dean may claim the merit of anticipating some of the economical discoveries of a later generation, his suggestions with reference to trade with France were still dictated by the narrowest spirit of rivalry and exclusion.

A change in public opinion had, however, been effected by the writings of Quesnay and the earlier French economists on the one side, and by the appearance of the 'Wealth of Nations' on the other side, before the conclusion of the peace of 1783. And by the 18th article of that treaty M. de Vergennes stipulated that new commercial arrangements should be established between the two countries on the footing of reciprocity and mutual advantage. The proposal emanated from the French Cabinet, not from our own; the principal opposition to the negotiation occurred on the side of England. The more honour does it reflect on the administration of Mr. Pitt that, rising above the prejudices of his age and the clamour of his opponents, he concluded that celebrated Treaty of 1786, which would certainly have placed the relations of the two nations on a very different footing, if its operation had not been arrested by causes altogether beyond his control. This treaty is, no doubt, open to the objections which apply to all limited reciprocal covenants, but its provisions were liberal. It reduced the duty on French brandy to seven shillings a gallon; it reduced the duty on French wines to the amount previously paid by the wines of Portugal, viz., 4*s.* 6*d.* a gallon; and it introduced a system of duties on the admission of all kinds of manufactured articles in both countries, varying from ten to fifteen per cent. But France was already suffering from those causes of financial ruin and public distress which were rapidly bringing on the tremendous catastrophe of 1789. A foreign treaty certainly could not arrest those evils; and, as they increased, the effects of the treaty were confounded with the disasters arising from the internal condition of the country. By some of the protectionist writers in France the commercial Treaty with England has been denounced as 'incontestably *the principal cause of the* '*Revolution of* 1789.' It has therefore shared the unpopularity which blasted all the measures of that unhappy period; and its results have been distorted by an imaginary connexion with political events. The truth is that the imports and exports

of both countries under the Treaty increased in the same proportion, and that under more auspicious circumstances its benefits would have been acknowledged by both communities.

It was admitted at that time, even by the city of Rouen, that the French cotton manufacturers only required machines as perfect as those of England to compete successfully with ourselves. Great progress was made by France in all the textile fabrics, and in 1792 she exported, according to M. Amé (p. 331.), a greater quantity of cotton goods than she exported in 1858.

The commercial policy of the Constituent Assembly of 1790 was not adverse to the principles of commercial freedom. It established a uniform tariff for the whole kingdom; abolished all local customs duties; and adopted a system infinitely more liberal than any which has since obtained in the legislation of France. But these enlightened measures were of short duration. Upon the declaration of war in 1793, the first act of the Convention was to annul by a decree all treaties of commerce with countries at war with France; to prohibit the importation of their produce; and to condemn all persons importing or dealing in such produce from England to twenty years' penal servitude in irons. The Directory followed in the same track, and the law of the 10 Brumaire, An V. absolutely prohibited almost every species of British manufactures. The violent restrictions which were suggested by the furious hostile passions of a revolutionary war against this country were enforced by domiciliary visits and by all the terrors of the penal code. Yet, strange to say, it is on this basis that the commercial legislation of France has remained stationary for upwards of sixty years. This very list of prohibitions, dictated by the frenzy of the French Republic in 1796, is stated by M. Chevalier to be all but identical with the prohibitory tariff in force when he wrote in 1852, and which will remain in force till the treaty of 1860 comes into operation; even the system of domiciliary visits for the seizure of prohibited merchandise is still sanctioned by the law. In the latter years of the war, Napoleon extended these prohibitory duties to raw materials and articles of colonial produce —cotton wool paid from 600 to 800 fr. per 100 kilog.; raw sugar, 300 fr.; tea, 900 fr.; coffee, 400 fr.; indigo, 900 fr. He also decreed the general destruction of British goods, wherever they could be seized, and large quantities of our produce were literally burnt by the French police in different parts of the continent.

Although these insane measures were dictated by a policy of open war, the interests which they had protected contended

with success for the maintenance of similar prohibitions on the restoration of peace. No sooner were Belgium and the Rhenish provinces separated from France by the Peace of Paris, than a cry was raised by the manufacturers for absolute separation and eternal prohibition against those who had scarcely ceased to be their countrymen. No sooner was Louis XVIII. installed in the Tuileries in 1814, than the Chamber of Commerce of Rouen declared, in an address to the Crown, that 'commercial prohibition was a political and social right.' Indeed, the introduction of the parliamentary form of government under Louis XVIII. afforded additional weapons to the prohibitionists. It was thought good policy in the new administration to favour the landed interest in the Chamber of Peers, and accordingly additional restrictions were placed on the entry of live stock, of wool, and of iron, because the production of iron in France tends to keep up the price of wood, wood being the fuel chiefly used in the blast-furnaces. The owners of land are interested, for that reason, in raising the price of fuel throughout the country; hence foreign fuel was heavily taxed, and the supply of that article of first necessity limited. In the same manner, the Chamber of Deputies, both before and after the Revolution of 1830, represented with an irresistible majority the interests of the manufacturing classes: and the alliance of the two great sections of the landed and the manufacturing interests defied all the attempts which were made from time to time by successive ministers to break down this combination, and liberate the people of France from a system of heavy duties and artificial prices, which in many cases doubled the value of articles of first necessity. To this end negotiations for a commercial treaty with England were opened in 1832 and again in 1843—but without success. In 1842 measures were taken by M. Guizot, in concert with the Belgian Government, to remove the commercial barriers between Belgium and France; the protectionist majority of the Chamber signified to the Cabinet that it would withdraw its support from a Government capable of betraying France to the coal, the iron, and the manufactories of her nearest neighbour. M. Guizot and M. Duchatel were again compelled to yield. A similar fate attended the treaty for the admission of Swedish iron, and another for the admission of Piedmontese cattle. In 1846 the Government was called upon by the Protectionist committee (consisting chiefly of M. Guizot's own political supporters) to give an unqualified pledge for the maintenance of the prohibitive system. Nevertheless the French Government, fired by the example of Sir Robert Peel, did, in May 1847,

bring in a bill removing the prohibitions from 298 articles: one of the last acts of the Chamber of Deputies was to mutilate and destroy it.

The Republic of 1848, although it had sprung from a reaction against the government of the *bourgeoisie*, did nothing whatever to reduce the customs duties which press most heavily on the people. Raw materials of all kinds, coal, iron, corn, meat, and of course all kinds of foreign manufactures, continued subject to the same imposts or to rigorous exclusion; and the Assemblies elected by universal suffrage were just as protectionist as their predecessors. In January, 1851, the question was solemnly tried. M. de Sainte Beuve proposed to the Assembly at that date to suppress all protective duties on articles of food and on raw materials; to abolish all prohibitions; to reduce the duty on iron in four years to 1 fr. per 100 kils.; to establish duties of from 10 to 20 per cent. on foreign manufactured articles; to suppress the differential duties in favour of French bottoms, and to open the trade of the French colonies. To this sweeping proposal of Free Trade, the committee to which the subject was referred opposed the most determined negative. A debate ensued, in which M. Thiers took a conspicuous part, as the well known champion of prohibition; and the Assembly rejected the proposal by a majority of 428 to 199.

Since the re-establishment of the Empire, the same spirit of determined opposition to any relaxation of the prohibitive system has constantly been displayed, even by those bodies which seem, on all other questions, to have no will but a blind submission to the policy of the Emperor. The Imperial Government has avowed on all occasions its strong desire to relieve the people by the removal of prohibitory duties on commerce. In November, 1853, some of these duties were diminished by decree. In 1856 the Emperor intimated to the British Plenipotentiary, that he was about to abolish the prohibitive system, and a law was presented by the Government for more extensive reductions; but as it was defeated by large majorities at every stage, the Government was compelled to withdraw it, and the Emperor reluctantly retracted the intimation he had conveyed to the British Minister. It was on this occasion that a specific pledge was given to the manufacturing interests that they should continue to enjoy their monopoly, at least, till June, 1861; and this engagement has caused the postponement of the reductions on manufactured goods stipulated by the Treaty with England of this year. The same protectionist influence has governed the trade in corn. The bad harvests of several successive years had

enabled the Emperor to suspend the sliding scale from 1853 to 1859; but on the outbreak of the Italian war last spring, the Government was literally compelled to restore to its operation that absurd and pernicious law, — that is, to perpetuate the effects of scarcity by artificial means, when the natural scarcity ceased.

No longer ago than the 11th of May, 1859, M. Rouher, the Minister of Commerce, wrote to the Chamber of Commerce at Lille to state that 'the Government had postponed the promised inquiry, and therefore also the settlement of the question as to prohibition.' The Chamber of Commerce hereupon voted an enthusiastic address to the Emperor in which it declared that 'industry has her victories as well as war!' Similar assurances were given by the Minister down to the eve of the publication of the Emperor's celebrated declaration in favour of Free Trade which appeared in the 'Moniteur' of the 15th of January of this year; and we deeply regret that the salutary change which has been effected, cannot even now be attributed to the legitimate progress of enlightened principles by free discussion, but that it has been accompanied, as far as France is concerned, by a degree of secrecy almost amounting to deception, and we fear that this is one of the circumstances which has tended to increase the irritation and alarm caused in France by an exaggerated apprehension of the results of the Treaty.

We have traced at some length the history of the French tariff, and of the abortive efforts to reduce its prohibitory enactments, because these facts can alone convey to the reader a correct idea of the strength and tenacity of the protective system in France, and of the resolution shown by the government of the Emperor in surmounting it. We know not which most excites our astonishment — the unabashed audacity of class interests and the unbounded sway of antiquated prejudices in a country which professes to have equality for its principle and intelligence for its guide, — or, the power of an absolute government which has carried such a reform into effect, not by the assent of its own subjects, but by a compact with a foreign state.

We shall now proceed to borrow from M. Chevalier a succinct account of the prohibitions existing in France down to the present time: —

'The French citizen is indefinitely thwarted in his lawful desire to procure materials and instruments where he can best obtain them. He is equally thwarted, if he desire to apply the results of his labour to the purchase of articles of foreign extraction. Amongst the materials constantly employed in the useful arts, many are to be

purchased at a moderate price abroad; the French citizen is compelled to purchase them in the home market at a higher price. Thus coal, one of the necessary elements of so many operations, the daily bread of manufactures, is subjected to duties which they dare to style protective of national industry. Newcastle coal is better suited than that of France to certain purposes, especially to railroads: that of France must be used. The coal fields of France are far from the coast, and without English coal no manufactures can be maintained there — so much the worse for the coast. Steel is an essential part of tools, and it would not be inconsistent with the policy of an enlightened government to encourage the entry of it; it is checked by exorbitant duties. By the tariff of 1791, steel paid 36 fr. a ton. Under the first Republic it was admitted for a short time at 6 fr. 10 c. and 3 fr. 60 c. The Emperor put 99 fr. on it. It now pays 1320 fr. in French bottoms, and 1413 fr. in foreign bottoms. Wool pays 22 per cent. *ad valorem.* Linen and hempen threads pay a heavy duty. Cotton and worsted twist are absolutely prohibited. White and unbleached cotton goods would speedily become a large source of profit to us if we could import them for the purpose of printing and reexporting them: but the prohibition is maintained. The dyers of Rouen have asked, in like manner, for permission to dye and reexport English twists: the permission is refused them. Oleaginous seeds, which would furnish oil to our manufactures, have been taxed and re-taxed. Implements and machinery are enormously taxed, where they are not entirely prohibited. All this is called the protection of national industry. . . . .

'Corn pays on importation, and so does meat. For half a century before the first Revolution stock entered free. The Restoration first placed a duty of 3 fr. 30 c. per head on oxen, which was raised in 1826 to 55 fr. Salted and dried meats pay 33 fr. the 100 kilos.; and pork 36 fr. 30 c. — a price which excludes them altogether from the consumption of the people. Butter, cheese, grease, oil, rice, and every thing that man can devour, is more or less burdened with duties. The stuffs which may clothe his person or furnish his house are treated with still greater severity: almost all are prohibited. Earthenware, glass, hardware, cutlery, sadlery, shoes and boots share the same fate. Let a French citizen merely examine the articles he wears, even in the simplest attire, or the objects which surround his room. Nine-tenths of the common articles about him he is forced, absolutely forced, to buy in France, even though they are to be had cheaper and more to his taste elsewhere, The cloth of his coat and surcoat — the cotton or woollen stuff of his waistcoat — the long cloth of his shirt, are all prohibited; — his shoes prohibited; his woollen or cotton stockings prohibited. As to his furniture, it is the same thing: the poor man's iron cooking vessel — utensils in copper, zinc, iron, or tin, prohibited; implements of steel, prohibited; cutlery, prohibited; locks, prohibited. Blankets pay 220 fr. the 100 kilos., equal to prohibition; carpets pay 275 fr. to 550 fr. the 100 kilos., with the same result. Plated goods, prohibited; horsehair stuffs the same; and all the innumerable tissues of wool. Soap, es-

pecially of the commoner sorts, quite excluded. Even the arts pay their tribute — the painter for his colours, the sculptor for his marble. Indeed, in order to compel French statuary to work on native blocks, a duty is imposed on foreign marble, which amounts on a statue of the size of life to no less than *thirty pounds sterling.* The liberty of the French consumer prodigiously resembles the liberty of the press as it is described by Figaro.' (*Chevalier*, p. 15.)

It will at once be perceived from this summary, which might be greatly extended, how enormous is the change to be effected by the recent commercial policy of the Emperor — the abolition of duties on raw materials, the reduction of duties on coal and iron, the adoption of duties on every other article, heretofore prohibited, not exceeding 30 per cent. on the wholesale price, and being in fact below that sum. There is not one of these articles which may not to some extent find a market in France from abroad, if foreign countries are able to supply them to greater advantage; and we shall presently see that the very articles of British manufacture for which a demand in France is likely to spring up, are articles which have hitherto been wholly unknown to the people of that country, except by the comparisons which the great Exhibitions of 1851 and 1856 allowed them to institute.

If the commercial policy of France were that of Japan, at once rejecting the produce of other countries, and not caring to augment her own wealth by the exchange of French produce in foreign markets, the application and extent of her prohibitive system would at least be intelligible. But the most extraordinary part of the case is, that while she adhered with tenacity to the exclusion of foreign manufactures, and even of raw material, she has sought with avidity and success to extend her own exports to foreign countries. And in spite of the disadvantages under which her own policy has ignorantly and absurdly placed her trade, such are the natural resources of France, and such the ingenuity and skill of her people in manufactures, that she actually enjoys even now a foreign trade inferior only to the trade of this country. M. Chevalier, and the leading Free Traders of France, are guilty of some exaggeration, when they speak of the restrictive system, as if it had surrounded the Empire with a great wall of China. The truth is, that in spite of this long list of prohibitions, and of a legislative system extremely unfavourable to foreign exchanges, the foreign trade of France has increased with astonishing rapidity; and at the present time the great interests of the nation could no longer exist without it, than Manchester and Leeds could exist without American cotton and Australian wool.

'What would our agriculture, our manufactures, and our 'commerce now be,' exclaims M. de Lavergne, in his admirable essay on Adam Smith, 'if most of the obstacles to production 'had not already been abolished? It is often said, that French 'manufactures owe everything to the protective system; but 'people forget that this system, Heaven be thanked, is no 'longer complete; and that what passes through the meshes 'causes a deception as to what is kept out. Where would be 'our manufactures of silks, cotton goods, and woollens, if France 'did not import every year one hundred and fifty millions francs 'worth of foreign silk, one hundred and fifty millions worth of 'foreign cotton, one hundred and fifty millions worth of foreign 'wool, and if she did not export some six hundred millions worth 'of woven goods? What would become of us, if we had not 'already a trade of seven hundred millions with England, four 'hundred and fifty with the United States, three hundred and 'fifty with Belgium, two hundred and fifty with Germany?'

The fact is, that in spite of all legislative impediments, France ranks immediately after ourselves as one of the great manufacturing powers of the world, and as the second great exporter of manufactured produce. This statement will probably be so much at variance with the preconceived notions of many of our readers, that we shall support it by a further inquiry into the actual extent of the commerce of the French Empire, taken from official and authentic sources.

For the year 1858, the returns of the general commercial movement of the two countries give us the following results in pounds sterling:—

1858	Imports. Real Value.	Exports. Real Value.	Total.
'England	164,583,832	139,782,779	304,366,611
France	84,250,000	100,250,000	184,500,000

We quote the returns of the year 1858, because it is the latest year for which we have the complete statistical evidence of both countries before us. As, however, the commercial crisis, which marked the close of the year 1857, operated unfavourably on the commerce of 1858 in both countries, and in about the same proportion, we may assume from an average in the preceding years, and from what we know of 1859 in round numbers, that the actual value of the exports and imports of France combined, exceeds five milliards of francs, or two hundred millions sterling; of this sum, three thousand seven hundred and fifty million francs, or one hundred and fifty millions sterling, consist of the produce of France, or of articles entered for consumption. By a similar computation, the general

actual value of the combined imports and exports of the United Kingdom may be taken at three hundred and twenty millions sterling. In other words, then, the sum total of the foreign and colonial commerce of France is to that of England *in the proportion of five to eight.** When we consider the vast extent of the British colonial markets in the East, and in Australia, and the superiority of the British mercantile marine in point of numbers of ships and of tonnage, insomuch that all the French trade with China (especially in raw silk) and a considerable portion of the French trade with the United States, may be said to pass through our hands, and the acknowledged effects of our system of Free Trade, we think this result is calculated to excite some surprise in this country, among persons who have not investigated the facts. It proves that, as a commercial rival, France is treading very closely on our heels. Her trade has nearly doubled in the last ten years. For, taking the average of her commercial progress, calculated on the official valuation of her exports and imports in three quinquennial periods, the result stands thus:—

From 1844 to 1848,	11,833	millions.
From 1849 to 1853,	14,670	„
From 1854 to 1859,	21,134	„

The exact rate of increase was twenty-four per cent. on the second period, and seventy-nine per cent. on the third: and this at a time when France had to pass through a formidable revolution, a period of unsettled government, financial sacrifices of an extraordinary character, more than one monetary crisis, the Russian War and the Italian Campaign. These facts suffice to show the amazing resources of France and the commercial energy of the nation, whose trade, taken as a whole, even under a highly prohibitive system, has no rival or equal but our own on the face of the globe, though it is still far below the rank to which she is entitled, by the numbers of her population, and the splendid fertility of the country.† And here we may at once

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* The amount and proportion of the trade of the three principal trading nations for 1857, is given thus by the French statists:

	Imports.	Exports.	Total.	
England	4696	3654	8350	millions of francs,
France	2689	2640	5329	„
United States	1871	1615	3486	„

† M. Chemin Dupontés, a very able statist attached to the Ministry of Commerce, has constructed the following table to show the relative

point out two obvious consequences of these returns. The first, that having already acquired this enormous foreign trade, it is absurd to contend that the prosperity of France depends on the protection of the home market; her prosperity depends, on the contrary, on the facilities she may enjoy for entering upon successful foreign competition. The second, that as nineteen-twentieths of her exports already enter into free and open competition with the manufactures of this and other countries in foreign markets, and even in the British market, it is absurd to suppose that they can suffer by the competition of foreign manufactures in the home market of France, where they will still have considerable protection, and where they naturally adapt themselves better than the productions of any foreign country to the tastes and habits of the consumer.

If we were to listen to the language of the French Protectionists, it might be supposed that whilst foreign trade in general is to be regarded in France as some unknown and intolerable evil, the trade with England is especially obnoxious to the hatred and the fears of our foreign customers. It is England which will 'inundate' France with goods below cost price, just as if the

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amount of trade and population among the chief commercial states of Europe: —

	Population.	Value of Trade in Millions of Francs.	Proportion per Head.		
			£	s.	d.
Hanseatic Towns	500,000	3110	24	17	6
Holland - -	3,451,000	1600	18	10	0
Switzerland -	2,400,000	900	15	0	0
Belgium - -	4,585,000	1819	14	0	0
Great Britain -	28,154,000	8350	12	0	0
Sardinia - -	5,042,000	843	6	15	0
France - -	36,039,000	5329	6	0	0
The Zollverein	32,700,000	2200	2	15	0
Austria - -	39,400,000	1811	1	12	6
Russia in Europe	60,123,000	1100		14	6

One of the arguments which had most weight with the Emperor of the French in favour of Free Trade is the astonishing amount of the commerce of Switzerland. Without a sea coast, without a mercantile fleet, without colonies, without native coal, and completely without protection, the manufacturing industry of Switzerland is such that she may be said, in proportion to her population, to hold the first rank amongst the States of Europe; the commerce of the Hanse Towns and of Holland being in great part a mere carrying trade.

sale and purchase of goods for less than they are worth were to be regarded as an advantage to the seller and a disaster to the buyer. But here again the evil is in some measure done already. The united imports and exports of France to and from England (including both British, colonial, and foreign produce) amounted in 1858 to no less than *thirty-eight millions sterling* in actual value; or about one-fifth of the whole commerce of France, and one-eighth of the whole commerce of the United Kingdom.* The trade in the special produce or manufactures of the two countries amounted to twenty-seven millions and a half.† On these sums the value of French exports to England exceeded the value of English exports to France in the proportion of about *three* to *two*. It may here be remarked, that the total trade of

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* The exact amounts are as follows: they comprise the whole actual estimated value of the trade between the two countries, in commodities of all kinds, whether imported for internal consumption or not, from the French Official Returns for 1858:—

General trade to France from England	-	370,537,394 fr.
„ „ from France to England	-	576,165,456
		946,702,850

equal to nearly 38,000,000*l.* sterling.

There is, however, a very wide discrepancy between the amounts given in the 'Tableau Général du Commerce de la France,' published by the French Government, and the returns of the Board of Trade. According to the English returns, the figures for 1858 stand thus:—

Computed real value of British imports from France - - - - -	£13,271,890
Declared real value of the produce and manufactures of the United Kingdom exported to France - - - -	4,863,131
Computed real value of foreign and colonial produce and manufactures exported from England to France -	4,379,070
	22,514,091*l.* sterling.

We presume this difference arises from the different modes of estimating the value of exports and imports in the two countries; but it shows how little reliance can be placed on the positive accuracy of these figures. They are chiefly useful for the purpose of relative comparison of the results of the same system, but not with those of any other system.

† The exact amounts of the commerce in French and British produce, entered for consumption in the two countries respectively, are (according to the French tables) [illegible]

France with the United States does not much exceed one half the trade of France with this country.

Large however as these commercial interests already are between the two nations, and largely as they have tended of late years to augment, if we examine somewhat more closely into the nature of them they bear evident marks of an artificial and restrictive system. If the imports entered for consumption in France be taken at 100, 70·7 per cent. of this quantity consist of raw material to be used in manufactures; 24·8 per cent. are the natural produce of foreign countries; and only 4·5 per cent. are manufactured articles. On the same amount of French exports, 30·2 per cent. may be taken as the natural produce of the soil, and 69·8 are manufactured articles. Hence it appears that with a soil of unbounded fertility, and with every variety of climate from the pastures and orchards of Normandy to the vineyards and olive groves of the southern coast, the natural produce in which France is without a rival figures for something less than one-third of the whole amount of her exports. But on the other hand her prohibitive system has so jealously excluded the produce of foreign industry, that only one-twenty-fifth of her imports are articles manufactured abroad.

Let us briefly illustrate these figures by a few prominent facts.

The principal imports into France in 1858, were (actual value) :—	Millions of Francs.	The principal Exports of France in the same year were : —	Millions of Francs.
Raw Silk	228	Silk manufactured goods	378
Cotton wool	145	Cotton manufactured goods	189
Wool	105	Woollen manufact. goods	158
Coal	81	Wine	186
Flax	41	Hardware, mercery, &c.	89
Timber	44	Dressed leather	59
		Paper	31
		Metal articles	44
		Spirits, brandy, &c.	45

With the exception of wine and brandy, these exports are the product of skilled labour, the work of the industry and

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Actual value of French imports from England entered for consumption	261,647,480 fr.
Actual value of French produce exported to England	426,054,295
	687,701,775

or about 27,500,000*l.* sterling; a sum which approaches more nearly to the estimated value of the trade in the English returns.

ingenuity of the towns, rather than the growth of the soil. Nor is this merely a general characteristic of the trade of France with the world at large, and with nations less skilled in manufactures than herself; her dealings with this country in 1858 exhibit nearly the same picture.

English goods entered for consumption in France in 1858 (actual value): —

	Francs.
Raw silk	100,740,253
Wool	45,923,850
Coal	20,474,381
Copper	12,315,517
Iron	8,744,913
Cashmere shawls	5,223,250
Cotton goods	650
Woollen goods	109,129

French goods exported to England in 1858 (actual value): —

	Francs.
Silk manufactures	103,995,173
Woollen manufact.	27,376,139
Cotton manufactures	4,255,949
Corn	49,670,884
Flour	26,849,742
Wine	14,707,893
Brandy, &c.	16,732,654
Eggs	11,263,960
Butter	8,116,047

These figures at once disclose the mischievous operation of the restrictive and prohibitive tariffs which have affected the most important articles each country has to sell. The only manufactured article which France can be said to admit is that of Cashmere shawls, and accordingly the import of them (though at a high duty) amounts to no less than 210,000*l.* a year. The value of the whole cotton goods of England admitted by France in 1858 amounted to 26*l.* On the other hand, although the abolition of the Corn Laws in the United Kingdom has opened our ports to a large trade in corn and flour, when it is not prevented by the operation of the French sliding scale, yet the great product of the South of France—her wine, figures in our imports for little more than half a million sterling, less we believe than the quantity consumed by Belgium.*

* The effect of this tariff on the customs revenue of France may deserve a passing notice, as it serves to illustrate the foreign commerce and internal condition of the country. In 1858 France raised 184,052,609 fr. by her import duties, and 3,796,821 fr. by her export duties, to which sums must be added 27,829,558 fr. on the entry of salt, amounting in all to 221,549,216 fr., or somewhat less than 9,000,000*l.* sterling. This sum, however, does not include the duty on tobacco, which belongs in France to the Inland Revenue, and in England to the Customs. From this revenue, however, 2,000,000*l.* sterling must be deducted for drawbacks and bounties paid on the re-exportation of refined sugar, some manufactured articles, and on the fisheries. Of this amount of revenue 74,000,000 fr. (or forty per cent. of the whole amount) is paid on French colonial and foreign sugar; 28,000,000 fr. on coffee (it may here be observed that France

When Mr. Pitt brought forward in a Committee of the House of Commons, on the 12th February, 1787, the resolutions necessary to carry into effect the Commercial Treaty with France, in a speech which it has been the destiny of Mr. Gladstone, seventy-three years later, to rival, if not to surpass, he was justified in the assumption that as France had the advantage in the gift of soil and climate, and in the amount of her natural produce, so, on the contrary, Great Britain was, on her part, confessedly as superior in her manufactures and artificial productions. But such an assertion would be hazardous and misplaced at the present time. France proves herself, by the magnitude of her export trade to free markets abroad, our equal in many branches of manufacture, and our superior in some. We have just seen that her annual exportation of silk manufactures alone exceeds in value fifteen millions sterling. A document prepared by the French Ministry of Commerce and quoted by M. Amé, estimates the annual produce of the woollen manufacture in France at nearly forty millions sterling; while that of England is computed at thirty-seven millions. And even her export of cotton manufactures exceeds seven millions. These results have been obtained under circumstances very unfavourable to the production of manufactured goods for foreign consumption. The protective system which sheltered the French manufacturer in his home market, was eminently injurious to him abroad. The raw material he consumed was taxed, and although the government spent two millions a year in drawbacks, under pretence of restoring the duty levied on the raw material of commodities subsequently exported in a manufactured form, yet the only result is that French goods can be purchased somewhat cheaper abroad than in France. But the manufacturer receives no such indemnity for the other

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in 1860 consumes only about two-thirds of the coffee she consumed before the loss of St. Domingo in 1790); 18,000,000 fr. on cotton wool; 9,500,000 fr. on coal; 7,500,000 fr. on wool; nearly 3,000,000 fr. on fruit; and the same on cast iron. Nothing can be more vicious in principle, or more unproductive to the revenue, than such a customs system. Sugar is taxed so enormously that the consumption is not one-fifth of the consumption of the people of England; and, indeed, to the poorer classes in many departments the use of sugar is unknown. A considerable revenue has been raised on raw materials; and as prohibition can produce nothing, no revenue has been received from the articles which might fairly be made the subject of moderate taxation. Another consequence is, that to maintain the prohibitive system the Preventive Service in France costs sixteen per cent. on the revenue collected, in England four per cent.

indirect burdens and disadvantages under which he labours; his coal is heavily taxed, his iron is heavily taxed, his machinery is so costly that in many instances he finds it impossible to keep pace with the progress of mechanical inventions; and the result of all inquiry into French manufactures is to show that whatever superiority the manufacturers of this country do possess is mainly due to the greater novelty, efficiency, and cheapness of our machines. On the other hand, the rate of wages of the manufacturing population is lower in France than in England: the habits of the people are more thrifty, sober, and frugal; and even skilled labour, requiring a certain amount of taste and dexterity, commands a lower price than it would in this country.* If then by virtue of the change about to be effected by the commercial treaty and by the other measures of the Imperial Government, the French manufacturer is relieved from several of the disadvantages under which he has hitherto laboured, whilst he will retain all his natural advantages, he has not the slightest reason to fear the competition of this or any other country.

The Great Exhibition of London in 1851 and that of Paris in 1856, demonstrated, beyond all doubt, the very high degree of perfection to which French manufactures had already attained: and the prizes awarded on those occasions by impartial international juries of competent persons attest the decision to have been more favourable to France than to any other nation. In woollen cloths, in porcelain, in chemical products, in soaps, in ornamental metal work, and in silk goods, they bore away the palm; and in the letters dated from the London Exhibition which M. Chevalier has annexed to the volume now before us, this comparison is worked out with great detail. The results of it are not always flattering to the vanity of this country, but we are satisfied that they are in many respects true.

Nothing then, in our opinion, can be more erroneous than to suppose that the removal of prohibition by the Treaty of Commerce and the access about to be granted to France, opens an easy market to all our manufacturers. On the contrary, we

* M. Amé gives the average rate of wages for men in the cotton factories of France at 1 f. 83 c. (1*s.* 8*d.*) a day; women 94 c. (9½*d.*); and children 58 c. (6*d.*) The general average of manufacturing wages is somewhat higher — about 2 fr. for men, 1 fr. for women, and 72 c. for children. We have, however, considerable doubts as to the accuracy of statements of this nature; and we believe that it is impossible to state with any approach to certainty or accuracy the average of wages of persons employed in similar manufactories in this country.

believe that this approach to greater freedom of trade between the two countries, will render the amicable contest of industrial skill fairer, but more severe to both of them. The French manufacturer has at his command a highly intelligent population, more gifted with taste and lightness of hand than the English workman. Some of the useful arts, such as the chemical preparation of dyestuffs and the manipulation of metals, are better understood in France than they are in this country, though we know of no good reason for our inferiority. Above all, the French manufacturer is less exposed to the ruinous effects of those combinations and unions of trades which may, and sometimes do, level in one common ruin the master and the workman.

We wish most emphatically to direct public attention to this consideration, which is connected with a subject we have recently discussed more fully, because we are convinced that the freedom of labour from the self-imposed restrictions of the trades lies at the root of our manufacturing prosperity, and that capital and labour in this country have nothing to fear from foreign competition, if they can emancipate themselves from the unnatural and ignorant restrictions placed on them by combinations of workmen, not seldom to the entire destruction of the handicraft by which they hope to live. Here lies the real danger of foreign competition to our trades. Take, for example, the case of the cork-cutters, who made an especial appeal to Parliament for protection, on the ground of the export duty levied by Spain on the raw material. Mr. Gladstone replied, with perfect truth, that 'the real cause of the difficulty of the 'trade in this country was to be found in the combinations and 'strikes which had for their object to divert the natural course 'of labour. It was stated that the fine work had been lost to 'this country. Why? Because it was a rule of the society 'that the same price should be paid for fine work as for coarse. 'It was one of the rules of the society that no master should 'employ more than a certain number of apprentices in propor'tion to the number of journeymen. In Catalonia the work'man was employed in his cottage, his wife and children doing 'the inferior, and himself the better work. But in this country 'the men absolutely deprived themselves of this means of bet'tering their condition.' One example of this kind is as good as a thousand. It demonstrates that associations to raise wages by artificial restrictions are absolutely fatal to the British workman, when he is brought by free trade into open competition with foreign workmen, amongst whom no such artificial restrictions exist; because the price of the commodity he pro-

duces must be regulated by the price in the open market of the world, whilst the rate of wages in England is determined by these combinations. The effect of a strike under such circumstances must be to throw the whole supply into the hands of the foreign workman.

On the other hand, the English manufacturing population labour with more intense energy: they are supported by more abundant capital; communications by rail and water are more perfect; the operations of commerce are carried on upon a grander scale: credit is more thoroughly organised, and the general spirit of trade is more enterprising. Hence, although we have little doubt that the French will continue to produce the choicest and most elegant fabrics in the world, and to command the market of the richer classes for such articles, our English, Scottish, and Irish looms will clothe the people at the lowest conceivable price, and will afford to foreign nations humble luxuries and conveniences eminently conducive to the welfare and happiness of the lower orders. The plain shepherd's maud which shelters one of our hillsmen on the brae side is a more valuable gift to man than the velvet tissue which wraps the cushions of the throne; and though we may find it to our advantage to seek for luxuries abroad, we shall pay for them by extending the invaluable gift of warm and cheap clothing to large numbers of human beings who are now obliged to go without it. To this hour at least three-fourths of the peasantry of France are without stockings, and the habitual dress of the people, even in the northern departments, is of linen. The introduction of tweeds, fustians, and common woollen and cotton goods at low prices, is an inestimable benefit to the population.

The result which we anticipate from the improved commercial relations of the two countries is, therefore, that whilst it is probable that France will supply to an increasing extent and value, the higher and more elegant class of productions, such as her rich silks, her ornamental clocks, her paper-hangings, her furniture, her kid gloves, her fine cloths, her printed goods of the best class of design and execution, as well as some of her principal natural products, we shall supply to France, and especially to the humbler and poorer classes in France, a variety of articles which their own manufactures do not offer, and never yet have offered, to their personal and domestic use. The contrast is infinitely greater in France than in England between the luxury, elegance, and splendour of great cities or opulent houses, and the rude interior of the peasant's cottage, where his clothes, his utensils, and his whole condition

seem to have acquired scarcely anything from modern comfort and civilisation. Articles which cheapness and use have rendered necessary to the whole population of these islands, but more especially to the English portion of them, are still unheard-of luxuries to the peasantry of France; simply because prohibition and high taxation have kept them from the people.

But although we anticipate that the competition of French manufactures will be felt with considerable severity by several branches of trade in this country, especially in the higher sorts of commodities, far from deprecating this competition or its results, this is one of our principal grounds for approving the Treaty. On those principles of Free Trade, which have obtained the universal adhesion of the people of this country, (though perhaps the conversion is somewhat less absolute and sincere than we could wish it to be,) it is precisely because foreign countries can supply us with certain articles cheaper or better than we can make them that it is for the advantage of the community to purchase those articles abroad. Moreover, although we have reason to believe that if our manufactures were stationary and unprogressive, our French competitors, with coal, iron, and raw material at the same rates as ourselves, would enter the lists with considerable chances of success; yet it may easily be foreseen that there is no branch of manufactures worth retaining, which will remain stationary, and that the stimulus of foreign competition will be the fertile mother of future and rapid improvements. The schools of design will improve the taste of our inventors — science will promote the application of chemistry to the arts—in mechanical skill we fear no rivals; but the greatest service can be rendered to manufactures by combining the mechanical strength of modern industry with a higher degree of intelligence, manipulation, and taste.

The cause of the imperfect appreciation of the results to be anticipated from increased commercial interchange, which has affected this Treaty with some degree of unpopularity in both countries, is that from the inveterate association of ancient prejudice, men are still apt to look with less favour on that which they expect to acquire from other countries, than on that which they expect foreign countries to acquire from them. But this is one of the fallacies of ignorance, for it is certain that France must take something in exchange for whatever we take from her; and the commodities which are most needed by a nation are not those which it already possesses in abundance, but those which it does not possess. No one doubts, on this side of the Channel, that France will receive a vast benefit

by the admission of our coal, our iron, and our cheap goods; no one doubts, on the other side the Channel, that the removal of the duties on wine, on silk, and on other articles of French produce, is a boon to England. Yet when the converse is presented to the mind, the old delusion of the protective system still in some degree distorts the judgment. The sale of our coal and iron to France is in fact a small and questionable advantage to this country, felt only by those who produce these articles, and not much felt by them. Indeed, we do not scruple to avow our opinion, that the obligation to permit the export of coal, free of duty, is the most onerous condition of the Treaty, though it would be extremely difficult, in any case short of impending war, to re-impose restrictions on an article of which we export nearly seven millions of tons. Even the increased market for manufactured goods concerns chiefly those who are engaged in manufactures. But the power of purchasing at a cheaper rate articles which are useful or desirable to the whole community, is an advantage of universal application. In other words, the benefit conferred upon the producer is limited to the producing class; the benefit conferred upon the consumer is general. Even as regards the general wealth of the country, it is clear that the profit or advantage to be derived from selling a little more of our produce, be it natural or manufactured, to a new customer, is inconsiderable, if it be compared to the profit and advantage resulting to the whole community from a notable reduction in the price of any article of general utility.

This reasoning applies, in the present instance, and as regards this country, most especially to the article of wine; and as we consider the reduction of the British duties on wine to be one of the principal advantages to ourselves which accompany this revision of our commercial system, we shall enter into some details on this part of the subject.*

It is one of the characteristic evils resulting from a system of prohibitive duties, that they affect the habits, and even the ideas of the nation, subjected to them, to such an extent as to lead men to confound that scarcity which is the result of na-

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* The whole question has been elucidated in the most admirable and interesting manner in a Report addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs by Viscount Chelsea, late Secretary of Her Majesty's Embassy to France. This valuable document has been presented to Parliament, and it will be found to contain most ample materials for the complete comprehension of the subject. Mr. Lumley's Report on the Vine Disease in Spain is also of considerable merit and interest.

tural causes, with the scarcity produced by artificial restrictions. And when we speak of prohibitive duties, we should bear in mind a very pertinent observation made by Mr. Gladstone, that all duties, however low, operate as prohibitions on the inferior and most abundant kind of the article affected by them, though such duties may be extremely moderate as regards the higher qualities. Gloves worth 24*s.* a dozen pairs were not excluded by a duty of 4*s.* 6*d.*; but gloves worth 8*s.* or 10*s.* were excluded altogether. French wine worth 5*s.* a bottle could afford to pay 5*s.* 6*d.* a gallon duty; but French wine worth five pence a bottle, or five farthings a bottle, was, of course, totally excluded by the same charge. The result has been that the people of England have been gradually led by the fiscal legislation of the last 150 years to consider the article of wine as a scarce and costly luxury, entirely removed from the common use of the people. Scotland and Ireland preserved somewhat longer a greater freedom of trade with the wine-growing districts of the South; but these kingdoms also have been subjected for several generations to the same exclusive laws. It was in 1763 that the high rates of English duties on the wines of Bordeaux and Rochelle were first imposed on Scotland; and no part of the fiscal results of the Union was more severely felt by this country. Down to the middle of the last century, the custom of a good old Scottish house was to prize off the top of each successive cask of claret and place it in the corner of the hall, to be emptied by pailfuls. When Lord Cockburn's father was living with his uncle, President Dundas, at Arniston, between 1750 and 1760, sixteen hogsheads of claret were annually consumed in that house — the hogshead costing from 10*l.* to 15*l.* The price does not seem, at that time, to have exceeded eighteenpence a bottle; and even in the Highlands, fifty years before, there was scarcely a roadside inn which could not tap a barrel of respectable Bordeaux; nothing would now be found there but whisky.* The

* Captain Burt, in his 'Letters from the North of Scotland' in the year 1726, gives a deplorable picture of the filth and misery he encountered in the Highlands. But after literally 'supping off 'horrors,' he adds, 'We have one great advantage, that makes 'amends for many inconveniences, that is wholesome and agree-'able drink — I mean French Claret, which is to be met with almost 'everywhere in public-houses of any note, except in the heart of the Highlands, and sometimes even there; but the concourse of my countrymen has raised the price considerably; at my first coming it was but sixteen pence a bottle, and now it is raised to two shillings,

fact is, that by raising the price, and excluding all kinds of wine except the highest growths, which could alone support the duty, the people of these islands have at last been taught to believe that wine is a scarce and costly article, to be indulged in as a luxury, to be brought out on high days and holidays, to be sipped in small glasses, made for the purpose, and called 'wine-glasses,' and in short treated, not so much as the juice of the grape is treated in almost all other countries, but rather as some curious *liqueur*.

Suppose the same treatment had been applied to oranges. The fruit cannot be grown and ripened in this country. It would be just as fair a subject for taxation as the juice of the grape, indeed more so, for wine is more conducive to health and comfort than fruit. Nothing would be easier, with the consent of Parliament, than to convert oranges into a scarce and rare commodity, worth sixpence or a shilling a-piece, to be produced like forced peaches at the banquets of the opulent. But what is the fact? Happily oranges have escaped the traps and snares of prohibitive duties. Every orange-girl at the corner of the street is a living trophy of Free Trade. The fruit she sells was ripened into gold on the shores of the Azores, or the coasts of Spain, a thousand miles off; and, perishable as it is, this delightful luxury is placed by its extreme cheapness and abundance within the reach of the whole population. It is even more accessible to them than the garden produce of their native land. There is no conceivable reason that a cup of wine should not be as cheap and as easily obtained as an orange, since the legislative wisdom of the country will permit it. Wine is far more abundant than oranges. It is produced in a greater variety of climates and soils. It is more easily transported and by no means perishable. It forms a most salutary element of human diet, and though we do not pretend to place common wines above good ale, yet they are certainly preferable to the thin beer or rough cyder, or spirits, mainly consumed by the labouring classes of this country; and we venture to add that if as much pains had been taken to promote and facilitate the use of moderate quantities of pure and wholesome wine, as have been taken to restrict our consump-

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'although there be no more duty paid upon it now than there was 'before, which, indeed, was often none at all. Lemons are seldom 'wanting here, so that punch for those that like it is very reasonable, 'but few care to drink it, as thinking claret a much better liquor, in 'which I agree with them.'

tion to a very costly, scarce, and for the most part adulterated, article, the condition of the people would have improved, the revenue would not have suffered, and wine would figure among the articles of national consumption as one of the principal necessaries of life. These are the advantages to which the reduction of the wine duties opens a path; and though some considerable time is required to modify the habits of four or five generations, we have no doubt of the final result. It is an absurdity to argue that Englishmen or Scotchmen have a natural inability to popularise the consumption of wine. No such remark applies to the upper classes, who drink as much wine as suits them; no such remark applies to the English abroad, who drink at least as much wine as the natives; no such remark applies to Englishmen in the colonies—in Australia, for example, the consumption of the cheaper sorts of wine is extremely large. It may here be observed that whilst we advocate the use of wine as a common beverage, we have no desire whatever to see the abuse of it increased for the pleasure of tippling. That is quite another thing. But it is not in the countries where wine is cheapest and most abundant that there is most drunkenness; and the manner in which wine is consumed in England, generally unmixed with water, and after meals, tends much more to intoxication than when the use is with water and at meals, as the common beverage. This same peculiarity in our tariff and in our manners also led to the odious and vicious practice of adulterating wines for the English market with brandy; for as wine came to be regarded as a costly article to be drunk in very small quantities, it was thought desirable to convey into it the largest possible amount of alcohol. The same misconception pervades almost all the statements and arguments on the subject, because they are based on the present consumption of a small quantity of first and second class wines, which may be said to enjoy a natural monopoly, since the supply of wines of those particular qualities, such as Chateau Margaux, Clos Vougeot, or Johannisberg cannot be increased. They therefore command, irrespective of any taxation, a monopoly price. But if wine is to be considered as an article of general consumption, we mean by the term 'wine,' not some scarce and peculiar quality, but the average staple of sound and palateable wine which may be produced, and indeed is already produced, as abundantly as any other production of the soil in many parts of Europe,—in Spain, Portugal, Hungary, Sicily, the Rhine, and France.

The annual growth of wine in Europe and the Azores is computed to amount to 1,876,990,000 gallons: and France alone

produces more than half that quantity. No doubt this enormous supply was considerably diminished by the *oïdium*, especially in 1854 and 1855, when the vintage barely reached one-fifth of the average return; but this proves no more than the temporary failure of the potato crop in Ireland or elsewhere. In 1851 the area of land under wine culture in France was two millions of hectares, or about five millions of acres: and the extent of vineyards is constantly increased, because the returns of land under the vine are far greater than under the plough—sometimes in the proportion of six to one. The average price of wine in France, taking into account the increased demand, (but not the extraordinary effect on prices resulting from the wine disease,) may be stated at 40 francs the hectolitre, a hectolitre being 26 wine gallons and a half, or about one shilling and four pence per gallon; or, taking a calculation furnished by M. Legoyt, of the Ministry of Commerce, it would appear that a barrel of St. George, a very sound red wine of the Hérault, can be purchased on the spot for 44 fr. 20 c., and that the carriage and duty to London would raise the price to 135 fr. This wine would, therefore, cost about five pence a bottle, and if sold at a shilling a bottle, would yield the wine merchant a profit of more than 100 per cent. M. Chevalier states in his letter to Lord Chelsea, that in the year 1847 he saw a wine sold at Lodève to his workmen for a halfpenny a quart, or less than 2½*d.* a gallon, which anybody in Paris would have been glad to drink as *vin ordinaire*, and which was incomparably better than the wine commonly given at ministerial dinners under that name. Sometimes the vintage is so abundant that wine falls to 2*d.* or 3*d.* a gallon for want of vessels to keep it in. These are extreme cases, but M. Chevalier calculates that some of the best wines of the Hérault may be sold in London with a duty of one shilling a gallon for about fivepence a bottle. Nor is this abundance of the article at all confined to France: it is equally great in Spain and Portugal, though high duties on our side, and monopolies in the export trade, have done all that is possible to injure and restrict it. Indeed, since the ravages of the *oïdium*, very large quantities of wine have been imported into France and Portugal from Spain. The Spanish wines as they grow, pure and unprepared for the English market, are a totally different article from the compound which is called wine in this country. Valencia alone can export near 20,000 pipes, Benicarlo 10,000, at an average price of about 6*l.* 10*s.* per pipe before the disease. In Catalonia the average production runs from 60,000,000 to 85,000,000 gallons, and the average price to the growers at from threepence to fivepence a gallon. The dry

white wines of Malaga were worth about sevenpence a gallon before the disease; they are now worth about two shillings. Old Castille and Aragon are equally prolific—wine being in some places more abundant than water, insomuch that instances are known of the bricklayers using it to mix their mortar. The disease has now ceased in Spain, and in consequence of the great extent of vineyards planted in that country during the last three years, the market is likely to be overstocked with wine for some time to come.*

We have then an incalculable amount of wine—a vast and increasing area of cultivation—and a price of production which in comparison with anything known in this country is fabulously low. Let us now contrast these facts and figures with the state of the wine trade and the consumption of wine in the United Kingdom. Whilst the use of every other article of food or luxury has largely increased (including, we lament to say, the use of spirits), that of wine alone has fallen off: and it is not too much to assert that there is no product of nature or of the art of man, generally diffused through the world and acceptable to our taste, which is so little used or enjoyed by the people of England as wine. They draw tea in abundance from China, sugar from the West Indies, tobacco from America, food and fruit from every part of the globe; but wine, and especially those wines which France and Spain produce in such abundance, have lain under the interdict of our laws, because *5s. 9d.* a gallon was, in reality, a tax of 300 or 400 per cent. on the bulk of the supply. What is the result? Our total consumption of wine was *actually less* in 1858 than it was in 1791, though our population has doubled in the interval. The proportion drunk, which was only two bottles and a half per annum to each person in 1791, has still further declined to one bottle and a half: that is the present average. This fact demonstrates that to the majority of the population of the United Kingdom, the use of wine is practically unknown. The revenue derived from wine may be said to have remained stationary, and for an obvious reason: as the high duties only let in the highest class of wines which cannot either materially increase in quantity or diminish in price, the supply could not be augmented. To meet a large and popular demand a totally different article will appear in the market. Our present total consumption is 6,748,975 gallons; of which the consumption of French wine has risen in 1859 to one tenth. The consumption of wine by our neighbours the French is *sixty*

* Mr. Lumley's Report, p. 38.

six times as much as our own; it amounted in 1854 to 396,000,000 gallons. M. Chevalier thinks a Frenchman drinks about one hundred times as much wine as an Englishman. On the other hand we consume six times as much beer as the French, and twice as much of spirits. Were the people of the United Kingdom only to drink a quantity of wine equal to the quantity of spirits now consumed by them, the revenue at one shilling a gallon on wine would be equal to that obtained by the 5*s.* 9*d.* duty. When we consider the immense supplies which are at hand the moment we cease to exclude them by prohibitory duties, not only from France but Spain and Portugal,—the extreme lowness of price—the wholesome and acceptable nature of wine when it is obtained pure and used in moderation—and the gross absurdity and injustice of shutting out from a whole nation one of the best gifts of Providence to mankind by an excessive tax, we are led irresistibly to the conclusion that the reduction of the wine duties is a measure of the utmost utility, and that far from causing any permanent sacrifice to the Exchequer, wine, at a low duty, will take its place amongst the ten or twelve principal permanent sources of the customs' revenue.

We call ourselves Free-Traders; we boast of having opened the markets of this country to the produce of the world; we are proud of having removed the burdens which restricted the food of the people. But can any nation on the face of the earth produce a more excessive and absurd prohibition than this, which excluded altogether every kind of wine, except those for which none but the wealthy can afford to pay? We are astonished at the stupid infatuation of the French who reject our iron—of the Spaniards who prohibit our manufactures. But is it not the fact that the commodity of all others which these nations produce in the greatest abundance, and which is best adapted for trade and use in foreign countries, is precisely that which our laws have forbidden us to consume? We do not dwell upon the argument of reciprocity, because we are fully aware that to a people really convinced of the truth of the doctrine of Free Trade, such an argument has no force. But to countries and governments at the stage of economical science which the French and Spaniards have lately reached, this argument has very great force, and we do not see why it should not be employed. We certainly desire on every account that foreign nations should be led to abandon those prohibitions and restrictions which we know to be equally injurious to themselves and to us. But our arguments and our example in other respects were powerless, as long as the British tariff was disgraced by a duty of 5*s.* 9*d.* on wines worth to the growers as many pence.

The more liberal admission of the other products of southern Europe was comparatively insignificant in its results, so long as the grand staple of the vineyards was excluded.

On these grounds more especially we think that the combined measures submitted to Parliament by Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues, in the shape of the Commercial Treaty with France and the reductions of his Budget, reflect the highest honour on that statesman and on the Government, and we are satisfied that the Chancellor of the Exchequer will have no cause to regret that he has dealt in a liberal spirit with the resources of this country, and with the industry of our great neighbour.

The establishment of freer and more extensive commercial relations between the populations of two great, rich, and neighbouring empires involves considerations of a far more lasting and comprehensive character than the diplomatic transactions of the day. If the people of France and the people of England find it to their mutual advantage to import foreign commodities and to dispose of their own produce under the provisions of this Treaty, or by legal enactments adopted in connexion with it, interests will spring up eminently favourable to the pacific relations of the two states, and superior to those political changes which from time to time alter the condition of the world. If, on the contrary, this Treaty were by any mischance so framed as to give to either nation an undue and mischievous advantage over the other, far from being a pledge of peace, we should regard it with apprehension and alarm. The basis on which it rests is, however, broad and secure. It has been, it will yet be, assailed by every form of class interests, of national prejudices, of protectionist fallacies, and even by the hypercriticism of the straitest sect of free-traders; but, upon the whole, we are content to stake the future relations of England and of France, upon which the peace and welfare of the whole world largely depend, upon this great trial. The abolition of the Corn Laws was not carried without a storm in our internal policy, which broke up parties, overthrew ministers, and threatened at times considerable dangers; the abolition of the prohibitive system in France and the removal of the last restrictions in our own tariff, is an undertaking of scarcely less moment to the general commercial policy of the world; and we place the courage and confidence which dare to move boldly onwards to great results infinitely above the timid and make-shift policy which circumscribes the conduct of the nation within the bounds of temporary expediency, and would sacrifice to the tranquillity and convenience of the present the best hopes of the future.

ART. II.— 1. *The Life of John Milton, narrated in connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of his Time.* By DAVID MASSON, M.A., &c. Vol. I., 1608–39. 8vo. Cambridge and London: 1859.

2. *An Account of the Life, Opinions, and Writings of John Milton, with an Introduction to 'Paradise Lost.'* By THOMAS KEIGHTLEY. 8vo. London: 1859.

3. *The Poems of John Milton, with Notes by* THOMAS KEIGHTLEY. 2 vols. 8vo. London: 1859.

4. *Original Papers illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton, including sixteen Letters of State written by him, now first published from MSS. in the State Paper Office.* Collected and edited by W. DOUGLAS HAMILTON. Printed for the Camden Society. 1859.

MR. MASSON'S volume has many sterling merits and some serious defects. His industry is immense; his zeal unflagging; his special knowledge of Milton's Life and Times extraordinary; and when he does not copy the vices of Mr. Carlyle's diction, his style is manly, easy, and picturesque. But the radical fault of his narrative is its plan; and as this affects the whole of his present volume, and may affect equally its promised successors, we will state our objections to it, before proceeding to comment upon the goodly, though somewhat tedious octavo before us. The Life of Milton might well be written again: Johnson's prejudices, Todd's dulness, and Symmon's rhetorical pomp, are alike unworthy of the subject. But to connect the 'political, ecclesiastical, and literary History of 'his Time' with Milton's personal history is to build a labyrinth of digression and episode, for which it is scarcely possible to furnish a sufficient clue. From the maze, indeed, of Mr. Masson's excursions on politics, church-government, and literature, Milton himself is continually disappearing. If he be not hid with excess of light, he is often buried beneath excess of matter. Like a rock invisible at spring tide, like a city overgrown by its suburbs, Milton's place and person are often lost through hundreds of pages in Mr. Masson's narrative, and the bewildered reader is driven to ask on what pretext he is thus shrouded from view. Milton was neither soldier nor statesman. For the first thirty years of his life he was a secluded scholar: for the last portion he dwelt in deep retirement, his only companions a faithful few, mourning like himself over the disappointment of their hopes, but lifting neither hand nor voice against the strong sons

of Zeruiah. The longest interval that can be assigned to Milton as a public man, dates from his first controversial pamphlet 'On 'Reformation in England,' printed in the early part of 1641. The first letter which he wrote in his official capacity as 'Secre-'tary for Foreign Tongues to the Council,' is dated March 1648-9, and this, strictly speaking, was the inauguration of his public career. Hardly a sixth part of his life in the one case, hardly a fourth in the other, was devoted either to polemical or political eloquence, and what he wrote besides, being for all time, is as independent of the causes and circumstances of the great Rebellion as Grotius's treatise 'De Veritate Christianâ' of the Thirty Years' War.

Since Mr. Masson's volume appeared, the Camden Society has further elucidated Milton's life and official career by the publication of various documents, and among them sixteen 'Let-'ters of State' hitherto unprinted. They have been excellently edited by Mr. W. Douglas Hamilton, and will prove a valuable auxiliary to Mr. Masson when he enters on the second period of his Biography. The new letters confirm all previous impressions of Milton's command of the Latin tongue, and of the eloquence, energy, and dignity he gave to the political despatches of the Commonwealth, especially when the subject (as in the case of the persecution of the Vaudois by the Duke of Savoy) touched his own love of freedom and truth. But Mr. Masson has given too much importance to Milton's office as Secretary of Foreign Tongues. His duties more nearly resembled those of the Clerk of the Council than those of the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. There is nothing to show that he was consulted by the Council at first, or by Cromwell afterwards, upon their general or occasional policy. His official duties were confined to clothing in vigorous Latin their minutes and diplomatic instruments. He was the fittest man of the time, in virtue both of his principles and his scholarship, to vindicate the freedom of England on the seas, to protest against the cruelty of the Duke of Savoy, and to expound to Europe the high argument between the King and People of England. In every other controversy of the time, except that great debate, and the assertion of his country's right to arrest the career of persecution, Milton was a volunteer, and nearly as often in opposition to the government as in its service. He early threw off the shackles of Puritanism: he scandalised both godly ministers and laity by his Doctrine of Divorce; and though he panegyrised the Protector and the Independents, both in prose and verse, his adherence to them was more that of an ally than a partisan. While his countrymen were debating whether Cromwell should be king, or Charles Stuart be recalled, or whether

England, like Holland, should be governed by a senate and a stadtholder, Milton was dreaming of some such government as Plato had imagined. While they were divided between a church regulated by bishops or by elders, he was drawing up schemes for religious communion that would scarcely have been practicable in the days of Polycarp or Irenæus. It is remarkable that in recent debates on the Law of Divorce Milton's arguments on the subject have never once been cited; and it would be difficult to name any one who less reflected the opinions of an age than the author of the 'Colasterion,' the 'Tetrachordon,' the 'Areopagitica,' or the 'Ready Way to establish a Free Commonwealth.' The chief value of Mr. Masson's researches into the first moiety of Milton's Life consists in the light thrown by them upon the formative period of his mind, and especially upon the labours by which he attained that consummate eloquence in prose and rhyme which renders even his State Papers memorable, and breathes with unequalled grace and majesty in his verse.

The inconveniences of Mr. Masson's plan manifest themselves throughout his present volume. Episodes fill nearly two-thirds of its seven hundred and eighty closely printed pages. The tributaries of the narrative overwhelm the main stream. Milton was educated at Saint Paul's School, and we have presented to us a chronicle of the school itself. He went in due course of time to Cambridge; we have then a history of the studies, morals, and manners of the University. He writes sonnets, pastorals, and masques; we are treated to a sketch — and by no means a brief one — of British literature from Ben Jonson to the first publication of the 'Arcades,' 'Comus,' and 'Lycidas.' He declined going into the Church; the story of Laud and Arminianism, of Abbot and Calvinism, is told at large. He retires into the country for the purpose of study; we are informed of all that happened in public affairs during his seclusion: he goes abroad; we have a Fasti of all the memorable events and persons at the time in Europe. Mr. Masson stands greatly in need of the counsel which Corinna tendered to Pindar, who had packed into six verses the whole of the Theban mythology, 'Friend, we should sow with the 'hand, and not with the full sack.'*

Mr. Keightley's 'Account of the Life, Opinions, and Writings 'of John Milton' is the exact opposite of Mr. Masson's. In its pages the poet and his writings are in sole and single pos-

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* Τῇ χειρὶ δεῖν σπείρειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὅλῳ τῷ θυλάκῳ.
(Plutarch, *De Glor. Athen.* § 14).

session of the foreground, his times being scarcely glanced at, his friends but incidentally mentioned. Yet for the purpose of a general introduction to Milton's works the volume is well calculated. There is nothing superfluous in it, nor is anything important to be known omitted. Mr. Keightley's remarks on the poet's opinions upon religion, philosophy, government, and education, are brief, yet pregnant with knowledge. His merits as an editor of the Poems are not less conspicuous. He has not overlaid the text with parallel passages like Wharton, nor, like Todd, thought it necessary to explain what admitted of no doubt. The rich mosaic of Miltonic verse, indeed, requires some elucidation from classic, Italian, or native sources; but Mr. Keightley has contented himself with furnishing in most instances the germ of the phrase, the metaphor, or the image, and forborne to trace its successive phrases from Homer and the Bible to Sylvester and Fletcher. 'Duplex libelli dos est' when it thus accomplishes a purpose amply yet briefly, and Mr. Keightley has unquestionably given us one of the most elegant and useful library editions of our great poet.*

It is with Mr. Masson, however, rather than with Mr. Keightley, that we propose dealing in the following pages. It would be next to impossible to abridge the one, it may be practical to condense the other, of these writers. Mr. Masson's scheme imposes upon us the necessity of examining the *Times* as well as the *Man;* and we shall endeavour to select such features of the age as seem best adapted to throw light upon the character of the poet.

We shall, in the first place, notice what appear to us current mistakes as regards the Puritans generally and Milton in particular. It is too commonly assumed that *they* were, without exception, sour, splenetic, or fierce enthusiasts, and that *he* was of the strictest sort among them, a Pharisee of the Pharisees. We believe both these opinions to be unsupported by facts, and to rest, in great measure, upon a confusion of times and persons. To the Puritans have been ascribed many of the extravagancies of other sectaries of the time, among whom the only feature in common was aversion to the ritual of the Church of England, as it was expounded and enforced by Laud and the high Arminian divines. We look with reverted eyes upon this sober

* We avail ourselves of this opportunity to call attention to a very meritorious and carefully executed work, 'A Complete Concordance to the Poetical Works of Milton,' by Mr. Guy Lushington Prendergast, of the Madras Civil Service, printed and published at Madras.

and serious order of men. We view them through the partial sketches of Clarendon, through the distorting glass of Hudibras, or through their own acts and writings, after their passions had been roused by oppression, or inflamed by victory. We ascribe to them in the mass, the wild dreams of the Fifth-Monarchy men, the root-and-branch work of the Independents, the hallucinations of the younger Vane and George Fox, the bitterness of Prynne, and the peevishness of Sir Simond D'Ewes. All their elders, viewed through this medium, are as Zeal-in-the-land-Busy; all their soldiers as Corporal Have-the-grace-Hold-fast; all their preachers as Hugh Peters; and all their lawyers and parliament men stuff their briefs with texts from Scripture, or commence their speeches with exhortations to be yet more earnest in prayer. It is made a crime to them that they shut up the playhouses; but the dramas which they prohibited would be equally excluded from the stage at the present moment. They are charged with thrusting their lecturers into the pulpits of the authorised clergy; but it was not till the pulpit had long been inculcating the duty of passive obedience, or teaching that the ceremonies of religion were of equal worth with the substance of the Gospel. They broke church windows and tore down the carved work of the sanctuary; but they did so under a not unreasonable dread of the spectre of Romanism which sat at the council table with Laud, or displayed itself in the Queen's chapel at Whitehall. Yet to all who read 'Lucy Hutchinson's 'Memoirs,' it will be plain that the common portraiture is incorrect; that the Puritans, as a body, disdained neither learning nor the arts; and that if, in comparison with the court party, they wore a grave aspect and adopted a sober tone in their conversation, they were not averse, in their domestic and social circles, to cheerfulness, or to such pursuits and accomplishments as elevate and refine the heart and understanding. Even in the comparatively trifling concern of dress they have been much misrepresented. Doubtless among the Puritans of the seventeenth century there were many persons who cropped their hair close, wore narrow neck-bands, abjured clean linen, and interlarded their discourse on the weather, the markets, and the crops, with phrases culled from the Old Testament. Nor has this fashion died out in the nineteenth century. Many worthy people still imagine that there are forms of godliness becoming their Christian profession. They wear garments that excite the wonder or mirth of the profane, they subscribe to the 'Record,' they distribute tracts, they regard Dr. Cumming or Dr. M'Neile as scarcely inferior to Paul and Barnabas, and

they devoutly wish that every member of parliament were a Spooner or a Newdegate. But it would be as incorrect to describe the present age as one of peculiar straitness in religion, as it is to impute to the Puritanism of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries a universal spirit of gloom and asceticism. On the contrary, we are persuaded that if into any circle of respectable and intelligent English people in the year 1860 the Cavalier and Puritan of 1630 could be introduced, the former and not the latter would be out of place. A Puritan of the Miltonic stamp, a Sir Thomas Fairfax or a Colonel Hutchinson, would without much difficulty adopt the tone of modern English manners. He would meet with country gentlemen versed in agriculture and law,—pursuits which he in his former life had left to his bailiff and attorney; and English maidens and matrons skilled in arts formerly reserved for musicians and painters by profession. Substantially, however, he would recognise progress rather than diversity. He would see religion affecting intimately, yet without ostentation, our daily life. He would mark its influence in the well-ordered households, in the decent cheerfulness of conversation, in care for the poor and ignorant, and in those numerous charities which provide for the infirm and aged or for the conversion of heathen lands. He would soon cease to be a stranger among his own posterity, and might fairly ascribe the germs of the improvement he beheld on all sides to that leaven of sage grave men who in the seventeenth century redeemed their time from the general levity or profligacy of the Cavaliers.

Thomas Warton remarks, in his notes to 'Il Penseroso,' that 'no man was ever so disqualified to turn Puritan as Milton,' arguing that his sense of the beautiful and his love for literature were inconsistent with the crabbed and sour temper of a sectarian. Warton clearly imagined that all who opposed Charles in the State and Laud in the Church were eaten up with the zeal of Aminadab Holdfast, talked through their noses, and abominated maypoles and mince-pies. But could he have looked into the house of the elder John Milton, at the Spread Eagle in Bread Street, he might have seen cause to change his opinion. In no respect did it materially differ from hundreds of sober and well-ordered English households in the present day. Literature was cherished there; music was one of the favourite recreations of its inmates; nor, if Milton the younger may be admitted in evidence, was even the theatre under ban. He alludes in his 'Allegro' to the stage as a lawful amusement for the cheerful man; and in his sonnets he is not averse to the pleasures of the table, or to such 'mirth as after no repenting 'draws.' In the masques of 'Arcades' and 'Comus' he sealed

with approbation one of the most popular entertainments of the time; and there is ample evidence in his poems of familiarity with the writings of Shakspeare, Ben Jonson, and Massinger. That his father and the friends of the house took a lively interest in politics there is no reason to doubt; Englishmen, fortunately for their liberties, have been never indifferent to the measures of government or the strife of parties. That there was much in the aspect of public affairs, during the poet's boyhood and early manhood, likely to cast a deep and warrantable gloom over all reflecting men, is equally certain; nor would their spirits be raised by the events which followed the calling of the Long Parliament, or by the war which divided their native land into two hostile camps. But should we accuse our own contemporaries of an undue seriousness, were it possible that the crown and hierarchy could now play again the game of Charles and Laud; could fine, imprison, or mutilate at their pleasure; could displace the judges, suspend municipal charters, curb or silence the press, and levy taxes without consent of the House of Commons? The Miltons, and all who held dear the freedom of the people of England, had cause enough for sadness at a time when year by year went by without a Parliament being summoned; when the Star Chamber yawned like a grave for all who murmured at the acts of government or refused to comply with loans and benevolences; when every month revealed a fresh encroachment on their liberties; when every house was liable to inquisitorial visits from the pursuivants of the High Commission Court; when the Earl Marshal's Court and the Court of Wards could at any moment dispose of their property or their children; when Eliot lay dying in prison; and when the pillory, the shears, and the branding-iron were almost as often in request as the lictor's rods and axes when Sulla, Cinna, or Carbo sat in the curule chairs of Rome. So nearly, indeed, had Charles at one time succeeded in taming the spirit of the old and haughty nation of England, that wise, grave men might justly inquire, with the expiring Brutus, whether virtue were but a phantasm and liberty but a name.

Had Milton been merely the foremost poet of his age we might very probably have known little more of him than we know of Shakspeare; but the part which he took in the controversies of his time often imposed upon him the duties of self-vindication, and in these defensive passages he becomes, to a certain extent, his own biographer. Mr. Masson has very properly made use of his Latin poems as documents of the poet's early life; but we are at a loss to conceive his motives for

translating these exquisite samples of scholarship into dull, and not always very accurate, English prose. Neither Cowper, Hayley, nor Symmons have been very happy in their metrical versions of the 'Epistolæ ad Patrem,' 'ad Mansum,' or the 'Epitaphium Damonis;' but their couplets are more readable than Mr. Masson's bald 'doings into English.' We learn, however, from them much that it interests us to know of the poet's early life. He reversed the usual lot of the powers and principalities of literature, who have usually struggled through the first generation of their lives, and then surveyed from a secure height the troubled waters which they have passed through. Whereas, until his thirty-second year, Milton may be said to have walked beside the waters of comfort with little to thwart or annoy him. Of Sara, his mother, we could desire to know more than her maiden name, and the dates of her death and burial. Like the mothers of so many other illustrious men, she may have contributed to mould the character and tastes of her son. Meanwhile we do know, on very sufficient evidence, that John Milton the elder early infused into his boy the love and knowledge of music; and though, judging from the sample given by Mr. Masson of his verses, not even shepherds would have called the good scrivener a poet, yet there is no doubt that he loved verse, especially when his son displayed such ability in making it. Probably he saw in the early promise of his son the means for restoring his family to its former social position. He had himself been disinherited on account of his Protestantism, by a rigidly Catholic father; and the boy scholar, who devoted to learning his nights as well as days, might one day inscribe his name among the judges or bishops of the land. His hopes were both realised and disappointed. His elder son climbed neither bench nor woolsack; but earned a name more imperishable than either mitre or seals confer. His younger son, though apparently a commonplace person enough, attained the dignity of judge. All that is recorded of the parental and filial relations in the house in Bread Street wears a pleasant aspect—high thoughts, plain living, authority tempered with kindness, reverence softened by love. The scrivener had raised himself from poverty to independence, yet he did not insist upon his studious and scholarly son's devoting himself to the law; and seems to have acquiesced with unusual patience in his declining, in mature age, to enter the Church, although preferment was thus 'at *two* entrances quite 'shut out.' Ovid, Petrarch, and Tasso had less judicious, or less lenient parents, and were condemned to long and painful struggles between the duty of studying the jurists and the

inclination to write verses. Perhaps also, when the time approached for taking orders, the elder Milton may have participated in his son's aversion from the Church. The rent in the garment of the established clergy was yearly growing wider. Calvinism was becoming more bitter: Arminianism more arrogant. On the one side was poverty, with a fair chance of pillory and fine; on the other, preferment to be won by abjuring the doctrines of the reformers, even of those who, in the eyes of the Puritans, had 'kept the faith so pure of old.' The discreet father may accordingly have desired his son neither to risk the consequences of maintaining the doctrines of Geneva and the synod of Dort, nor to win pre-eminence with Montagu and Mainwaring, by complying with the service-book and ceremonial promulgated at Lambeth. The undulations of the earthquake were beginning to make themselves felt; and observant men could perceive that either England must cease to be the home of civil and religious freedom, or that the crown and mitre must be shorn of some of their dangerous and encroaching pretensions. Milton did not possess the quiet soul of George Herbert, to whom, after a few uneasy years of attendance in great men's antechambers, the care of a parish was a land of Goshen; neither perhaps had he the discretion of his tutor Thomas Young, who held his vicarage at Stowmarket, and preached without gown or bands, even though his diocesan enforced the rule of Canterbury. If we may infer from his doctrines as a layman what his sermons would have been as a clergyman, we may esteem Milton fortunate in eschewing the imposition of hands.

With a zeal and industry which we cannot sufficiently commend, Mr. Masson has not only availed himself of the biographical stores collected by his predecessors, but imparted to them an aspect of novelty by his skilful re-arrangement. He has also interwoven into his narrative a few hitherto undiscovered or unemployed anecdotes of Milton, that leave us little to desire in our acquaintance with him from the time when he lisped in numbers to the time when he began to plead the cause of secular and spiritual liberty. The portraiture of the household in Bread Street is, in some respects, a fancy sketch, but it is also a probable one, and we have no objection occasionally to 'dally with such surmises,' and 'so interpose a little ease' among the heavier portions of his story. The house in which Milton was born, was destroyed by the great fire of 1666. Enough of old London, however, remained after that calamity, whether in substance or in effigy, to warrant us in the belief that the Miltonic Lares were contained in 'an edifice of wood

'and plaster, with its gable-end towards the street.' Bread Street then, as now, stood in the very heart of Cockaigne, and Milton, like Chaucer and Spenser, was by birth 'a Londoner 'of the innermost circle.' But the population of London did not in the earlier half of the 17th century exceed 150,000 souls; and there is, perhaps, at the present moment more trade and traffic in Oxford Street or the Strand than there was in the whole capital two centuries ago. The city itself, too, when Milton first took his walks abroad in its streets, was less spacious than at present, but infinitely more picturesque. Its merchant princes then were content to abide in dwellings now abandoned to a few porters and clerks, and though they would now be accounted inconvenient, those 'old great houses' had a substantial comfort and magnificence of their own. Their groined ceilings, their panneled wainscot, their carved chimney-pieces, and inlaid floors bespoke a liberal taste in their owners. Nor were 'the rich moveables' of their interiors unworthy of the quaint forms of the outer shell. Many a choice work of Cellini's graced the sideboards and beaufets of the London Greshams; and the Dutch, Italian, and Spanish schools of art found a ready sale in the English mart. 'Regis ad exemplar,'—for Charles was a bountiful patron as well as an excellent judge of art—the Levantine merchants of the English capital possessed or affected the liberal tastes of the Barneveldts and the Medici. And in those days a child born under the very belfry of Bow church was not necessarily 'pent in the populous city.' Within a mile from the realm of Cheap, 'where the mercers 'and goldsmiths had their shops,' from the still fresh-looking exchange of Gresham, or from old St. Paul's,—not then, as now, almost a solitude during two-thirds of the day, but echoing from morn to eve with the footsteps of courtiers, wits, merchants, lawyers and bullies—the open country might be reached, and the senses refreshed and reinvigorated, among streams still unpolluted, and woods and meadows as yet unprofaned by buildings or 'Building land Societies.' If Milton's 'lines' in his boyhood were not 'set in such pleasant places' as a Warwickshire village,—if he could not wander beside the Avon, or watch the rooks return to their umbrageous home in Charlecot Park,—neither was he altogether a stranger to rural sights or sounds.

Mr. Masson's picture of the interior of the house in Bread Street, though a little fanciful, is well conceived. He says,

'It was a warm and happy home. Peace, comfort, and industry reign within it. During the day the scrivener is busy with his

apprentices and clients; but in the evening the family are gathered together, the father on one side, the mother on the other, the eldest girl and her brother John seated near, and little Kit lying on the hearth. A grave Puritanic piety was then the order in the households of most of the respectable citizens of London; and in John Milton's house there was more than usual of the accompanying affection for Puritanic habits and modes of thought. Religious reading and devout exercises would be part of the regular life of the family; and thus a disposition towards the serious, a regard for religion as the chief concern in life, and a dutiful love of the parents who so taught him, would be cultivated in Milton from his earliest years.'

'But the scrivener, though a serious man, was also a man 'of liberal culture,' says Aubrey; and his grandson Phillips, who recollected him personally, says, that while prudent in business, he did not so far quit his generous and ingenious inclinations as to make 'himself wholly a slave to the world.' His acquaintance with literature was that of a man who has been some time at college. But his special faculty was music. Even as an amateur he was highly distinguished, and his name is associated in a collection of madrigals, published in 1601, with the names of twenty of the first English composers of the time. An organ and other instruments were part of the furniture in the house in Bread Street, and much of his spare time was given to musical study. According to Aubrey, the younger Milton was, from a very early period, taught music, and became an accomplished organist, and perhaps sang almost as soon as he could speak. In his 'Tractate on Education' he recommends that the interims between study and gymnastic exercises be employed 'in recreating and composing the travailed 'spirits' of school boys 'with the solemn or divine harmonies of 'music heard or learnt;' and he had himself experienced the effects which he ascribes to the lute, organ, and 'elegant voice,' in 'smoothing dispositions and manners, and making them gentle 'from rustic harshness and distempered passions.' The traces of this portion of his home education are inscribed on his poetry. 'Other writers,' says an excellent living judge of the art which he has so long adorned, the present Gresham Professor of music, Mr. Edward Taylor, 'ancient or modern, in prose or in poetry, 'rarely speak of music without betraying their ignorance of it. 'They deal in vague generalities, or if they attempt anything 'more, blunder. Milton, whenever he speaks of music, and 'how often does the divine art present itself to his mind! is 'always strictly technically correct.' At what period of boyhood his acquaintance with Henry Lawes began we are not told; but in January 1625, when Milton was in his seventeenth year, Lawes was attached to the Chapel Royal, and we may believe

that similarity of pursuits attracted him to the Spread Eagle in Bread Street. If he introduced, as is alleged, the Italian style of music into England, he may have infused a new spirit into the severer harmonies and simple madrigals of the household, and linked yet more firmly Milton's predilection for the language and the arts of Florence.

Mr. Masson has shown good reasons for believing that literature, no less than music, was welcomed in the Miltonic parlour. One poet he has traced to its sober, but cheerful precincts, and perhaps a publisher as well. The poet, indeed, remains utterly unknown to this day, except to such pursuers of obsolete literature as Mr. Masson: nor, if we may judge from the sample of his verse or the subjects and titles of his manuscripts, should we recommend publishers to disturb their repose in the British Museum or Ashmolean at Oxford. Yet John Lane, 'a fine old 'Queen Elizabeth gentleman,' as Milton's nephew Phillips describes him, may have impressed with reverence the soul of the infant poet. Lane seems to have held himself in good esteem, since he wrote a continuation of the 'Story of Cambuscan bold;' and may have not been disinclined to read aloud occasionally passages from his 'Guy, Earl of Warwick,' a continuation of Lydgate's Metrical Romance, or from his 'Triton's Trumpet to 'the Twelve Months, husbanded and moralized.'

Milton's father was too wise a man to deprive his son of the advantages of a public school, when they could be had without danger to his morals. At first he had put him under the charge of Thomas Young, a learned and pious clergyman, who, though he preached high Calvinism, and approved of the doctrines of Augustine, that *durus pater infantum*, inspired his pupil with a sincere affection. Retaining, however, Thomas Young as a private tutor, he sent his docile and promising John to the school of St. Paul's, which was at no great distance from Bread Street, and was then in high repute under the presidency of Alexander Gill the elder. The elder, we mark him, because one of his ushers was his son of the same name — Alexander ab Alexandro, like Baron Bradwardine's chief butler — and Gill the younger, after being the instructor, became in due time the friend of the poet. And thus was combined in Milton's case the discipline of school with the vigilance of home; and the union of them deserves to be reckoned among the happy circumstances of his life. To grave and studious lads — and Milton we know from his own testimony to have been both — the boisterous and inconsiderate mirth of their idler playmates is no mean affliction. Cowper's spirit was nearly broken at the time, and long afterwards seriously affected, by the suffer-

ings he endured at his first school. Gibbon and Gray have put on record their disinclination to cricket and foot-ball, nor can we imagine that they were at first permitted, without much bullying and contradiction, to indulge their tastes for quiet walks, with Virgil or Livy for their companion. But Milton, to all appearance, inherited few or none of the ills which school-boy flesh is heir to; and passed quietly from his desk in Dean Colet's hall to Thomas Young's lodging, or to his accustomed corner in the family-parlour. Aubrey supports the testimony which Milton, in his 'Defensio Secunda,' bore to his own early diligence in the following words:—'when Milton went to 'school he studied very hard and sat up very late, commonly till 'twelve or one o'clock, and his father ordered the maid to sit up 'for him.' For this and many like treasures of literary gossip we account Aubrey, despite his love for ghosts and wonderful accidents, among the benefactors of mankind.

The course of study followed at St. Paul's school in 1620, did not differ materially from that which is still maintained in it; though there can be no question that Dr. Kynaston is an infinitely better Greek scholar than Dr. Gill with his imperfect means and appliances can have been. At the time when Milton was construing Homer or Thucydides, there were not in all England twenty eminent Grecians: and of the twenty not one perhaps could have produced such a copy of Iambics as now yearly obtains the Porson Prize. Indeed, in spite of all we hear of the Greek studies of Queen Elizabeth and Lady Jane Grey, of Lucius Carey and Sir Henry Savile, we may be sure that their knowledge was comparatively sound only; the texts of the authors whom they studied were corrupt; their grammars and lexicons were erroneous and defective; and their instructors were born long before philology had explored the recesses of the most subtile and copious of tongues. Latin, on the other hand, had been in the preceding century cultivated with signal success by the great race of Italian scholars, and enjoyed the further privilege of being still, as the language of diplomacy and the learned, a living dialect. Since Colet's time, a great advance had been made in this branch of classical instruction. Sedulius, and writers of the brazen and iron periods of Roman literature, had been exchanged for the authentic models of the Augustan age; and Virgil, Sallust, Horace, and Livy were expounded by Dr. Gill, and translated by his pupils, with a precision little inferior to that which has so long done honour to Eton or Harrow. Lilly's grammar, indeed, pertained to this school by a double right; it had been composed for it originally; it was ordered to be used in it and in all other sem-

naries of sound learning and religious instruction by Henry VIII., who resolved that there should be, so far as in him lay, one faith and one grammar throughout his dominions. It was by no means one of Henry's worst deeds or fancies. Lilly's grammar will put a great deal of sound latinity into the youthful mind, and once planted in the virgin soil, its rules will, by reason of their quaint verses, stick to it like a burr.

But Milton's studies were not confined to the ancient tongues. There is evidence that in his boyhood he was a diligent reader of English books; and from the following lines in his 'Epistola 'ad Patrem' we learn that he had made some progress in French, Italian, and Hebrew: —

> 'Tuo, pater optime, sumptu
> Cùm mihi Romuleæ patuit facundia linguæ,
> Et Latii veneres, et qua Jovis ora decebant
> Grandia magniloquis elata vocabula Graiis,
> Addere suasisti quos jactat Gallia flores;
> Et quam degeneri novus Italus ore loquelam
> Fundit, barbaricos testatus voce tumultus;
> Quæque Palæstinus loquitur mysteria vates.'

Until a few years back it was a matter of just reproach to our public schools, that it was nearly impossible for the tyro at them to obtain any knowledge of the languages which Dante and Machiavelli, Bossuet and Voltaire, had raised almost to classical dignity, and which are more frequently required in after-life than the dialects of Athens and Rome. It is still a subject of regret that, with very few exceptions, instruction in the modern tongues at a period of life when they are most easily acquired is very unsatisfactory, and that, not forming part of the school-course, they are taught rather in name than in deed. In the seventeenth century well-educated persons of either sex were usually conversant with at least French and Italian, and often with Spanish also. Our ancestors at that period cherished none of those ignorant and absurd prejudices against foreigners, their speech, manners, or literature, which prevailed a century later. Even the Puritans, at least the more enlightened among them, staunch Englishmen as they were, did not believe, as most honest country gentlemen did in George the Third's reign, that French was fit only for hairdressers, and Italian only for singers. Colonel Hutchinson was an accomplished modern linguist, and Marvel and Harrington spoke and wrote both of these languages. The elder Milton accordingly, in procuring for his son these liberal accomplishments, did not depart from the practice, or offend the prejudices, of his sect. The seed in this instance fell on good ground. Though Milton

occasionally seems to depreciate the Italian in comparison with the Roman tongue, he became profoundly versed in it. He was consulted on its intricacies by Buommatei, when engaged in composing his grammar: he wrote sonnets in it, which, though purists detect in them some Transalpine improprieties, prove an unusual command of its resources: his greater poems are full of echoes from Ariosto, Tasso, and even Marini, and the *sei-centisti;* his sonnet to Henry Lawes contains a charming allusion to Dante; and he has paid ample homage to the sweet Florentine idiom in his letters and prose works.

Milton's early reading in his native literature has often been discussed, nor will it be necessary for us to expatiate upon his intimacy with Chaucer, Spenser, and Shakspeare, or to point out his frequent obligations to Ben Jonson, and the 'ter nu-'meranda domus' of the poetical Fletchers. Mr. Masson observes that, 'if we strike off from the body of English literature 'as it now presents itself to us, all that portion of it which has 'been added during the last two centuries and a quarter, that 'which would remain as the total literature of England at the 'time when Milton began to take a retrospect of it, would by no 'means alarm by its bulk.' We know not what Mr. Masson's notions of *bulk* in literature may be, but if he means us to understand that the school-boy perused Elizabethan authors generally, to say nothing of their predecessors in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Eighth, he makes a demand on our belief that we are not prepared to answer. We suspect that Milton's English reading was confined to the poets, and that some of these were not permitted to cross the threshold of the Spread Eagle. Less scrupulous parents than the elder Milton was, would demur to a lad under seventeen years of age reading many portions of Donne, and even of Spenser, and the 'well languaged Daniel;' nor can we imagine that the plays of Middleton, Ford, Decker, and Webster were indiscriminately put into Master John's hands. Again, though it may have been that 'theological books of which we now know little or 'nothing, would be in high esteem in a Puritan family,' yet we cannot believe that such champions of the Church as Bishop Andrewes or Jewell, found much favour there: or that Hooker's great work, or the writings of Lord Bacon, can have proved attractive even to so studious a stripling. It is more important to observe that he was almost entirely debarred from a class of books, which have subsequently become the delight of all youthful readers. As yet, there was no Robinson Crusoe or Vicar of Wakefield: no Goldsmith had drawn up popular abridgments of Greek or Roman story: Bunyan had not then

dreamed of Christian's Pilgrimage to the celestial city, nor a Bishop collected those reliques of ancient poetry, which to an ear like Milton's would have sounded with trumpet-tones. For his imaginative appetite he was therefore dependent on such solid meat as Spenser, Sydney, Du Bartas, and the Tasso of Fairfax supplied: and perhaps he may have been a gainer by this comparatively spare diet, since we are persuaded that nothing so effectually deadens the imagination of children as the generality of books, which in our days are written especially for their use.

The trophies of the schoolboy are seldom remembered long after they are won, but the 'juvenilia' of Milton, and perhaps of Cowley, are still occasionally read with pleasure. Milton, according to Aubrey, had been a poet from the age of ten. Of his boyish preludes in versification, however, only two remain, being approved by his maturer judgment, and published by him in later life with the intimation that they were written when he was 'fifteen years old,' i. e. in 1624, his last year at St. Paul's School. His master, Gill, was an accomplished English as well as Latin scholar, and seems to have early directed his pupil's attention to the pure and undefiled sources of his native tongue. In an appendix to his 'Logonomia Anglica,' he exemplifies the tropes and figures of speech by citations from Spenser and Samuel Daniel, and in his chapter on 'Prosody' shows his familiarity with Chaucer. Under such an instructor it is not surprising that the earliest known samples of Milton's verse should be in his native language. More than fifty ears afterwards John Dryden gave to our ten syllable measure its true compactness and resonance; and although Pope rendered its harmony more exact, he also made it, at least in his moral poems, more monotonous. But in Milton's sixteenth year there was scarcely any model extant of this noble, and now almost obsolete metre. Spenser wrote a short poem or two in it with success, but he employed it only on elegiac or satirical topics, and reserved for his chivalrous poem the stanza which bears his name. Shakspeare takes short flights only in the heroic measure, long enough, indeed, to show that had it suited his purpose neither Dryden nor Pope would have needed to improve or organise its structure; whereas Ben Jonson, who employed it liberally in his 'Underwoods and Epigrams,' is a 'mere cobbler in respect of 'a fine workman' in the ten syllable line. He seldom writes four good verses consecutively; and though they betray labour, they are not to be read with ease. Milton's paraphrase of the 114th Psalm displays extraordinary skill, especially when the

age of the writer is considered, in an art then infant, and goes far to disprove Pope's remark that 'he would have written '"Paradise Lost" in rhyme — if he could.' He was much more successful, however, in his octo-syllabic version of the 136th Psalm. Here we have plainly Hermes exulting in his new invented toy, the tortoise-shell lyre. The commentators who have traced the ample stream of Miltonic verse to its sources, find in these paraphrases rhymes, images, and turns of expression taken from Spenser, Sylvester, Drayton, Chaucer, Fairfax, and Buchanan. But the feeders of the Orinoco and the Amazon are themselves considerable rivers; and the boy-poet's adoption of the diction of his sires or brethren in the craft, displays, at so early an age, unusual reading, a manly, if not a mature judgment, and an ear exquisitely alive to the melodies of his native tongue.

Gibbon describes himself as taking with him to Oxford 'a 'stock of erudition that might have puzzled a doctor, and a 'degree of ignorance of which a schoolboy would have been 'ashamed.' Milton probably had nothing to be ashamed of on the one score, and much to boast of on the other, when he went to Christ's College, Cambridge. His diligence had been exemplary, his advantages great, and the foundations of his grave and meditative yet aspiring character, were not less solid than those of his learning and liberal arts. In his controversial writings he often has occasion to defend his youthful life and conversation, because they were often assailed. In all cases, whether it were his university career, or his deportment and associates during his travels, he loftily maintains the purity of his life, and calmly challenges inquiry. No speck of self-indulgence, much less of vice or folly, tarnished the brightness of his shield, and that too at an epoch when license in speech and manners was scarcely accounted a blemish in the young. Grave, perhaps austere, he may have been, and indisposed to suffer even his superiors in age or office to dictate to him his walk in life. He had been bred up in a household from whence levity was apparently banished, and his father, like the elder Horace, may very likely have warned him against the foibles or faults of the learned, by pointing out to him how ill drunkenness became Ben Jonson, and the evil lives of many of the poets, players, scholars, and barristers, who were sealed of the tribe of Ben at the Mermaid Tavern.

We shall not revert to the old and exploded tales of Milton's misconduct at the University. Mr. Masson has very satisfactorily disproved the flogging, and rendered the rustication more than doubtful, inasmuch as Milton took his Bachelor's degree at

the usual time after matriculation. That as a freshman or junior soph he and the college authorities were at variance, and that they may have marked their displeasure in some way, according to the statutes made and provided, there is good reason to suppose; but we shall lose ourselves in vain conjectures if we attempt to discover what it was they resented: whether his reluctance to forego his wider range of study for the established *trivium* or *quadrivium* of the University, or whether his own puritanism or that of his father's household were offensive to orthodox nostrils. Whatever the cause of offence, it was not of long duration. It was soon discovered that the Pauline Scholar conferred honour on his college, and though he might at times avow his contempt of the lecturer or attend chapel less frequently than was required of him, yet his Latin infused a new life into the prescribed exercises, and on solemn occasions in the University-schools redounded to the credit of the Master and Fellows. Mr. Masson affords us a very learned and lively sketch of what was then considered sound learning at Cambridge. If the monks of the Cam were 'not steeped in prejudice and port,' they were still in the bondage of medieval superstition; and while they admitted as little literature as possible through the loopholes of their retreat, they totally excluded science. This, indeed, was the misfortune of the times more than the fault of the men. Bacon, if his writings were known to them at all, must have been regarded as a rash and profane innovator on the realm of Scotus and Aquinas; Kepler and Copernicus were deemed little better than dreamers; and those only were accounted worthy of the name of learned who could maintain some crabbed thesis from the *Summa Sententiarum*, reckon up the dates, laws, and by-laws of the Councils of the Church, prove that Rome was the scarlet woman, or that Augustine and Cyril knew more than either Paul or James of the counsel of God. What Milton himself thought in later life of patristic theology and scholastic learning we know; and we may easily suppose that his indifference or aversion to them, when weighed in the balance against the pure milk or strong meat of the Gospels and Epistles, was already germinating, and may even have led him to the avowal of opinions that shocked Dr. Thomas Bainbrigge, then Master, and Mr. William Chappell, then Tutor of Christ's College. So far as the curtain which conceals the college life of Milton can be raised, it has been uplifted by Mr. Masson. He has introduced all his remarkable contemporaries at Cambridge, and some who scarcely merit the pains bestowed upon them. Scanty indeed is the harvest which this diligent collector of trifles hitherto inconsidered has been able to garner. Of

Milton's personal beauty there is a constant tradition. He was called the 'Lady of his College,' but the name implies anything rather than effeminacy. He has himself told us that, as a youth, he was expert in manly exercises, deeming himself a match for anyone with the sword, which he daily practised; and from his epitaph on Hobson, London and Cambridge carrier and livery-stable keeper, we may infer that he occasionally rode on horseback. We are informed also by very credible tradition that 'his deportment was affable, his gait erect and manly, be-'speaking courage and undauntedness.' As respects the character of his beauty, Aubrey comes once more to our aid. 'He was 'scarce so tall as I am,' to which lucid information he obligingly adds in a marginal note, '*Qu. Quot* feet am I high?' '*Resp.* 'Of middle stature.' So we must assume—*ὅιοι νῦν βροτοί εἰσι*—that Milton was a little under middle height. 'He had light 'auburn hair,' continues our invaluable gossip; 'his complexion 'exceedingly fair' (Milton speaks of himself as ruddy); 'oval 'face; his eye a dark grey.' Of the blending in his countenance of feminine beauty with manly dignity, 'we have some 'means,' says his latest biographer, 'of judging for ourselves 'in a yet extant portrait of him, taken while he was still at 'Cambridge,' and forming a pendant to the picture of him (supposed to be by Cornelius Jansen) 'when a boy of ten.' Of these portraits the authenticity 'seems positively guaranteed,' and the earlier of them contains the promise of that peculiar beauty which the later one represents as fulfilled. A more perfect emblem of pure and ingenuous English youth than the portrait of Milton at College there can scarcely be; nor was the original likely to undervalue such external graces as Providence endowed him with. In all his poems and in much of his prose are frequent and earnest yearnings for the *τὸ καλόν*—physical no less than moral perfection. Even his fallen angels retain traces of their original beauty, while every good and every perfect gift of the Creator is arrayed by him in the liveliest colours and delineated with the loftiest and most varied eloquence. Milton, indeed, was too sound a Platonist to be indifferent to either personal or intellectual beauty. Like his master, 'the sage and serious Spenser,' he deemed the former a fitting casket for the enshrined jewel.

> 'For every spirit as it is more pure
> And hath in it the more of heavenly light,
> So it the fairer body doth procure
> To habit in, and it more fairly dight
> With cheerful grace and amiable sight.
> For of the soul the body form doth take:
> For soul is form and doth the body make.'

It is perhaps an inevitable, but it is not therefore the less a serious disadvantage in university life, that there is so wide a gulf between its generations. Masters, fellows, and tutors are seldom brought in contact with undergraduates, except in the way of instruction, reproof, or correction. They meet in chapel, hall, and lecture-room, but their intercourse seldom extends beyond these official places of common resort; and many a youth quits college for ever without having exchanged three words in as many years with those who have had him under their charge. Yet could this interval be bridged over by occasional society, we are persuaded that authority would suffer little, and obedience would gain much. Much as the wisdom of age can impart, the sallies of youth can also teach something in turn; nor have the Athenians bequeathed to posterity a more instructive lesson than that which is conveyed in the familiar converse of Socrates with the young men of his time. While Milton was keeping his terms at Christ's College, there was at least one among its fellows who might, but for the difference of their ages, have reconciled him earlier to discipline, and in requital have benefited by the converse of the thoughtful and learned youth. Joseph Mede, when Milton came to reside at Cambridge, was in his forty-ninth year, and accordingly, to an undergraduate of seventeen, must have appeared as one well stricken in years. He had then been twenty-three years an inmate of the college, whose quiet and opportunities for study he loved so well that no offers of preferment — not even Archbishop Usher's offer of the Provostship of Trinity College, Dublin — could lure him from his Fellow's chambers, or as he himself called them 'his cell.' He was a scholar, a ripe and good one, and his studies had extended to regions lying far beyond the University pale. One of his biographers, quoted by Mr. Masson, says that Mede was 'known in the University as 'an acute logician, an accurate philosopher, a skilful mathema-'tician, an excellent anatomist, a great philologer, a master of 'many languages, and a good proficient in the studies of history 'and chronology.' Like many imaginative men, he delighted in searching the darker places of Scripture, and his 'Clavis 'Apocalyptica' is still in high repute with all who believe that the book of Revelation is a perpetually unfolding scroll inscribed with the destinies of nations or their rulers, even to the last syllable of recorded time. But although Mede had long been settled in his faith in 1625, he had at one time been troubled by sceptical doubts, and his method of instruction bore a close resemblance to the negative process of the Platonic Socrates. With his pupils his mornings were devoted to posi-

tive instructions in 'Humanity, Logic, and Philosophy;' but in the evenings they all came to his chambers to be examined conversationally in what they had read during the day. The first question which he then used to propound to them, each in his order, was 'Quid dubitas?' thinking rightly that 'granters 'of propositions' understand little of the matter proposed. He then resolved their doubts, and dismissed them to their lodgings, 'previously recommending them and their studies to 'God's protection and blessing.' Nor were these all Mede's gifts. He was an active botanist—his recreation being walking in the fields around Cambridge, and examining and discoursing about the herbs, flowers, and trees, native or adopted, in that region of chalk, clay, and marsh. And besides all this, Mede was a diligent letter-writer, an indefatigable collector of news, and in fact an arrant gossip. His epistles, some published by Sir Henry Ellis, others printed by Mr. Masson for the first time, and others still in manuscript, contain most graphic accounts of men and things during the reign of James I., and until the thirteenth year (1638) of that of Charles. 'When to all these recommendations,' says Mr. Masson, 'we 'add that Mede was a very benevolent man, with a kind word 'for all the young scholars, not even excepting the dandy 'Fellow-commoners, whom he called the "University tulips," 'it may be imagined how popular he was, and what a blank 'was caused in Cambridge by his death.' It would be pleasant to know for certain that this learned and agile-minded senior had asked Milton 'quid dubitas?' had shown him the orchidæ in Maddingley meadows, had discussed with him the merits of Ben Jonson's 'Sejanus,' or 'Bacon's Advancement of Learn-'ing,' or commented on the Vision of him who in Patmos 'saw the Apocalypse and heard the warning voice.'

When Milton quitted Cambridge in 1632, he was twenty-three years and eight months old. He had gone thither with the intention of taking orders, but before he wrote himself Master of Arts this purpose was abandoned. The change has usually been ascribed to Puritanism, yet since he thrice subscribed to the religious tests imposed by the University — when he matriculated, and when he took his first and second degrees — he can hardly have entertained serious scruples against the doctrines or discipline of the Church of England. The opinions of Milton and the Miltonic household in Bread Street, had little, if anything, in common with what is now termed Dissent. In later life *his* opinions diverged widely from the Anglican creeds and articles; but with that divergence we have not now to deal. But in 1632, and for some years onward, we apprehend that the

Miltons, both sire and son, would have satisfied Archbishop Abbot and those of the clergy who thought with him in their interpretation of the formularies of belief, and in their compliance with the ritual as established by Elizabeth and James. Nor is there any reason for supposing even Episcopacy offensive to them, or that they differed on any material points from what is now called the Low Church party. Puritanism can not therefore have been in 1632 the barrier which excluded Milton from the porch of the sanctuary.

Neither can any tendency to rationalism or neology have been the cause or impediment. Milton differed almost as widely from the freedom of Chillingworth as from the bondage of Laud. He had as little sympathy with the Fratres Poloni and Socinus, as a Margaret Professor with Paulus or Strauss. He would allow liberty of speech and writing to Biddell and Hobbes on civil grounds; but in spirit he had no communion with Dathan and Abiram. He received the canon of both Testaments without a doubt of their plenary inspiration, nor, Arian though he were, did he consent with Newton or Locke in their views of the creed of Athanasius. The constitution of his mind was nearer akin to faith than doubt: he was a Hebrew in soul; the records of the Chosen People were to him one and indivisible, and apart as the heavens from the earth from profane criticism or ordinary exposition. Their sacred songs could not be tried by the canons of Aristotle; the wisdom of their prophets was as far above the wisdom of Plato, as the speculations of the first Academy were above the trivial questions of the wordiest sophist.

We must seek, therefore, some external causes for Milton's determination against the Church as a profession. They are to be found in the history of the period between the years 1630 and 1640. In a word, his reluctance and refusal may be more probably ascribed to the Arminian tendencies of the Church, and to the power which Laud and the prelatical party in it for a time exercised and abused.

The ecclesiastical policy of Laud is so fully, and, in our opinion, so fairly, described by Mr. Masson, that we cannot do better than refer the reader to the chapter in which he treats of it. It is only incumbent on us to point out briefly the measures by which Laud opened wider the existing rent in the Church. It had been ever the policy of the first reformers and of the more judicious of their successors, to render the articles and canons as comprehensive as possible; to insist on such ceremonies only as they deemed indispensable for the decency of public worship, and to leave all non-essential points of faith or

practice undefined, or at least laxly and ambiguously worded. From this wholesome regimen Elizabeth and her spiritual advisers had seldom departed; and when they did so, they managed to cast a political veil over their spiritual edicts. The Romanists, it was urged, were fined or executed as traitors to the queen's person; the sectaries were sent to gaol as disturbers of the public peace. Her successor, never so happy as when he sat in judgment on questions of words and names, irritated the Puritans on the mint and cummin of difference, yet being in accord with them on the five points of Calvinism, and having done them good service at the synod of Dort, he avoided any serious explosion. In Archbishop Abbot the king possessed an honest and sagacious counsellor, and the Church a steady and moderate pilot. Unfortunately, however, for both, Abbot's influence was on the decline and Laud's in the ascendant, even before James died; and the balance, which the Lord Keeper Williams could have held evenly, was disturbed by his feud with Buckingham. Laud, therefore, when he took his seat at the privy council table in 1628, found the space for his long-meditated innovations nearly clear. Mr. Masson has carefully furnished us with the statistics of the Anglican Church at this period, and traced the open or the insidious steps by which the restless metropolitan proceeded to exalt the Arminian party and to humble and exclude the Puritans. Whatsoever was most offensive to the latter, whether it were suppression of their favourite doctrines, or encouragement of what they regarded as idle and idolatrous ceremonies, was insisted upon by him. Their Christian liberty must be sacrificed to uniformity in doctrine and discipline; their lecturers were silenced; the livings which their own money had purchased, so that a godly ministry might have bread to eat, were conferred on preachers whom they esteemed as sleeping dogs, if not as ravening wolves. The cross in baptism, the surplice, kneeling at the communion table, the observations of days and meats, and of symbols and gestures in worship, were again enforced. The priesthood was elevated, the elders and body of the congregation were put aside; and though Laud had written and continued to speak against Rome, it was difficult to give him credit for sincerity, or to doubt that Lambeth and the Vatican were soon to blend, or at least to osculate, with each other. Of the harsher features of Laud's ecclesiastical rule, the pillorying, scourging, branding, fining, and banishing of recusants, it is unnecessary to speak; every tyro in history is aware that ears were insecure in those days, and that capital letters were very liberally stamped on the shoulders and foreheads of those who lacked friends or full

purses. We may now perhaps safely infer that it was Laudism, and not Puritanism, which determined Milton against taking orders, and by the light of the preceding comment explain the following passage from his pamphlet on 'The Reason of Church 'Government:'—

'The Church, to whose service, by the intention of my parents and friends, I was destined of a child, and in mine own resolutions, till coming to some maturity of years, and perceiving what tyranny had invaded in the Church, — that he who would take orders must subscribe slave, and take an oath withal, which unless he took with a conscience that would retch, he must either straight perjure or split his faith, — I thought it better to prefer a blameless silence before the sacred office of speaking, bought and begun with servitude and forswearing. Howsoever, thus church-ousted by the prelates, hence may appear the right I have to meddle in these matters as before the necessity and constraint appeared.'

Popular with those who knew him best, learned by universal consent, and versed in arts which his Alma Mater did not cherish, Milton in his twenty-fourth year stood on the threshold of active life with as fair prospects of success in its inevitable battle, as usually present themselves to the graduated scholar. He was even then observed by many observers, but he was not content with his own achievements. The armour in which his spirit would array itself was not yet forged; he would go forth with the gift of Vulcan, or he would yet abide in his tent by the sea-shore. The few essays which he had made in the eloquence of prose or rhyme might have proved him stronger than his fellows; but, as compared with the weapons reserved for him in the tabernacle, they were the shepherd's sling and smooth stones from the brook. Years of studious seclusion, and 'a 'ceaseless round of study and reading,' were in his opinion still needed; and here again circumstances seconded his wish. The smoke, the river, even the gains of London, were now abandoned by the aged and weary scrivener; the house in Bread Street was exchanged for a quiet dwelling in the village of Horton, in Buckinghamshire, at whose door no early client knocked, and whose rooms were free from clerks, messengers, and porters. A cloud may at times have passed over the brow of the elder Milton when he contrasted his own busy and lucrative manhood with the studious and, in one sense, unprofitable leisure of his son. But his faith was firm, his love was strong, and hope deferred did not render his heart sick. In the severe virtues, the incessant studies, and the occasional proofs of power exhibited by his son, the pious father may have discerned the inward promptings of a superior nature, and the secret guiding

of a directing Providence. The aged Eli acquiesced in the apparent destiny of his young Samuel, and the poet may but have expressed the thought of his sire when he wrote the line 'They also serve who only stand and wait.'

Seged, prince of Ethiopia, in Johnson's instructive apologue, signally failed in his project of being perfectly happy for one entire day; and it would be difficult, not to say impossible, for any man, poor or rich, to name, so as to satisfy the curious in felicity, the happiest day, or even week, in his life. For mere content, complacency, or even an unusual degree of pleasurable emotion will not satisfy the conditions of the problem. Extraordinary happiness should have a permanent and communicative character of its own, so that it shall not merely gild the present hours, but transmit its lustre to the future. If, however, it be asked which was the happiest period in the life of Milton, we have no hesitation in fixing it between the epoch of his quitting Cambridge and that of his return from the Continent. That his school days were unhappy, his delight in his tasks and the fact that he was not severed from his home, forbid us to suppose. But for the full enjoyment of school a temperament like that of Tom Browne is required; and we have every reason to imagine Milton a quiet and studious lad, who, like Gray, read Virgil in his play-hours, and contemplated from a corner of the play-ground the sports in which he rarely partook. His, therefore, was not the 'certa-minis ardor' that renders school a delightful retrospect to the mature Nimrods of Leicestershire, or to the hale country gentleman who divides the year between preserving and destroying game. Neither, as we have seen, was his University career without alloy; although he quitted Cambridge with as much honour as the University then bestowed, and his equals and seniors alike regretted his departure, and looked forward to his shedding a yet higher lustre on Christ's College than his exercises, brilliant and promising as they were, had reflected on it. It was probably during this happy interval between enforced studies and public duties that Milton — 'procul urbano strepitu, secessibus altis— 'Abductus'— stored up in his memory the innumerable passages from the ancient and Italian classics, as well as from his own 'sage and serious Spenser,' which he afterwards transfused with such skill and prodigality into 'Paradise Lost.' Unconsciously, in his earnest pursuit of truth and beauty at this period, he was laying up for himself treasures that, next to religion, strengthened and cheered his soul in dangers and in darkness. Jeremy Taylor must, about the same time, have been simi-

larly employed in hoarding in his mind that ready and diversified learning with which he embellished the pages of his 'Holy Living and Dying,' and his 'Liberty of Prophesying.' For he too, although for a different reason, was long dependent on his recollections, since the flood of civil war swept him away from his library at Uppingham into the tumult of a camp, and the privations of a poor estate. The banished and the blind scholar alike 'omnia secum sua portabant.' Of the two, the latter and the more deeply afflicted made the more legitimate use of his hived knowledge. Taylor does not always take the trouble to remint what he had levied; whereas Milton universally sets his own image and superscription upon what he borrowed from the coffers of Homer, Virgil, 'the Etruscan 'three,' or the lofty grave tragedians of Athens.

'When I expressed my astonishment at the extent of his 'reading, Mr. Gray replied, "Why should you be surprised, for 'I do nothing else." He said, he knew by experience how much 'might be done by a person who did not fling away his time on 'middling and inferior authors, and read with method.' Mr. Nichol's account of the mode in which Gray read is scarcely less applicable to Milton at this period of his life. There can be no doubt that he read both *multum* and *multa*, combining accurate scholarship, as his notes on Euripides prove, with that wide circumference of knowledge, which both his prose and rhyme exhibit. The scheme of education which he drew up in later years for Mr. Samuel Hartlib bears all the marks of counsel derived from experience. It provides for scientific no less than literary culture, and if in astronomy Milton adhered to the Ptolemaic system, and knew less than a boarding school girl at the present time of chemistry or geology, the defect was not his own but his instructors, oral or silent. The fact remains that, in an age when chemists were suspected of alchemy and astronomers usually cast nativities, he recognised the claims of science to be part and parcel of a right institution. The tardiness, we might almost say the coyness, of Milton in publishing his early poetry stands in striking contrast to the haste with which the common herd of writers hurry their crudities to the press. Unless we impute to him a feeble judgment, we cannot fancy him ignorant of the worth of what he had written. He was not indeed dependent on his ink-horn for a livelihood. He did not marry until he had nearly attained middle-life, and as an inmate of his father's house he was exempt from family cares. Yet, even where the brain is not coined for ducats the desire to rush into print may be strong; and the applause of a narrow

circle of friends often ministers to immature authorship. That Milton's friends had expressed their surprise at his indifference to fame is plain from the excuses in his letters on this point. He pleads that the path of life was not yet clear before him at a time when most men have chosen their profession, or that he was still forging his armour, at an age when his college mates were already in the heat of the conflict. We suspect, however, that these were only specious pretexts: and the real cause of his long debate with himself upon the question of authorship to have been the high ideal of composition which he had set before him. He entertained a profound sense of the privileges and duties of literature: he had not attained to his own view of the τὸ πρέπον: he was nourishing this diffidence by perpetual study of the best authors: and till he felt himself their equal he would keep silent. In such feelings he had few partners; and were his example generally followed, the world had wanted many an idle song, greatly to its own advantage, and the general profit and ease of all who read or review.

'Comus' and the 'Arcades,' 'l'Allegro' and 'Penseroso,' may be almost said to have slipped idly from Milton's hands into the press, although upon their composition he had bestowed all his usual pains. Not even the plaudits of an audience, or the generally potent influence of rank, beauty, and intelligent sympathy, appear to have hastened the period of gestation with him. The greater of his masques—the most perfect of masques in any language—was originally anonymous: and for three years or more its authorship was a secret, except to Henry Lawes—the attendant spirit in 'Comus,' and the composer of the music for its songs—and, perhaps, to the Bridgwater family. Yet 'Comus,' as it is now called, for Milton himself prefixed no such title, was first performed in the great hall or council-chamber of Ludlow Castle, in the presence of the Lord President of the Welsh Marches, of the chief resident councillors of the Principality, and of 'as many of the rank and fashion of Ludlow and the 'vicinity' as the hall would hold. Whether the author were present and made his bow to the audience, we have no means of knowing; but it is certain that the success of his piece did not stimulate him to print it immediately. Indeed, in the end, Lawes, and not Milton, published 'Comus,' with the author's sanction and emendations, on his own account. He had been so often applied to for copies of the songs or of the entire poem, that he found the manuscript a troublesome possession, and rid himself of these importunities for ever by printing it in a small quarto pamphlet of thirty-five pages. The history of the Arcades, composed for the amusement of the same noble family,

is very similar: the monody of 'Lycidas'* was originally printed, or rather buried, in a volume of commemorative verses in Greek, Latin, and English, 'To the memorie of Mr. Edward 'King;' while the 'Ode on the Death of a Fair Infant,' 'The 'Hymn on the Nativity,' and 'l'Allegro' and 'Penseroso,' reposed for years in the author's desk, or were, at most, imparted to a few friends at Horton, or during Milton's occasional visits to London.

Yet to all who were permitted to read or hear these firstlings of his imagination, and even to those who saw extracts from them at second hand, it must have been evident that a poet of loftier and purer vein than Jonson, Fletcher, Herrick, Waller, or Carew, had appeared on the eastern horizon, and who, as his day advanced, would 'flame in the forehead of the sky,' beside the foremost constellations of English literature. He belonged sufficiently to his age to enlist and ensure its sympathies, yet he was formed in a different school from his contemporaries. With fancy and with melody equal to Fletcher's, Milton maintained a steadier and more secure flight in the realm of imagination: with classical learning equal to Jonson's, he combined grace and judgment akin to that of the ancients, which Jonson never quite attained. Neither the 'Sad Shepherd,' of the one, nor the 'Faithful Shepherdess,' of the other, possess the elegance and dignity of Comus. One element, indeed, of the poetic mind was less apparent in Milton than in Herrick, Carew, Habington, or Suckling. In their erotic verses they raised a mortal to the skies, and invested their Castaras and Julias with the attributes of the Petrarchan Laura, or with the yet holier and higher virtues of the canonised Beatrice. Whereas love, as portrayed by Milton in his earlier poems, has few vestiges of the presence of an earthly passion, and deals with such general qualities of grace, beauty, and purity, as Plato would have applauded,

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* The Editor of the Camden Society volume remarks, that 'Fortunate it was for Milton that the censor (of the press) was not 'sufficiently acute to discover, under the allegory of a wolf, the 'allusion to Archbishop Laud, who in the "Lycidas," which was 'published at this very time [October, 1628], is clearly warned of 'his approaching fate:

> '"Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing fed:
> But that two-handed engine at the door
> Stands ready to smite once and smite no more;"

'else he would certainly not have experienced more leniency than 'his contemporaries.'

while he would have presented the author, poet though he were, with the freedom of his republic.

Milton has himself chronicled the range and direction of his studies during his residence at Horton. Greek, rather than Latin writers, seem now to have attracted him, perhaps because he had discovered that his teachers at St. Paul's School and Cambridge were better skilled in the latter than the former language. At the present moment, the relation of these accomplishments, is nearly reversed. The Greek scholarship of our universities is very superior to the Latin, although Dr. Donaldson, Dr. Woodham, and a few others, are second to none, either now or formerly, in their power of writing in the language of Rome. We cannot doubt that Milton, in his solitary and self-imposed studies, followed a rigorous method, or that, like Gibbon, he always read with a pen in his hand. To indulge in that desultory idleness, which permits itself to rove from book to book, without some strong connecting link to bind them together, would have been inconsistent with his sense of the responsibility of intrusted talents. Johnson discredited the assertion, that in five years, Milton read over the Greek and Latin writers from their Ionian cradle to their Byzantine tomb. But, although capable of great intellectual efforts at times, Johnson was himself a very irregular reader, and confessed that there were only two or three books which he had ever perused from beginning to end. In our opinion, there is nothing incredible in the achievement. In five years, an earnest workman will perform tasks which astound the idle and the desultory, but which scarcely oppress or seem extraordinary to the methodical. Absorbed as Sir William Jones was by his professional and Oriental studies, he yearly perused the entire works of Cicero. Joseph Scaliger has told us (perhaps we should take his words with a few qualifying grains) that he read through Homer, for the first time, in a fortnight, and the Corpus Poetarum Græcorum in three months; and Wyttenbach completed his first perusal of Athenæus in fourteen days. That Milton read with a pen in his hand, is obvious from his annotations on Euripides, Lycophron, and Aratus, the two latter authors proving also, that neither dry matter nor crabbed language turned him from his course. But his diligence was not confined to Greek alone. The classics of modern Italy were diligently studied by him, and probably at this period, since at school and college he could scarcely have found time for more than occasional glances at Dante and Ariosto. Neither did he neglect the earlier or the contemporary writers of his own country, or, if we may judge by his practice in later life, his

daily portion of Hebrew or Chaldee. Mr. Masson has hardly dwelt with emphasis enough upon the few disturbing influences of that day, as regarded the vocation of the scholar. A student of the 19th century would linger behind his time, and forego much indispensable knowledge, were he to abjure newspapers and periodical literature. For Milton, however, few of these distracting causes existed. There was in his days less running to and fro on the earth in quest of knowledge: if men travelled, it was usually on account of business or in search of adventures; and people with lean purses scarcely journeyed at all. As yet, watering-places were not, and a trip to 'the Bath,' as it was called, was regarded as tantamount to a short reprieve from a death-warrant. A scholar, therefore, during a quinquennium of repose, and earnest in the work he had set himself to do, might possibly, if not indeed easily, 'peruse the Greek authors to the 'time when they ceased to be Greeks,' and yet leave a margin for the muses of the Arno and the Avon. Milton's excursions from Horton were principally to London, either for the purpose of buying books, or of learning something new in mathematics or music, sciences 'in which,' he says, 'he then delighted.' We are disposed, therefore, to accept literally all that he has told us of his studies at this period; and the more so, because afterwards tuition, controversy, and finally, blindness, must have proved grave impediments to the acquisition of the deep and various knowledge displayed in his polemical, historical, and poetical works.

Last scene of all in the first volume of this biography describes Milton on his travels, with a preface of many pages containing the general history of Europe at the time. The preface we shall omit, for the reason which has caused us to pass over many other digressions of the author. We do not see that Milton individually was much affected by the Thirty years' war. He addressed, indeed, a few Latin verses to Queen Christina ('Bellipotens 'Virgo, septem regina trionum'), daughter of the great Gustavus; and doubtless, being a sound Protestant, exulted as he watched the Swedish hero rolling back the tide of war from the Baltic to the Danube. Pious compliance with his mother's wishes probably retarded for some time his visit to the Continent; and perhaps, as she died on the 3rd of April, 1637, her declining health may have been the obstacle to his journey. But within six weeks after her death he obtained his surviving parent's sanction to visit the lands of which he had read so much; and it is an additional proof of the liberal temper of the elder Milton, that he afforded his son a servant to attend him and ample provision for his journey. An excellent man in all

respects was this 'John the elder.' His diligent hand had made him rich; but riches did not dull the edge of his sympathies or render him exacting. And it should be remembered that the poet was now in his thirty-first year, yet hitherto he had not earned a penny for himself even by literature, though he had passed the age when ordinary fathers expect their sons to shift for themselves, especially if they have talents to put money in their purse.

Milton arrived in Paris late in April or early in May, 1638. Mr. Masson, a minute biographer, naturally regrets that we can never know how much he was imposed upon by French Bonifaces, or whether his servant mourned for the beef and beer of England. It is unfortunate, too, that a poet who described the palace of the infernal king so particularly, should be quite dumb about 'the Louvre, the Palais Royal, and the new palace of 'the Luxembourg.' But his biographer expects too much. It is one man's gift to write 'Comus,' and another to put together Fynes Morryson's Itinerary. Tom Coryat would hardly have soared to the height of the 'Arcades'; and Milton did not possess the microscopic eye of Tom Coryat. So all we learn from the incommunicative, if not unobservant, traveller is that 'on the strength of good letters of introduction from Sir Henry 'Wotton and others,' he presented himself to 'the most noble 'John Scudamore, Viscount Sligo, Ambassador of King Charles, 'and was by him right courteously received.' Paris at that time, it has been suggested by more than one of Milton's biographers, presented very little to interest a traveller fraught with associations of the Arno and the Tiber. It may have been so, for the more brilliant scenes of Parisian history were yet behind the curtain, and most of the structures and monuments that now adorn her still slumbered in the quarry. Neither was the city, so emphatically as it is now, and has always been since the reign of Louis XIV., the capital of France. In architectural and archæological interest it was surpassed by Rheims and Dijon; while the Huguenot capital Rochelle equalled it in political importance. Yet the comparative obscurity of Paris at this period may not have been the only reason for Milton's brief sojourn within its walls. The stain of blood was on its streets and pavements in no ordinary degree. A generation and a half only had passed away since the Bartholomew massacre and the dark and midnight murders of Catherine and her antagonists, the Cardinal and Duke of Guise. Such horrors would dwell freshly in the memory of an English Protestant, whose grandfather was contemporary with Charles of Valois and the Great Armada. From Paris also had come a Queen of England who

was never popular in her adopted country, and who in the year 1638 was daily becoming more odious to all English Puritans. For if Laud were apparently steering the Anglican Church towards the rock of St. Peter's, Henrietta Maria appeared like a beacon on its summit, shedding by her secret wiles or her unconcealed Romanism baleful rays on those who had kept and fought for the truth. Milton's reception at Paris was, however, gratifying enough to him. He saw Grotius, then resident there for Christina of Sweden; and Edward Phillips says that the great Arminian champion and exile 'took his visit kindly, and 'gave him entertainment suitable to his worth and the high com-'mendations he had heard of him.' Yet, could their conversation be reported, it would probably afford little to interest us. The difference in the age and rank of the parties must have imposed restraint on either side; and perhaps Euripides, whom they both fondly cherished, furnished the topic of discourse rather than 'what the Swede or what the French intended' in religion or politics.

At Florence, for the intermediate stages of his journey present nothing for remark, Milton remained, during his first visit, two months. At this point we are grateful to Mr. Masson for his pains in elucidating the history of Italian learning and literature at that time. For there, as Milton himself tells us, he 'contracted the acquaintance of many truly noble and learned 'men, whose private academies also' he 'assiduously attended.' Florence, although no longer the city of free burghers or of merchant princes, was still the most literary city in Italy. The associates of the young English poet were, according to his own report, Jacopo Gaddi, Carlo Dati, Frescobaldi, Coltellini, Buommattei, Antonio Malatesti, and others. Mr. Masson has done much to redeem these names from the obscurity of 'fortisque 'Gyas fortisque Cloanthus,' and his account of the Florentine scholars and academies is one of the most graceful and instructive sections in his volume. Milton speedily obtained great popularity in Italy; and was perhaps mainly indebted for it to the wonder which his accomplishments excited among the learned and accomplished Florentines. Englishmen seldom take the trouble to render themselves good linguists for the purpose of winning the favour of their foreign hosts. Whether from indolence, pride, or diffidence, or a combination of them all, they rarely make themselves masters of the key to the heart of a people, especially one so justly proud of their language as the Italians. That envoys and their secretaries, or merchants and their agents, should be able to converse readily in Tuscan, was neither unusual nor meritorious; but that an English gentleman

travelling for his own pleasure should not merely speak fluently in general company, but should also, as presently appeared, have mastered many of the subtleties of the language, and not only talk, but write passable verses in it, was a most unwonted phenomenon. It was a homage to the 'genius loci' that kindled universal gratitude and applause in all hearers. Nor was this the only tribute which Milton paid to Italian glory. Next to the language of Dante and Tasso, the Florentines held in esteem that of Virgil and Cicero, and almost put on a level with the Gerusalemme, the Latin verses of Sadolet and Fracastorius. In Latin, Milton's proficiency was even more conspicuous than in Italian. His college declamations, which he touched up for the academicians, sounded in Italian ears like fragments of Tully, and his Latin verses were scarcely inferior in grace and purity to the Elegia and Tristia of the poet of Sulmo. Here was a new 'Ennius bilinguis,' a barbarian of the North versed in Cisalpine arts, one worthy of admission into any academy, — poet, musician, critic, orator, — perfect in all things excepting his faith! Milton's visit to Galileo, then a prisoner of the Inquisition, has often been celebrated, but never more genially than by his present biographer. Insensibly to either, their interview was typical of the time at which they met and discoursed: the Florentine had laid his axe to the root of fallacious science; the Englishman would shortly aid with his pen the strong arms of those who were to strike down the divine right of kings. The one was suffering, the other was eventually to suffer, in the cause of freedom and truth: both attained an everlasting renown, and at that brief interview their names, until that moment so far apart from each other, were blended inseparably. The ruins of ancient Rome were more congenial to Milton's spirit than the mingled splendour and meanness of the ecclesiastical capital of Christendom. In the one he beheld the shadow of republican greatness, the substance of which England might one day emulate could she but substitute an enlightened senate, and a free assembly of the people, for her weak king and her silenced parliament. In the other he looked upon a forcible and fraudulent invasion of the liberties of a Christian people, more intolerable to be borne than the yoke of the Jewish sanhedrin, or the traditions of the Rabbinical schools. Yet his visit to Rome was made at a period of great literary activity, affording a painful contrast with the supine and sensual Rome of the nineteenth century. Urban the Eighth and his cardinals were zealous and discriminating patrons of learning and genius, and would gladly have showered honours on the Transalpine poet, had he been as orthodox as he

was accomplished. Again as at Florence there was an interchange of complimentary verses, in which the Italians had the fortune of Diomed in his barter of arms with Glaucus. At Rome, Milton's most valuable acquaintance seems to have been the keeper of the Vatican Library, Lucas Holsten, who could converse on English affairs, since he had been three years at Oxford, and on Greek literature, since he was an excellent scholar and editor. But perhaps the most agreeable circumstance of his visit was the singing of Leonora Baroni, who, with her mother Adriana, and her sister Catarina, 'made such 'a musical triad, as moved Italy to very madness wherever they 'went.' The impression made upon Milton by the beauty and voice of Leonora, he has recorded in three short Latin poems; and it is interesting to contemplate the handsome Puritan enthralled by a southern Jenny Lind.

If there were a work on the felicities, as there is on the calamities of literature, Manso, Marquis of Villa, would claim a high place in it, at least if companionship with men of genius be an element of happiness. Manso, in his youth, had been the friend of Tasso and Marini; and now in advanced age he welcomed one poet more, destined to surpass them both in the melody and sublimity of his verse. Milton repaid the hospitality and the praises of Manso in a Latin epistle, of which Mæcenas himself might have been justly proud. It is remarkable that even the courtly Lord of Villa thought himself obliged to hint at the English traveller's freedom of speech on matters of faith. Milton, indeed, did not attempt to make converts, but he resented or replied to all attacks or insinuations against his own faith with a manly openness that alarmed his friends and enraged the Jesuits. His, indeed, was not a temper to comply easily with Sir Henry Wotton's prudential saw, '*pensieri stretti—volto* '*sciolto*,' and he was more than once warned that he was making Italy too hot to hold him. Could its rulers have looked forward only two years, they would probably not have limited their anger to empty threats. Samson was in the toils, but the Philistines knew it not. He came forth from these real or imaginary perils unscathed, and years afterwards was enabled to revert to his foreign journey in the following noble passage, with which Mr. Masson appropriately closes his volume.

'I again take God to witness that in all those places, where so many things are considered lawful, I lived sound and untouched from all profligacy and vice, having this thought perpetually with me, that though I might escape the eyes of men, I certainly could not the eyes of God.'

With his return to England closes for ever the repose of

Milton's life. He had not intended that Naples should be the term of his journey southward. He had proposed to visit Sicily and Greece. He has himself told us why he thus curtailed his travels, and, though Johnson deemed his change of purpose deserving a sneer, it at least stands in honourable contrast with the selfish conduct of the learned virtuoso Lord Arundel, who quitted his native land at the first muttering of the storm. 'While I was desirous,' he says, 'to cross into Sicily and 'Greece, the sad news of civil war coming from England called 'me back; for I considered it disgraceful that while my fellow-'countrymen were fighting at home for liberty, I should be 'travelling abroad at ease for intellectual purposes.' Nearly three years indeed elapsed between Milton's actual return to England in 1639, and the raising of the standard at Nottingham in the autumn of 1642. But when he received the letter which led to his change of purpose, the signs of the times were unmistakeable; the patience of England was nearly worn out, and Scotland was in open rebellion. It was therefore the use of the pen rather than of the sword which Milton had in view, when he spoke of his 'countrymen fighting at home for freedom.' In either case the barriers of his seclusion were now broken down. Hitherto he had felt but little of the fever and the fret, the burden and the contradiction, of life. He had been hitherto exempt, in a remarkable degree, from those tasks and cares which the world lays on her darling, as well as on her less favoured sons. Henceforward, like the common parents of mankind, he must go forth into the wilderness and till the ground for himself, uncertain whether it would yield him thorns and thistles, or fruit pleasant to sight and good for food. His retired leisure had reached its bourne; and though no 'flaming 'brand' or 'dreadful faces' barred access to his 'suburban 'retreat,' Horton was impenetrably sealed against him. His reading must now become, in some measure, the reminiscence of former delights. The shady recesses of philosophy must be invaded by crude or thorny theological debate, 'the laureate 'fraternity of poets' give place to patristic and scholastic disputants. And in these controversies, though he poured into them golden streams of eloquence, and learning little inferior to that of Hooker or Taylor, he admits that he had the use of 'his left hand only.' His true home was on Horeb or Sinai, on the heights of Parnassus, or beside the pleasant streams of Aganippe; but he was constrained to dwell for many tedious years in Mesech, and to have his habitation in the tents of Kedar. A like burden lay also upon his father-land; it too had long reposed peacefully, and nurtured its strength in

silence and security. The storm began to lower; the first flashes from the dark and pregnant clouds were visible on the northern horizon; rumour and doubt, fear and jealousy, secret plots and open resistance, and all the heralds of war, were rife on every side, and 'ancient citizens' were laying 'aside their 'grave beseeming ornaments to wield old partisans in hands as 'old.' Coolness was growing up between the Davids and Jonathans of those days; houses were divided against themselves; and the hour was at hand for the cruel sabre to part those who had met in peace and sat at the same tables, and to wash out in blood the memory of ancient friendship. In the year with which Mr. Masson's present volume closes, the preluding symphony of the Great Rebellion had scarcely begun. But soon after the opening of the next section of his work, the protagonists of the Long Parliament will strike down the noble quarry Wentworth, and cage or expel the meaner foxes and jackals that had so long been preying on the vitals of English liberty. And then the passion, like a chorus, will deepen; the trumpet will proclaim and the sword will plead a cause of even deeper moment than any involved in the Great Remonstrance or the Petition of Right. Meanwhile, farewell, a long farewell, so far as Milton is concerned, to cherished hopes and to congenial studies. A land bristling with pike and halbert has no ears for the remote wars of Arthur and his British knights; an age of sharp and swift vicissitudes cannot dally with Charlemagne and his peerage. Doubtless this baffling of his early projects sat heavily for a time on the poet's soul. He had been born, he thought, an age too late — he had fallen on evil days and evil tongues; nor could he, at the moment, discern that these tribulations also were a school, no less salutary in its severe discipline than the seclusion and self-tuition of his earlier days. Yet it was this stern and tedious preparation that, in the end, nerved him for his excursions into the upper, middle, and nether worlds, and enabled him, after long debating and late choosing, to leave far below him both the wanderings of Æneas and the Tale of Troy, and even to surpass the vision of the great Florentine in the universal interest and sublime mythology of his Christian Epos.

ART. III.—*The Report of the Committee of Council on Education*, 1858–9. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty.

THE probability that the Royal Commission of inquiry into the state of Education in England will soon produce a report, and the certainty that the grants of the Committee of Council, and the manner of administering them, will again be earnestly discussed, suggest the propriety of ascertaining the actual facts and figures which mainly affect this last-named branch of the matter. We shall reserve our general opinion on this important subject until the report of the Commission is before us; but we wish to offer a few brief remarks on some misapprehensions, which appear to have been widely circulated, as to the amount of popular education really required.

At the very threshold of any useful provision stands the disputed premiss, what is the actual deficiency of school instruction? It is strange that such wide disparity of opinion should exist on so simple and essential a datum.

The Lords of the Committee of Council, in their last able report to the Queen, dated 24th May 1859, state (p. xxx.) that the number of children for whom instruction may be required is probably 3,000,000, and the number of scholars in the schools actually under the inspection of the Government is 934,000. This calculation of 3,000,000 is arrived at by taking the total number of children between the ages of three and fifteen (who amounted to 4,908,696 in 1851), and eliminating those who belong to the upper and middle classes, those who are 'occupied,' 'taught at home,' or sick, and then assuming that all the remainder 'ought at this time to be in schools of the same class 'as those which are under inspection.' In other words that every working class child, not at work, taught at home, or positively disabled, ought always to be at school: for these are identical propositions. Not a single child of this number, from the age of three to fifteen, can absent itself from attendance be it but for a day, without diminishing the 3,000,000: for as the span of age extends over twelve years, so must the duration of school attendance. Each child must remain twelve years at school. We confess that this bears the aspect of an exaction, which the feelings and incomes of the parents render impracticable, which the industrial economy of the country could not endure, and the educational requirements of the poor do not need.

But Mr. Mann himself (who makes the net residue 3,663,261) only meant to describe the number of children who, in his opinion, *ought* to be at school, not those who are at school, or are likely to be there.

Yet a large party of educators appears to treat this supposition that 3,000,000 should be always at school as a postulate; and estimates have been based upon it as to the means of supplying commensurate teaching power, on the scale of 1 master to 100 scholars. Thus 'there is occupation, they say, for 30,000 'certified teachers supposing none other are employed:' there are about 6000 already; and, they add, 'we are nearly in a 'position to augment this body at the rate of 1500 per annum, 'having now almost 3000 students in training,' &c., of whom 'half may be sent out in each year as teachers,' &c.: and in 16 years the whole 30,000 might thus be supplied. Now the expense to be borne by the revenue is of course proportioned to the actual dearth of educational agencies, and the number of children still to be taught. The round sum of 800,000*l.* was voted for the year 1859, the number taught to whom grants apply being in round numbers 900,000; it is therefore clear that *if* the premisses are right, and also the statistics of the work to be done, it will, when completed, cost, according to the present system, about two and a half millions per annum. It is almost equally certain, that if these be the facts, and the prospective requirements of the case, no central Board, organised as the Committee of Council is organised, would be able to administer funds so large or powers so great.

It is therefore worth while to see how far this assumption as to the 3,000,000 children is well founded.

At present, according to every statement from experienced schoolmasters and clergymen, the maximum *average* duration of the stay of children at school, during their whole lives, is not twelve but four years *; but take it at the full amount of four years, and let us take also the widest possible range of children to whom this can apply,—namely the whole 3,000,000, together with the 1,000,000 † whom Mr. Mann deducts, as being from *occupations* naturally absent from school. But as these occupations can clearly only prevent them from going to school during the last half of their dozen years' school age, they ought to be included, at any rate in an estimate, based on the more than sufficiency of a six years' average duration of schooling. Mr. Mann himself justly says, that 'the average time among

* See note to Mr. Mann's last 'Census Report,' p. xxx.
† Ibid. p. xxiv.

'working children cannot much exceed four years.'* If so, not 1,700,000 children were actually at school in 1851, as the census reported, but only 1,333,333, that being a third part of the whole four millions. This arithmetical necessity results, as we have shown, from the extension of each child's stay being limited to one-third of his school age. The truth is that the numbers returned from private adventure and dame schools, were grossly overstated by those who kept them; and as it requires a six years' duration of schooling to maintain a constant attendance of 2,000,000 children, from a total of 4,000,000, that is very far above the maximum which can be now at school. Now let us pause to inquire how far it is wise or reasonable to expect or procure a larger attendance than this for many years to come. The item of duration being inseparable from that of the number at school, the question becomes one of duration of stay.

The great majority of agricultural labourers have less than twelve shillings per week wherewith to feed, clothe, and house themselves and families, averaging five in number; and if we take into account the more costly habits and modes of living of artisans, they are probably but little, if at all, better off. Directly their children attain an age when their labour can add to the family income, their increased cost to the parent both in clothing and appetite requires, as a physical necessity, that to work they go. It is only in exceptional cases that this is deferred beyond the eleventh year. Suppose the schooling begins at five: there are then six years only for the whole duration of stay.† Again we ask, is it reasonable to expect more? That it is desirable no one doubts. So is it also desirable that the poor should earn twice as much as they do, and that there should be no such thing as a hard day's work for a poor day's pay. But are these things attainable? We fear not. We will go a step further, and affirm that the six years' schooling, if it be but efficient in quality, and carefully adapted in kind to the future wants of the child, will give nearly, if not quite, all the elementary instruction which we can give to that class of children, *by means of public money.* Is it not enough to teach the essential elements of instruction? It puts the child in possession of the most needful attainments, and it places all others within

* See note to Mr. Mann's last 'Census Report,' p. xxx.

† Children might go to infant schools earlier, but such schools exist only here and there, and the number of children between three and five years would not more than counterbalance those who are sure to leave school before they are eleven.

his reach; and this we hold is all that the State is bound to do, or to aid others in doing.

But if these views are sound, what becomes of the necessity of giving these children so large a numerical increase of instruction, and training so very many teachers to accomplish it? Surely there has arisen a strangely excessive estimate of the demand upon us. The duration of stay being taken at six years, we have only 2,000,000 scholars in continual attendance ultimately to provide for: indeed we shall have fewer, because the dame and private schools will always have a quota, though a diminishing one. This being the *maximum* we have to provide for, for some years at least, and as we are short of it now by two-fifths, it is to the *gradual* supply of this incoming complement, — for nothing can be done *per saltum*, — that we have alone to direct our attention.

This alters the aspect of the educational budget considerably. The '30,000 teachers,' collapse by nearly one-third, and the grant of 800,000*l.* (even supposing the present exact system to continue), would increase to 1,600,000*l.*; instead of to the two or three millions contemplated.

But is it necessary that the present system of grants should continue? May it not be much reduced with great benefit? This is a branch of the subject which we trust the Royal Commission will carefully scrutinise.

Here are the proportions in which the entire expenditure of the Committee of Council has been distributed among its different objects during the year ending 1858: —

	£
'Building, enlarging, &c. schools	140,286
Idem, normal colleges	10,388
Books, maps, apparatus	5,717
Augmentation of salaries of teachers	74,041
Idem of assistant teachers	5,904
Stipends of pupil-teachers and gratuities for teaching them	221,719
Capitation grants	49,522
Annual grants to training colleges	73,731
Reformatory and industrial schools	27,025
Pensions to teachers	589
Inspection	39,276
Administration (*office in London*)	17,211
Other items	2,918

Thus one-third of the whole of this expenditure goes to pupil-teachers. It is now a question among school-teachers themselves, how far pupil-teachers are beneficial. However, on this vexed question we express no decided opinion, aware how difficult it is to collect general results from individual experiences,

varying probably as they do, of the character of the pupils by whom each master happens to have been blessed or afflicted. The number and extent to which this branch of the system is being carried, is, however, more within the test supplied by the report of the Committee. And it results from the figures, that if pupil-teachers are to be multiplied at the rate at which they were going last year, and that if each year is to turn out at the termination of their training only two-thirds of the number who were admitted in 1858 (that is 2,242), in four years there will be enough of these young teachers to take possession of all the 9,384 schools and departments of inspected schools, and to turn adrift that number of existing teachers. Nor is this all: for in another four years there would be another crop of 9,000 or 10,000 ready to oust and replace them. And four years would be the average duration of a school-teacher's professional career. Of course this is a rough sketch. A slight deduction must be made, because, by a recent Minute of Council, four is to be the maximum of pupil-teachers allowed to any one teacher, a number however which few masters exceed. Possibly in this direction a retrenchment of expenses might be made.

As far as we have had the means of forming an opinion, we are inclined to believe that stipendiary monitors at yearly payments of 5*l.* or 6*l.* would supply all the assistance gained from the worst half of the pupil-teachers. When found intractable or inapt, they would be easily got rid of, which pupil-teachers bound for five years are not,—and they would cost less than half the money now spent on the former. Where the school-funds could afford it, assistant teachers (now liberally aided by the new minutes) would probably prove vast additions to the teaching power in schools. They, unlike the pupil-teachers, come to the school with their training *finished* by the colleges, instead of entering it as raw recruits, whose training is yet to be begun. They come ready to give their matured powers to the elementary school, instead of requiring the elementary school to give those powers to them. The difference seems to us to be worthy of more consideration than it has yet had.

There is another item capable of being readjusted. We refer to the capitation grants. It is difficult to say what their appropriation now is. It is easier to decide that they have scarcely answered their object. The general opinion is, that they have not to any material extent prolonged or increased the attendances, and it is certain that in some cases they have merely replaced local contributions, and that in others the condition on which they are granted, namely, that the school pence shall not exceed 4*d.* per week, prevents the managers from

exacting from parents payments which they are well able to make. So that, instead of increasing the school fund, they substitute public assistance for private benevolence or parental duty. If it be thought inexpedient to withhold them, might they not be well appropriated to the payment of stipendiary monitors? Let them go to the teaching power of the school, and, in sums large enough to be appreciated, to children selected for their superior merit and intelligence. This would again reduce the expense of pupil-teachers.

It is not improbable that the building grants are capable of reduction. Is due care always taken by the inspector, as a preliminary, to ascertain that the size and simplicity of the building are adapted to its uses? We believe not: we could adduce instances of superfluous expenditure.

Another point which we apprehend will engage the attention of the Commissioners, is how to increase the efficiency of inspection. Its great utility is undoubted. Mr. Lowe has called the attention of Parliament to the extra cost resulting from the present plan of having a separate staff of inspectors exclusively attached to each church or doctrinal denomination. There are distinct staffs for National schools, for Union and Certified Industrial schools; for British and Foreign schools; for Roman Catholic schools; for Scottish Episcopalian schools; for schools connected with, and also for those not connected with, the Established Church of Scotland. This certainly appears to be carrying the desire to humour sectarianism at the public expense a little too far. The inspectors of dissenting schools are laymen, but they are not necessarily dissenters; in point of fact, they are nearly all members of the Church of England, and graduates of Oxford or Cambridge. The necessity of inspecting Church schools by clerical inspectors is by no means manifest, and we have ground to think that the Church at large does not require it. It is a relic of the old clerical opposition to any government interference in education, which was softened only by concessions to the prejudices or to the fears of the Establishment.

The efficiency of inspection must always depend on the character and special capacities of the inspectors. We are willing to believe that they are chosen solely on the score of their peculiar aptitude for an office by no means easy to discharge. It does not follow, however, that sufficient means are taken to ensure not only that the best possible modes of examining schools are adopted by the inspectors, but that there be as great a uniformity as is practicable in the standard of their judgment and decisions. Perhaps this important object might

be effected by the selection of one or two from the present body of inspectors-general, who—perfectly conversant with what ought to be taught, how to teach it, and how to test the teaching,—might be usefully employed in spending a fortnight in rotation with each inspector, sharing his work with him. Such an officer would moreover at once be able to diffuse a knowledge of any new works, school apparatus, or improved modes of instruction; and he would act as the friend of manager, teacher, and inspector, aiding each with his experience, information, and counsel. The amalgamation of inspectoral staffs might, under this supervision, be more easily and safely effected: it would produce greater economy as well as efficiency. No new inspectors would be needed for some years; for each man's time for inspection would be increased by that spared from travelling; just as his knowledge of the schools in his district would be enhanced by the diminution of its area.

Mr. Arnold's last report on the British and Foreign Training School, indicates that a further economy is not only feasible, but requisite. He says:—

'The parents of these children (those in British and Foreign schools) would not willingly consent that their daughters' school time should be taken up with learning the details of practical housekeeping. In this middling class of society girls grow up, no doubt, with a lamentable ignorance of these details. So they do in the richer classes; and, in the richer classes, one hears people sometimes lament that girls are not taught to bake, to cook, and to wash. But these very people would be indignant if they found that their daughters' school time was actually occupied with learning cookery or clear starching instead of languages or music. So it is with the middling class of society, from which British schools are mainly recruited. Doubtless girls in this class are ignorant of domestic economy; but this is not the ignorance which their parents send them to school to remove. Rightly or wrongly, they think that their position in life may enable them to dispense with a practical knowledge of any branch of industrial work except needlework, and to find others who will perform such work for them. What they want for their daughters, what they send them to school to acquire, is what is called a liberal education.' (*Minutes*, 1858–59, p. 344.)

If it be true (and it is not easy to doubt Mr. Arnold's testimony), that the schools connected with the British and Foreign Society are filled mainly by children from the middle classes, it seems that much of the public money which was intended to educate the poor is applied to educate those who cannot perhaps be called rich, but who can still less be called poor. The better these primary schools become, the greater is the inducement to the middle classes to avail themselves of the advantages they afford at a very low rate.

We think we have now indicated where considerable retrenchments might be made, consistently with improved efficiency.

The great necessity is, however, to improve the education in the schools, and adapt it chiefly to the uses of the labourer and artisan. This is of an importance precedent to that of filling or of multiplying schools. Far more attention should be paid to this fact than it has yet received. The general complaint that children misemploy the short period during which they are at school in learning what can be of no use, and that they leave it nearly ignorant of what is useful, and without aptitude or inclination for labour-life, is by no means unfounded. The classes of society for which these schools are intended, live not so much by their heads as by their hands, and nothing can conduce more to their success in life than to be made to acquire that manual dexterity which distinguishes the skilled from the unskilled workman. But very little of this kind of instruction is at present attempted.

We trust that this grave fault will be canvassed by the Royal Commission. From the character and abilities of the men who compose it, the country naturally expects a comprehensive and well-digested exposition of the whole matter, both as regards the present state and shortcomings of education, the administration of state aid, and the means of furthering future progress. It will thus be scarcely reasonable to expect the Commissioners to report until this year is far advanced, and perhaps too late in the Session for any legislative measure. But we do not see the necessity for legislation. If the grants can be kept nearly at the present amount by means of judicious rearrangements, entirely within the power of the Minutes of the Committee of Council,—as we firmly believe they may,—the public are not likely to rebel against powers thus exercised. The Committee of Council has deserved well of the country: and neither experience nor inclination are wanting to enable them materially to enhance the value of their grants, and of their inspection. There is at present no *nodus* which requires the interposition of a higher power: and we deprecate any such disruption in the present system as might affect the peacefulness of action on which educational progress depends.

ART. IV.— 1. *The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon; a History of the Early Inhabitants of Britain.* By THOMAS WRIGHT, Esq. London: 1852.

2. *Treatise on the Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons, as exhibited in the Codex Diplomaticus Ævi Saxonici.* Translated from the German of Professor HEINRICH LEO. London: 1852.

3. *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland.* By J. J. A. WORSAAE, For. F. S. A. London. 1 vol. 8vo. London: 1852.

IN most of the countries of modern Europe, the existing names of places furnish valuable evidence for the use of every student of history and ethnology.* Remains more or less extensive of an aboriginal race, of Roman conquerors, and of subsequent invaders, strangers to the Roman language and civilisation, are found in the local nomenclature of every country of Western Europe. Both in England and in France, the names bestowed by the old Celtic population on many great natural objects, and on numerous towns, are still preserved, notwithstanding all the subsequent revolutions which have taken place in each of those countries; and in Britain, each successive wave of conquest or colonisation has left a permanent trace of its effects in this local nomenclature. We shall point out some of these effects, as produced by the Roman occupation; by the several incursions of Angles and Saxons, soon after Britain ceased to be a Roman province; by the subsequent inroads of Danes or Northmen; and last of all, by the great Norman Conquest. Such, and so varied, are the sources from which the English people derives its origin: —

> 'Sic fortis Etruria crevit,
> Scilicet, et rerum facta est pulcerrima Roma.'

In an early period of the world's history, nations fondly imagined, like the Athenians in the age of Pericles, that they were *autochthons,* indigenous inhabitants of the land in which they

* Our readers will perceive that the present article is the complement of an ingenious paper on 'English Surnames,' published five years ago in this journal. (Ed. Rev., vol. ci. p. 347.) In laying before them this continuation of the subject, we regret to add that it is a posthumous publication of its accomplished and lamented author. (*Editor's Note.*)

lived. But every one knows the fusion of races by which the existing population of England has been produced; and it must be admitted, that any investigation which tends to assign to each race its due share in this fusion, is likely to prove both interesting and instructive.

Almost all the *family* names now extant amongst us in England, have arisen subsequently to the Norman Conquest; most of our *local* names have a much higher antiquity. Of the names contained in Sir Henry Spelman's 'Villare Anglicanum,' the greater part are now more than a thousand years old; and very few of them are more recent than the 13th century. A large proportion of these names belong to small and obscure places. Great as is the antiquity and permanence of our local names, whether those of parishes and vills, or of still smaller divisions and objects, the local names of the south of France and of Italy are for the most part of a still higher antiquity. It is undoubted, that at the present day many farms in Italy, and in the south of France, preserve the names by which the Roman *agrimensor* knew them nearly two thousand years ago.

We shall now proceed, without further preface, to consider in turn each of these deposits or strata, still to be traced in the nomenclature of the soil.

I. Of the *Albion* or *Britannia* described by Greek and Roman writers, in what may be called Celtic times, it will not be necessary to dwell at any length. And yet in the local names of England under Queen Victoria, are found many words which must have been familiar to the contemporaries of Queen Boadicea. Ancient British names are still traceable in the names of some of our towns and villages, and are retained generally, even at the present day, by great natural objects, such as rivers and mountains. Such great objects themselves survive the shock of revolutions, and while they enjoy their own perpetual youth, their first names pass untranslated into the mouths of the strangers who have expelled or subdued the aboriginal inhabitants of the land. *Thames* and *Tamar*, *Avon* and *Severn*, *Cam* and *Isis*, *Ouse* and *Derwent*, *Aire* and *Calder*, *Wye* or *Way*, *Medlock* and *Lune*, are instances of such primeval names, still preserved amongst us. The *Yare* or *Gar*, from which *Gar*ienonum, and the Γαρύενου ποταμου ἐκβολαι of Ptolemy were named, has since aided in designating *Yar*mouth and *Yar*borough. Another river of the same name gives us *Yar*combe, in Dorsetshire, and the same word is found in the *Gar*umna or *Gar*onne of a kindred Celtic race across the Channel. The *Irwell*, in Lancashire, although at first sight it presents an Anglo-Saxon appearance, is yet of purely Celtic

origin, being compounded of *ir*, fresh, and *gwili*, a name for a winding stream, still found in Wales. The town at the mouth of the *Gwili* has, as might be expected, a purely British name, *Aber-gwili*, corresponding to other Welsh names, e. g. *Aber-avon*, *Aber-dare*, *Aber-gavenny*, *Aber-rystwith*. This Cymric word *Aber*, denoting the mouth of a river, or a confluence of waters, the commencement of so many local names in Wales, is one of several indications, showing the dialectic differences between the Cymric and the Gaelic branches of the Celtic race, by which Britain was once peopled. The corresponding Gaelic term is *Inver;* and it is observable there is not a single local name beginning with *Aber* in Ireland, in the Hebrides, or on the west coast of Scotland. *Aber* is, however, found along the east coast of Scotland, and, with other considerations, serves to show that the Cymry once inhabited all the eastern coast of Britain. Their name is still indicated in *Cumber*land, where it was left by them on their final expulsion into Wales. This Cumbrian district extended northward as far as the Clyde, and its two chief towns were, in the north *Dun-breton* (Dumbarton), and in the south the Roman *Luguballium*, translated *Caerluel* (Carlisle). In *Cumber*land we find *Penrith*, *Penruddock*, and other names of places owing to the *Cumbrian* population, and showing the permanence of their settlement there. It has been supposed that the river *Humber* may have given its name, which, by a not uncommon change, is also *Cumber*, to the tribe inhabiting its banks, just as the Italian river *Umbro* gave its name to the *Umbrians*. Milton certainly spoke somewhat loosely

> 'Of Humber loud, that keeps the *Scythian's* name.'

When the *Cumbrians* had thus given their own name to *Cumber*land, the more southern Britons received a new name from the invading Angle and the Saxon, and became *Brit-Wealas* or *Weales*, 'strangers;' just as the Teutonic race called other races with whom they came in contact on the Continent, *Welsche* or *Walloons*. The third separate section of the British race, when driven towards the western extremity of the island, became distinguished by their invaders from other *Wealas* or *Welsh*, by the new name of Corn*wealas*, and their land became *Cornwall*.

Some of the names of rivers in England are better explained by the Gaelic than by the Welsh tongue. For instance, *Exe* and *Axe*, are considered by very competent authority, as radically the same with the Irish word *Uisge*. *Whisky*, water, which also occurs in the Highland *Usquebaugh*, synonymous with *aqua vitæ* or *eau de vie*. Our existing local nomenclature, therefore, indicates that even in England, both

the Cymric and Gaelic branches of the great Celtic race were established in very early times. '*Camus*, reverend sire,' already mentioned, retains the *Cam* (crooked), by which he was known to the ancient Britons, and with a Saxon ending, makes *Cam*bridge, just as the *Camel* (crooked river) of Cornwall, aids in forming the name of the obscure borough of *Camel*ford. Drayton alludes to the devious course of the *Camel* as having arisen 'because she doth her proper course neglect' ever since

> 'The British Arthur's blood
> By Modred's murderous hand was mingled with her flood.'

Dor, or *Dur*, or *Dwr*, found in the old name of the *Dur*otriges, survives in *Dor*set and *Dor*chester, where they dwelt: and the town *Cheddar*, the *Cheddar* cliffs, and *Cheddar* cheese, all derive their names from the *Cheddar* or *Ced-dwr*, hill stream which flows into the Axe in Somersetshire.

When a British word is preserved in the modern name of a town, it is usually the first syllable only of such name that is British. This we have seen in *Yar*mouth and *Dor*chester. So *Man*chester boasts of a high antiquity, and of a Celtic origin: its Saxon occupants retained the first syllable only of its ancient name, adding the common termination *chester*, on account of its having been a Roman station. With *Man*chester we may mention *Peel*, found in the Isle of Man, in Lancashire, and elsewhere, and derived seemingly from the Celtic *pil*, a stronghold; *Arden* in Warwickshire, retains entirely the Celtic name of an ancient forest (*ard-dene*, high wood), between the Severn and the Trent, and it was no doubt more familiar to Shakspeare than the equally ancient forest of the *Ardennes* in Belgium. In *Nant*wich, the first syllable is Celtic, as in *Nantes*, *Nant*euil, *Nant*erre, in Gaul. *Il*chester or *Ivel*chester, as it was formerly called, is on the *Ivel*, probably derived from *Ui-vel* or *Gui-bel* (undæ caput).

It has been supposed that the hundred of *Cashio*, and the hamlet *Cashio* or *Cashio*bury, in Hertfordshire, are British words of like origin with the name of *Cassi*belan, and derived from the tribe of the *Cassi*. But *Cas*sop, and *Cassing*ton, seem to be clearly of Teutonic origin, and we doubt the suggested British origin of *Cashio*. In the territory of the Iceni, which corresponded nearly with the modern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, are found names, *Ick*worth, *Ick*borough, *Iken*, which are said to have been derived from the name of the old Iceni. But *Ic*comb in Worcestershire, and *Icken*ham in Middlesex, *Ick*ford in Bucks, and *Ick*ham in Kent, must have had a like origin with the supposed

Icenian names, and some of these places are remote from the Icenian district. *Ico* was an old German name; and the German local name *Ik*horst suggests that the supposed trace of the Iceni is merely that of an early Anglian or Saxon proprietor.

As to mountains in England, we will content ourselves with giving, as a specimen of their old British names, some of those still preserved in Lancashire and its neighbourhood, and to which attention has recently been drawn by the learning and industry of Mr. Davies; such as *Pen*dle-hill or *Pen*-hill, a pleonasm arising from the population being ignorant of the meaning of the British *pen*, as found in *Pen*rhyn, *Pen*rose, and *Pen*carrow. The word *Tor* is found in Derbyshire in *Mam Tor*, the Shivering mountain, in *Chee Tor*, in the *Tor* of Devonshire, *Tor*quay and *Tor*bay. *Crimbles* in North Lancashire is from *crimell*, a sharp ridge; and *Tooter* hill, which is probably from the Celtic god *Tuith*. Tumuli of a lofty character were *Toot* hills. Cleeve *Toot* in Somersetshire is capped by a mass of rocks, which from below has all the appearance of an altar; and possibly Shooter's Hill, in Kent, may lay claim to the same etymology.

In some instances the Anglo-Saxons gave entirely new names even to these great natural objects. *Saddleback* and *Snowdon* are instances of this. In honour of the eagle, the ancient Britons had called the mountain range of Carnarvonshire and Merionethshire by the name of *Craigiau-Eryri*, but *Eagle-top* was called aptly enough by the Saxons *Snowdon*, and has retained that name.

The shore of *Carnarvonshire* opposite to the coast of Anglesea, appears in Gray's Bard with its ancient British name,

'On dreary *Arvon's* shore they lie:'

and this name, although otherwise lost, is still preserved in that of the Deanery of Arvon. Thus, in the island of Crete, there is an Archbishopric of Gortyna, and a bishopric of Cydonia, and till lately there was also a bishopric of Cnossus *, although Gortyna and Cydonia, and Cnossus, have for centuries ceased to exist, and their very ruins have lost their ancient names. *Bangor* (*ban*, high, superior; *cor*, circle, congregation) on this shore of Arvon, is one of several considerable ecclesiastical establishments, called by the same name in Celtic lands.

The Isle of *Wight*, so slightly separated from the main land of England, still retains its ancient British appellation, the

* Pashley's 'Travels in Crete,' vol. i. p. 206.

meaning of which is explained by Nennius. 'Quam Britones 'insulam *Guied* aut *Guith*, quod Latine divortium dici potest.' The Isle of *Man* has undergone little more change of name than the Isle of *Wight*, during the last two thousand years. The *Mona* of Cæsar, or *Menavia* of Bede, became the *Mannie* of the Saxons; and the corruption was probably owing to an endeavour to make some Saxon meaning out of the *Maen-in*, Stone Island, or *Mead hon-in*, Middle Island of the Manxmen.

The other island, *Mona* of classical antiquity, has become in English *Anglesea*. Its first Saxon name was *Maen-ige*, or *Island of Maen;* but when over-run by King Egbert, the island was called *Angles-ey*, Englishman's Island, and has retained the name. Its elder name is still discoverable in the *Menai* Hundred, the *Menai* Strait, the *Menai* Bridge, and in the name of the parish, *Pen-mon* (head of *Mon* or *Mona*). Part of Pembrokeshire, which Camden spells *Penbrok*shire, and which still preserves, in substance, its British name (*Pen-vro*), when conquered by the Normans under Henry I. received a numerous colony of Flemings, from whom *Fleming's Castle* and probably some other places received their names. This part of Wales was long known as Little England beyond Wales; and it is said that a Welshman once boasted in dispute with an Englishman, that Wales was in all respects beyond England, whereupon the Englishman replied that he had heard of an England beyond Wales, but never heard of a Wales beyond England.

Speaking generally, we are still, on entering Wales or Cornwall, in the midst of British names. Cornwall remained a separate state, governed by its native rulers, till within a century and a half of the Norman Conquest. The local nomenclature of Cornwall would sufficiently show, even if its history were silent, to how late a period the final absorption of that country into the kingdom of England was deferred. Although elsewhere in England rivers and mountains very generally preserve their ancient British appellations, yet, as we all see, the names of towns and villages, and all recognised divisions of the country, are mainly of Teutonic or Scandinavian or Norman origin. The local names of Cornwall being mainly British, sufficiently indicate, when found as surnames, the origin of those who bear them.

II. Throughout the Augustan era, Roman cultivation and refinement were wholly unknown in Britain. It was the Emperor Claudius 'who first could glory in conquering the Britons, for 'Julius Cæsar did no more than show them to the Romans.' And even when Claudius had received the honour of a triumph

and the title of Britannicus for his successes here, the Roman arms had penetrated only into the southern parts of the island. In the age of Tacitus, and mainly by the generalship of his distinguished father-in-law, Agricola, the Roman power was extended through the mountainous regions of the west and north. During the period between the visit of the Emperor Hadrian, A.D. 120, and the proclamation at York of the accession of Constantine, A.D. 306, the whole country had become studded with flourishing cities, and with numerous towns and villas, in all of which the Roman language was spoken, and Roman arts and civilisation were known. At some of these cities, a theatre, or amphitheatre, provided for the amusement, public baths provided for the health, of the Roman and other inhabitants, and the religious wants of the population seem to have been as amply provided for as in Rome itself. Not only were the proper gods of Rome, such as Jupiter and Janus, Mars and Mercury, Minerva and Diana, honoured here; but even the oriental and foreign deities, whose worship had been established at Rome under the Roman empire, were transferred to Britain; and temples of the Egyptian Serapis, and of the Persian Mithras, existed in the single British city of Eboracum.* There will be some interest and instruction in surveying the scattered traces of the Roman occupation, still discernible in the names of places in England.

In surveying these traces of Roman names found in those of our existing cities and towns, we will commence with *Londinium*, the great London of modern days. *Londinium* is not named by Julius Cæsar, and probably did not exist in his time; but it had become a place of considerable commerce when Tacitus wrote. The Roman city eventually spread itself on both sides of the Thames, so that many houses in Southwark, as well as on the north bank of the river, stand on ground which covers floors of Roman houses, and the pavement of Roman streets. On the south-eastern coast, and on the way through *Cantium* (Kent) to London, were the following places—*Rutupiæ*, or *Rhitupæ*, the usual landing-place of the Romans, celebrated for its oysters. The place was afterwards called by the Saxons *Repta-ceaster*. The word *ceaster*, *cester*, *chester*, was very generally added by the Saxons in local names to designate a Roman site; and the word *castle* or *burgh* is sometimes similarly used. The modern name of *Rhitupæ* has become *Richborough* Castle. Part of the ancient walls, twenty-three feet high and nearly eleven feet

* See Mr. Wellbeloved's elegant and scholarlike work, entitled 'Eburacum, or York under the Romans,' 1842, pp. 74—86.

thick, still remain, as well as other ruins, and traces of an amphitheatre. This place is situated about three quarters of a mile from the modern town of Sandwich. In the same part of Kent were *Dubræ*, now *Dover*, and *Regulbium*, now *Reculver*, where remains of ancient Roman walls are found. *Durovernum*, which occupied probably the whole site of the modern *Canterbury*, has wholly lost its ancient name in that of the ecclesiastical and Saxon city. The ancient *Durobrivæ*, on the river *Madus*, is indicated by the Saxon termination *ceaster* or *chester*, in *Hrofes-ceaster*, the *chester* of *Hrof*, now *Rochester* on the *Medway*. Another Roman city of Sussex has lost its name of *Regnum*, and become *Cissan-ceaster*, the *chester* of *Cissa*, now *Chichester*. Similarly the Roman city of *Venta* or *Venta Belgarum*, became *Wintan-ceaster*, or *Winchester; Venta Silurum* became *Caer-went* (the Welsh *caer* corresponding to the Saxon *chester*); and the eastern *Venta*, or *Venta Icenorum*, is found at *Caistor* near Norwich. The important western city of *Isca* became *Exan-ceaster*, *Ex-ceaster*, *Exeter*, the city on the river *Exe*. *Vindobala* is fixed at Rut*chester: Hunnum* at Halton *Chesters: Celurnum*, the extensive ruins of which have caused it to be spoken of as the British Pompeii, at *Chesters*. *Procolitia* is traced at Carran*burgh*, *Vindolana* at *Chester*holm, *Æsica* at *Great Chesters*. In Somersetshire, *Aquæ Calidæ*, or *Aquæ Solis*, became in the middle ages *Akeman-ceaster*, the city of invalids, and *Bathan-ceaster*, whence our modern *Bath*, where rheumatic or gouty affections are now alleviated, as they probably were in the Roman times. So on the continent we have now in similar localities the names of *Baden* and Wies*baden*, Wild*bad*, Carls*bad*, and Marien*bad*, *Warmbrunnen*, *Teplitz*, and *Tiflis*. In some instances the old aqueous name has been less changed. One Roman *Aquæ* is now called *Aachen*, or *Aix* la Chapelle, as the French name it from a chapel built there. Other Roman *Aquæ* are called *Aix* in the south of France, and in Savoy; *Ax*, *Aqs*, *Dax*, as well as *Aigues*-chaudes and *Aigues*-mortes, have probably a like origin.

The site of *Durobrivæ*, on the river Nen, is indicated by *Castor;* that of *Causennæ*, by *Ancaster*, where many Roman coins have been found, and the existing ancient remains of which city have been described by Leland in his Itinerary. The first Roman city which was made a 'colonia,' *Camalodunum*, is found in *Col-chester*. The ponderous masonry, still remaining, of the walls of the ancient city, shows how well the Romans guarded against the recurrence of such a calamity as was sustained there by the surprised and overpowered soldiers of the ninth legion on the revolt under Boadicea. In the north was

the noble city of *Lindum*, which we see in *Lincoln*, situated on a lofty hill and commanding extensive views. Between *Lindum* (Lincoln) and *Eboracum* (York) were *Danum* (Don*caster*), *Legiolium* (probably *Castle*ford), at the confluence of the Aire and Calder, and *Calcaria* (Tad*caster*). The great Roman city *Eboracum*, in which the *Ebor* is probably a lost Celtic word analogous to the Welsh *aber*, or to the German *refer*, was called by the Angles and Saxons *Eofor-wick*, and so has arisen its modern name of *York*. Of the derivation of the modern from the ancient name, there is no more doubt than there is of the identity of situation of the ancient and modern city.

One Roman emperor, Septimius Severus, who had visited *Eboracum*, accompanied by his two sons Caracalla and Geta, died there, and is said to have been buried there. It is, however, more probable that his remains were burnt only at York, and that his ashes were then conveyed, as to a final resting place, to a tomb erected by himself in the Appian Way. His funeral pile may have been erected on one of the natural eminences near York, now known as '*Severus's hills*,' and as the traditional place of his burial. *Eboracum* stood on the *Ure* ('ad *Urum*'). This British name of *Ure* is still retained by the river which joins the *Ouse*, a little way above York; and in our day assumes the name of *Ouse* from that point of junction. A stage from York on the banks of the *Ure*, was *Isurium*, the walls of which can still be traced, and within them are found tessellated floors of Roman houses. This ancient *Isurium* is now *Aldborough*, a word nearly corresponding with *Palæocastro*, *Castelvecchio*, *Old Fort*, the name which throughout modern Greece, Asia Minor, and the Isles of the Ægean, is so generally applied to any ancient site. On the road leading from *Cataractonium* (*Catterick*) to *Luguballium* (the modern Carlisle) were *Verteræ*, supposed to have been at *Brough* (*burgh*) in Westmoreland, where many Roman antiquities have been found; and *Brocavium* is identified with *Brougham* (*Burgh-ham*) by position, by the antiquities found, and perhaps by the word *burgh*, which corresponds with the more usual *chester* or *caster* of Roman sites.

Near the *wall* of the Emperor Hadrian, which stretched from the Solway Firth to the mouth of the Tyne, are found traces of the sites and names of many Roman towns. *Segedunum* was situated near the eastern end of this great work, and *Wallsend* now occupies the place of *Segedunum*. The mineral treasures of Wallsend have given its name a far wider celebrity than, in all likelihood, was ever attained by *Segedunum*. The Roman Wall, in later times, has given rise to many other local

names besides Wallsend. Among such we may mention *Chester on the Wall, Wall-town, Wall, Wallwick,* and *Thirlwall,* where the river passes through the wall. Professor Potts, in dealing with this word, shows that although he was acquainted with the personal name *Thirlwall,* which is well known in Germany as that of an eminent English scholar, he was ignorant of the existence of the locality from which the name is obtained.

On the great Roman road which led from London through Gloucester to the Welsh coast were cities, the sites of some of which are indicated by modern names. *Pontes* on the Thames was at Staines, and *Calleva* was at Sil*chester,* whose walls, still to be traced in the north of Hampshire, once included a circuit of three miles. From *Calleva* the Roman road passed by *Spinæ* and *Corinium* to *Glevum.* The name *Spinæ* is preserved in the modern *Speen,* adjoining *Speen*-hamland. Many rich mosaic pavements, which formerly adorned the edifices of *Corinium,* have been dug up at its site, *Cirencester.* The name of the ancient colonial city *Glevum,* is traced in *Gloucester.*

Uriconium or *Viriconium,* on the Severn, became in Saxon times *Wreakenceaster,* and afterwards *Wroxeter.* The ancient name is also preserved in a neighbouring mountain, called *Wrekin hill.* Of *Uriconium,* considerable remains still exist, some of which Camden mentions, as called by the people the old works of Wroxeter. Excavations recently commenced at this site, have disinterred a large portion of the ancient *Uriconium.* Remains of streets, of public buildings, and of private houses have been discovered, as well as coins, objects in bronze, 'stucco showing fresco paintings, remarkably fresh and 'in tasteful patterns.' On these discoveries being made, the public have liberally provided funds for continuing the excavations so happily commenced; and these judicious operations have now disclosed some of the most important Roman remains in Britain.*

In Oxfordshire, Bi*cester* and Al*cester* appear to be Roman sites, and *Dorocina* is found at *Dorchester.* Tow*cester* is the site of *Lactodorum,* and *Manceter* in Warwickshire that of *Manduessedum:* the modern name of the site of *Etocetum* is *Wall* in Staffordshire, and in the same county the river *Penk* has given its name to the ancient *Pennocrucium,* and to the modern *Penk*-ridge. Remains of ancient mansions and fine tessel-

* See a very unpretending but most interesting little work, entitled 'Ruins of the Roman City of Uriconium,' by Thomas Wright, Esq., F. S. A., which furnishes an account not only of these curious remains, but of the state of the Roman cities in Britain.

lated pavements found at Lei*cester*, show that it, like each of so many other places ending in *chester*, occupies a Roman site; and the discovery at a distance of two miles from Leicester, of an ancient *milliarium* or milestone, with its inscription legible, shows that Leicester is the site of the ancient city of *Ratæ*, one of the chief towns of the midland district. It would seem that some of the public buildings of *Ratæ* were still standing in the time of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He speaks of a temple of Janus Bifrons as existing there.

It is highly improbable that roads of a substantial character should have existed among such a number of barbarous, hostile, and migratory tribes as Cæsar found in Britain; and most, if not all, the ancient *made* roads which can still be traced, must have been of Roman rather than of British origin. Some of the manual labour needed for their construction was supplied by British hands; but the lines of roads were laid out by Roman engineers, and the whole work done under Roman direction and control.

'They are often found in our island in an extraordinary degree of perfection; where they have been used to the present time as high-roads they are naturally worn down, and it is only at rare intervals we can find any characteristic to identify them, except it be in the extraordinary straightness of their course; but where the course of the road has been changed at a subsequent period, and especially where it runs along an uncultivated heath, the ancient Roman road often presents itself to our view in an imposing embankment for several miles together.' (*Wright*, p. 181.)

The chief roads being constructed for the purpose of safe military occupation and control of the country, there can be little doubt that in many cases, bridges would be built over the rivers crossed by any such road; and undoubted remains of such Roman bridges have accordingly been found on some of the ancient lines of road. The names of several of the Roman towns or stations in Britain show that they were seated near a bridge or bridges. Thus besides the Roman station, *Pontes*, situated at Staines (*Stones*), on the Thams near Windsor; another place was called *Ad Pontem*, on the Trent; another *Tripontium*, which may be compared with our own *Three Bridges*. *Pons Ælii*, on the Tyne, was at the site of the modern Newcastle.

Each of the great lines of road was called a *strata* by the Romans of the declining empire, and the Anglo-Saxon invaders of England adopted the word as *straet*, and it is naturally enough found in the composition of the names of many places situated on the old lines of Roman road. A village

near the road is *Strat*ton or *Stret*ham; if the place is also near a fordable river, *Strat*ford is an appropriate name. We may still trace the course of the Roman roads through great distances in England by the continual recurrence of such names. Sometimes a single local name reminds us at once of the British, Roman, and Saxon elements of our nationality. This is the case at *Stratford-upon-Avon*, where the primeval British river, the Roman road or *street*, and the Saxon *ford* join in naming the birthplace of Shakspeare.

Of these great Roman roads there were several which, long after the Roman rule had ceased, remained the great public thoroughfares of England, and which deserve a brief notice in any survey of our local nomenclature. The first of these roads ran from near Dover through Canterbury and London, and then across the island by Verulam to Chester and the coast of Wales. This wonderful work was called by the Saxons, in allusion probably to some mythical tradition, which has not come down to us, *Watlinga Straet*, the road of the *Watlings*, or sons of *Waetla;* and *Watling Street*, in the city of London, a portion of this ancient way, still preserves its old name. Camden speaks of this *Watlinga Straet* as 'named in some places *High Dyke*, '*High Ridge*, *Forty-foot-way*, and *Ridge-way*, by the several 'inhabitants.' This great highway became, in the ninth century, a main part of the boundary between the Saxon and the Dane, as appears from the treaty of peace between King Alfred and King Guthrum. In very early Saxon times there was a curious transfer of the name of *Watling Street* to the Milky Way. As this great highway of England led right across the country from Dover to Cardigan, so the great Milky Way leads right across the heavens. Chaucer (House of Fame, ii. 437.) makes mention of the name:

> 'So there, quod he, cast up thine eye
> Se yondir, lo, the galaxie
> The which men clepe the Milky Way,
> For it is white, and some parfay
> Yeallin it have *Watlinge Strete*.'

Another of the great Roman roads leading from Pevensey and *Regnum* through London, Lincoln, and York, and so on to Scotland, received from the Saxons the name of *Eormen Straet* and is still marked as 'the Ermin street,' in the ordnance maps. This way also owes its name to primeval Teutonic mythology. No wonder that so great a work should, by the rude Teutonic invaders, have been named after some one more than mortal. *Ermin's* name is found in the *Irminsul*, and he, like the *Watlingas*, was transferred to the skies, and appeared there in

the constellation known to Teutonic antiquity as *Irmins wagen*, popularly known in England at the present day as Charles's Wain.

Another of the great Roman ways obtained the name of the *Fosse Way*, because, as some think, says Camden, 'it was ditched 'on both sides.' This way passed through Ilchester, Stratton on Foss, Bath, Cirencester, and so through Leicestershire, Nottinghamshire, and Lincoln to the eastern coast. In its course through Devonshire, it communicated with the *Icknild Way*, which has been traced by Dr. Stukeley throughout most of its extent between the *Yar* in Norfolk and the *Tamar* in Cornwall; but its name has no relation to the *Iceni;* nor is its character as an *unmade* road or drift-way at all consistent with the terms *Strata*, and *Via*, which would imply a regular course and construction. In Dorsetshire, a portion of the road is now called *Ikling* or *Akling dike*, and *Aggleton* and *Eggleton ditch*. Probably the track was continued beyond the Tamar to the Land's-end. Parallel to the *Fosse way* was *Rykenild Straet*, extending about 250 miles from the north-east to the south-west, between Tynemouth and St. David's. Other public Roman roads of less importance received also their distinctive appellations in the middle ages. Even the '*viæ vicinales*' were so constructed that extensive remains of them are to be still found. Mr. Hutchins enumerates and describes six such vicinal ways raised by the Romans, 'with incredible toil,' in the county of Dorset alone.

Before leaving the great Roman roads, it may be mentioned that, including the Icknild Way, *four* highways were, in the eleventh century, under the especial care of the king. An offender on any one of these was liable to punishment for his breach of the king's peace, although in any other highway the local jurisdiction would alone have dealt with him. 'Alia pax regis est,' says the law of Edward the Confessor, 447, 'quam habent iiii. 'chemini, scilicet, *Watlinge strete*, *Fosse*, *Hikenild strete*, *Erminge* '*strete*, quorum duo in longitudinem regni, duo in latitudinem 'distenduntur.' And a law of William the Conqueror makes a like and somewhat precise provision, 'Ki en aucun de ces 'quatre chemins ocist aucun ki seit errant par le pais, u asaut, 'si enfreint la pais le rei.'

III. There is great reason for supposing that in the south-eastern parts of the island a considerable Saxon element was found in the population for a long period before the final retirement of the Romans. Julius Cæsar himself noticed the extent of German migrations into England; and they seem to have affected, even in his time, the local nomenclature of those parts of the

island into which they were made.* To whatever extent this Teutonic element had, before the departure of the Romans, become engrafted into the British population, it is quite certain that immigrants of the three kindred races of Angeln, Jutes, and Saxons became, in the course of the fifth and sixth centuries, the occupiers and owners of the greater part of the land which is now England, and greatly changed its local nomenclature. It is equally certain that most of our local names date from before the time of the Saxon Octarchy, and that nearly all of those of the south-eastern part of the island are at least as old as the time of Alfred.

In the Anglian or Saxon kingdoms established in Britain, the local names introduced to designate towns, villages, and homesteads were almost entirely new. That branch of the Teutonic race by which this invasion and settlement was effected, followed the mode of life described by Tacitus as that of their forefathers: 'Colunt discreti ac diversi: ut *fons*, ut *campus*, ut *nemus* placuit.' (Tacitus, Germ. xvi.) These natural objects, which determined the Teutonic settler's choice of a habitation, enter largely into our local nomenclature. As examples, we name *Spring*field, *Wells*, *Wel*ton, Black*well*, Whit*well*, *Lea* or *Lee*, *Field*, *Grove*, *Hurst*, *Holt*, *Hope*, *Wood*, *Wood*hall, *Wood*church, *Wood*borough, *Wood*burn, *Wood*croft, *Wood*end, *Wood*ford, *Wood*shaw, *Wood*stock, *Walden*, in Essex, originally named from the *wald* or wood about it; and, at the time of the Domesday survey, a manor containing mast or wood for 1000 hogs, became in the reign of Edward III. '*Saffron*-Walden,' from the cultivation of the saffron plant. Many names derived from the vegetable kingdom are compounded with nettles, and such names as *Nettle*bed, *Nettle*combe, and *Nettle*den, deserve to be compared with the German *Nessel*rode and *Nessel*wang.

Each kind of tree supplied many local names; the *ash*, by itself and its derivatives, fills nearly seventeen of the closely printed columns of Mr. Sharpe's most elaborate and accurate *Topographical Dictionary of the British Islands*. And to the names of these seventeen columns we must add, as equally derived from the *ash*, such forms as *Askham*, *Askrigg* (corresponding to the *Ashridge* of another part of England), *Es*crick, &c. The oak supplies its contribution in The *Oaks*, *Oak*ham, *Ock*ham, *Oak*ridge, *Ac*ton, *Ac*lea *Ack*worth, &c. So of other trees,

* Cæsar, Bell. Gall. v. 12: 'Britanniæ maritima pars ab iis incolitur qui prædæ ac belli inferendi causâ ex Belgis transierant; qui omnes fere iis nominibus civitatum adpellantur quibus orti ex civitatibus eò pervenerunt.'

alder, aspen, beech, birch, elm, elder, hazel, limetree (in *Lindfield, Lyndhurst*, &c.), maple, poplar, sloe, willow, &c.

In our local names, *croft* and *garth* are found, but garden nowhere occurs. It seems to us that the word *gardyn* or garden, which is not known in Anglo-Saxon, and is first used in later English writers, must be derived from the French *jardin*. If so, garden could not find a place among our old local names. Horne Tooke, however, derives garden from the Anglo-Saxon *gyrdan*, cingere, to gird. Orchard is found in our local names in *East Orchard* and *West Orchard*, Dorsetshire, and in *Orchard* Portman and *Orchard*-Leigh. Orchard is however a much older word than garden, and although now used to designate an inclosed plantation of fruit trees, yet etymologically and primarily it is *Wyrt-yard*, a yard for roots or shrubs, i. e. a garden. Orchard, therefore, has a higher claim than garden to a place in our local names.

In the age when most of our local names were bestowed, the ford was more common than the bridge, by which it has often been succeeded in modern times. Names from such fords are Al*ford*, Bed*ford*, Chelms*ford*, Clif*ford*, Cray*ford*, Thet*ford*, *Ford*, *Ford*ham. Red*bridge* in Hampshire was called *Redford* or *Reedford* before the building of the bridge, to which the modern name is due. It is called 'Vadum Arundinis' by Bede. Perhaps *Retford* in Nottinghamshire may have the like etymology. When the bridge thus took the place of the ford, the two were sometimes associated together in a single name, as at *Ferrybridge*, in Yorkshire, at *Bridgford*, in Nottinghamshire, and at Gland*ford-Brigg*, in Lincolnshire. To bridges are due many names of places both in England and on the Continent; as the south German *Brugg* or *Bruck*, *Brucken*, and *Brieg*, and the north German *Brück*, *Brücken*, &c. We may add the Belgian Bruges, called *Brügge* by the Germans, and which, though destitute of a river, is rich in bridges over its canals; the French *Pontoise*, and many other names of places into which, in France, *pont* enters. At *Pont*-du-Gard is no town, and not even a bridge properly speaking; but the magnificent remains of a great Roman aqueduct, worthy of comparison with the Flavian amphitheatre, have received the name.

Local names derived from natural peculiarities of site, or soil, or produce, are generally intelligible to any one of ordinary English education, and hardly call for further notice in this survey. In some instances the lapse of centuries has somewhat changed the orthography of such a name. Thus Shrewsbury received in historical times, and from its Saxon conquerors, its present name. The *Pen-gwern* (*Alder-hill*), founded and occu-

pied by the Britons of *Powysland*, when taken by the Anglo-Saxon, became *Scrobbes*-byrig (*Shrubs*-town) or *Shrews*bury, and was for some centuries celebrated enough by that name in mediæval history, as the scene of border warfare, of royal visits, of King's exchequer and King's bench, of tournament and parliament.

As the useful arts and commerce began to spread after the Anglo-Saxon conquest, corresponding names arose. Many derived from *chepen*, applied to places of commercial traffic; among such are *Cheap*side, the ward of *Cheap*, East *Cheap*, *Chep*stow, *Chippen*ham, *Chipping*-Norton, *Chipping* Ongar, *Chipping* Wycombe. To this list may be added *Copman*thorpe in Yorkshire, which deserves to be compared with *Copen*hagen in Denmark, and with *Kauf* Bauern in Germany.

It has been suggested that *Mellor*, a local name found in Lancashire and Derbyshire, is of Celtic origin, and is identical with the Welsh word *Maelaur*, a *mart* or *market*. It is probable, however, that *Mellor* is derived from purely Saxon sources. The termination *or*, or *ora*, in the sense of a brink or bank, is common in local names mentioned in Anglo-Saxon charters, is still preserved in many names, Winds*or*, Edens*or*, Hasel*or*, &c., and is satisfactorily explained by Professor Leo. The word is peculiar to the Anglo-Saxon and the old Norse, is not descended from the German, and seems to answer to the Erse and Gaelic *or*, *oir*, brink, edge; and that *Mell*, the first syllable of *Mellor*, is due to the name of an old Saxon occupier, is sufficiently apparent from the names of places, *Mel*becks, *Mel*bourne, *Mel*bury, *Mel*combe, *Mel*don, *Mel*ford, *Mel*thwaite, *Mel*ton, *Mel*wood, *Mells*, *Melling*, *Melling*ton.

The addition of the word *market* sometimes served to distinguish one town from another of the same name, as in the case of *Market* Bosworth and *Husband's* Bosworth, *Market* Overton and *Cold* Overton, *Market* Rasen, *Middle* Rasen, and *West* Rasen. Places called *Mark*pool, *Mark*thorn, *Mark*way, and *Mark*well, mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon charters, are from *Mark*, a boundary. Our *Newmarket* reminds us of the *Forum Novum* of ancient Italy, still found at *Fornovo*, near Parma. Blandford *forum*, and Beaminster *forum*, remind us of the ancient Roman use of the word *forum* in the names of places. *Forum Dianæ* was a town in Britain. The man's name which was frequently combined with *forum*, to designate an old Italian city, has been a good deal changed by the lapse of ages. *Forum Allieni* is now Ferrara, *Forum Livii* is Forli, *Forum Flaminii* is Forfiamma, *Forum Popilii* is Forlimpopoli, and *Forum Julii* is Frejus.

Many names of places are derived from the occupations of their early inhabitants, as *Smeth*wick, *Smis*by, *Weaver*thorpe, &c., or from classes of society, as *Carl*ton and *Charl*ton. The word *cniht*, denoted at first a youth or a servant, and implied originally no military distinction. After a while it seems to have denoted a more dignified sort of dependent. The name of *cniht*, like that of *ceorl*, *carl*, or *charl*, was given to many places. Sufficient specimens of the usage are found both in Mr. Kemble's Charters and in existing names. We have *Cnihtatun* and *Knighton*, *Cnihtawic* and *Knightwick*.

Numerous possessions of the *King*, from the time of Alfred downwards, create a feature in our local nomenclature. The great extent of these possessions, in the times of Edward the Confessor and William the Conqueror, is apparent from the Domesday Survey. Such former possessions are still indicated in the names *Coning*ton, *Coning*sby, *Conis*borough, *King's* Langley, Lyme *Regis*, *King's* Norton, *King's* Somborne, *King's* Walden, *Kings*bury, *Kings*clere, and *King*ston, with its many distinguishing epithets.

Not a few of our local names have preserved forms no longer used in the English language, and are thus not generally understood. Thus *ald*, or *al*, and even *au* and *hol*, in compound names means simply *old:* as in *Ald*borough, *Ald*gate, *Al*cester, *Al*ton, '*Au*burn, loveliest village of the plain,' *Hol*born. The syllable *all* commencing a word is sometimes a personal name, as in *Alles*ley, *Alls*tree, *Alls*cot, identical in form with *Hals*hall, *Hals*ham, (with which *Hall*ing, *Halling*ton, &c., are connected). The aspirate is frequently thus lost in names of places. So *Allen*dorf in Hessen, is used, where undoubtedly *Hallen*dorf is meant. Sometimes an incipient *El* is a corruption of the same word *alt*, as in *Elt*ham in Kent, called in the Domesday Survey, *Alt*eham. The Scottish *El*bottle (old dwelling), is similarly corrupted, and is opposed to *New*bottle, just as *Al*bury is opposed to *New*bury. The *bottle*, which we find in compound names, as in Har*bottle*, &c., is a corruption of the Anglo-Saxon *botle* (corresponding to the German 'büttel,' as in *Wolfenbüttel*), meaning residence.

Sometimes the condition of the weather, or the character of the locality, appears to be indicated by the name of a place. We find *Cold* Ashton, *Cold* Norton, *Cold* Overton, *Chil*ton, Kirkby Over*blow*, *Sun*bury, *Summer*cotes, *Summer*seat, *Sunny* Bank, *Winter*cott, *Winter*sett, *Winter*stoke, *Winter*ton. Some of these, however, belong rather to a class of names in which *Cold Harbour* has chiefly provoked discussion among antiquaries. The occurrence of this latter term, under every possible variety

of circumstances likely to affect temperature, renders the interpretation of *Cold*, as a word opposed to *Warm*, quite inadmissible. The real derivation of *Cold* in this connexion, has yet to be discovered. With this class may be mentioned *Merri*field, *Merri*hill Green, *Merry*-lees. Such names are not derived, like that of the *Borgo Allegri* at Florence, from any great festivity or merry-making, but are instances of an old use of the word *merry* in the sense of *pleasant, agreeable.* The '*Merry* Wakefield,' and '*Merry* Carlisle,' of former days. Chaucer's

'Citee
That stood full *mery* upon a haven side,'

and Spencer's '*Merry* London,' and '*Merry* wind and weather,' are like instances of the old use of the adjective. *Mere*ton or *Mer*ton in Surrey, so celebrated as the place where, under Henry III., that Parliament was holden which gave utterance to the words 'Nolumus leges Angliæ mutari,' is derived from *mære* or *mere*, a word found in many other derivatives. Our *Blyth* in Nottinghamshire, is said by Fuller to have taken its name 'from the mirth and good fellowship of the inhabitants 'therein.' There is a river *Blythe* in Northumberland and another of the same name in Suffolk, the latter of which gives rise to *Blyth*burgh, and *Blyth*ford, and to a hundred of *Blything.*

Among the old names of places derived from their local situation, are many on, or at the mouth of, a river. Of such names, examples might be found all round the coast of England. Tyne*mouth*, Yar*mouth*, Ports*mouth*, Ex*mouth*, Ply*mouth*, Fal*mouth*, are instances. Sometimes the confluence of a tributary with a main stream is indicated, as in Cocker*mouth*, at the confluence of the Cocker with the Derwent. Similar combinations are found in the Netherlands, and in Germany. At the confluence of the Moselle and the Rhine was the city *Confluentes*, the name of which is still discernible in *Coblenz.*

Such names of places in England as have been derived from the personal or family names of their early Anglo-Saxon occupants, deserve a careful examination. Many of those who pronounce local names of this class, at the present day, are ignorant of their meaning, and perhaps there is no other class of such names more worthy of being understood. It is manifest, on the most cursory inspection of any 'Villare Anglicanum,' to how great an extent the Anglo-Saxon invaders and colonists of England gave their own personal and family names to the lands which their own swords had won. The family name of old Teutonic settlers, recognised by its termination in *ing*, or *ling*, is very generally found, in our local nomenclature, side by side

with old personal names of an equally ancient origin. Among such patronymical or family names transferred to places in England are, *Barking*, *Basing*, *Billing*, *Bocking*, *Tarring*, *Terling*, *Tooting*, *Twining*. Probably each of the places so called was an original settlement of several members of the same family. Thus, the township of *High Legh*, in Cheshire, has been inhabited from time immemorial by numerous branches of that ancient stock. These forms are frequently found in compound words. Thus *Waelsing* (the name of the family of Siegfried, the hero of the Nibelungenlied), appears at *Walsing*ham in Norfolk, *Wolsing*ham in Northumberland, and elsewhere; *Billing* (the remote ancestor of the royal race of Saxony) appears in *Billing*ham, *Billing*hurst, *Bellingt*on, and other places, and has descended even so low as *Billings*gate.*

In the local names of many places of Germany, are classes of similar derivatives from patronymical or family names. Thus, *Sicking*en and *Oding*en mean the places occupied respectively by the descendants of *Sicco* and *Odo;* and *Benning*hausen, *Duding*hausen, *Geling*hausen, and *Hemming*hausen, mean the houses dwelt in by the descendants of *Benno*, of *Dodo*, of *Gelo*, and of *Hemmo*.

In some few instances the word *Ing* used as a substantive, as given in Dr. Samuel Johnson's Dictionary, and meaning meadow, is found, chiefly as a post-fix, in the names of places; as in Brad*ing* (broad-ing) and Deep*ing*. With Brad*ing* may be compared Brad*borne*, Brad*field*, Brad*ford*, Brad*ley*, Brad*more*, Brad*shaw*, and Brad*stock*. *Chevening*, in Kent, may be translated a meadow in the hills. Names of places commencing with *Ing* are less easily analysed. Many of them are probably derived from the proper name *Ing*, which belonged to an ancient hero, mentioned in the Anglo-Saxon poem of Beowulf.

In England we find personal and derivative names in a vast number of places. From *Bol* and *Bolling* we have *Bol*don, *Bol*am, *Bol*ham, *Bols*over, *Bolling*ton, and *Boling*broke. The last name, borne by the 'cankered Bolingbroke' afterwards Henry IV. of England, belongs to a parish and soke in Lincolnshire. So *Bel*ford in Northumberland, and *Bels*ford in Devon, *Bel*thorpe, *Bel*stead, *Belling*don and *Belling*ham, are from *Bell* and *Belling*.

*Bab*leigh, *Babing*ham, and *Babing*ton come from a Saxon *Babb;* while *Bag*den, *Bag*worth, and others point to *Bagg* as their founder, and his name is still preserved as a surname in

* This derivation has been well applied in an essay on the Original Site of Roman London, — Archæologia, vol. xxxiii. p. 109.

Norfolk and elsewhere. *Basing*, *Bassing*ham, *Basing*stoke, and *Basing*bourne, *Bas*ford and *Bas*low, come from a Saxon *Bass*, and his descendant *Basings*, all less known at the present day than the brewer of Bass's Pale Ale, and the offices of *Basing*hall Street.

An ancient *Lillo* has left traces of himself in *Lil*burne, *Lil*ford, *Lilles*ton, *Lilles*hall, *Lilley*, *Lillings*, *Lilling*stone, and *Lilling*ton. Of the old Saxon *Lud*, whose family were *Luddings* (not *Luddites*, like the modern followers of *Lud*,) ample remains are found in *Lud*holm and *Lud*low, *Lud*ford, *Lud*hall, and *Ludding*ton. Similarly *Lush*, whatever its etymology, must have been a proper name, from which are derived those of the *Lush*ings, *Lush*cott, *Lush*ill, and *Lushing*ton.

The village of *Tocqueville*, in Normandy, and the family of Clérel de *Tocqueville*, to which the estate has belonged for many centuries, (the Clérels figure among the companions of the Conqueror in the roll of Battle Abbey) derive their local names from Toki*; and it is a remarkable circumstance that in a conspicuous part of the park of the Chateau, overlooking the sea to the north, a tumulus exists, which is supposed to be the tomb of the Scandinavian hero who gave his name to the site.

*Pad*field, *Pad*bury, *Pad*worth, give us the eponymes of the Saxon *Paddings*, to whom we owe the places called *Padding*ton. *Purley*, (which was raised from its obscurity by Horne Tooke's learned Diversions,) and *Pur*leigh, *Pur*slaw, in Shropshire, and *Pur*ston in Yorkshire, all seem to derive their names from the same source. *Ram* in many compounds, as *Rams*grave, *Rams*holt, *Rams*hope, *Rams*or, may be a cousin-german of the man after whom *Rams*dorf, in Rhenish Prussia, received its name. It is however, probable, that some of these, and of other like names, *Rams*bottam, *Rams*den, *Rams*haw, *Rams*horn, may be due to the quadruped. *Rendles*ham, the house or mansion of *Rendle*, as Bede explains the word, now a little village, on the River Deben in Suffolk, was, in the seventh century, the residence of Redwald, King of the East Angles. In the year 1806, Rendelsham gave the title of Baron to the owner of the accumulated Thellusson property. The same little town had, in its early history, witnessed a far more curious and

* The name of *Toki* is found in a Runic inscription recently discovered in excavating in London; and the subject of a learned and interesting essay, entitled 'Remarks on a Danish Runic Stone, from 'the eleventh century, found in the central part of London, by 'Charles Christian Rafn, Copenhagen, 1854.'

important event. Redwald, King of the East Angles, then resided at *Rendlesham*, and was the first of that people who was baptized as a Christian. But his conscience was soon disturbed by what he had submitted to. In his dilemma, and to make assurance doubly sure, he erected in one edifice a chief altar, for the sacrifice of Christ, and a smaller one, for the offerings of Paganism: 'In eodem fano,' says Bede, 'altare ad sacrificium 'Christi, et arulam ad victimas dæmoniorum.'

The founders of the families of *Tipping*, *Tissing*, and *Welling*, are seen in *Tip*tree and *Tipping*ton, *Tis*bury and *Tissing*ton, *Wels*ford and *Welling*ton. A Saxon *Waddo* gave his name to *Wad*don, *Wad*hurst, *Wadde*sden, *Wads*ley, and *Wads*worth; while to the family of the *Waddings* we owe *Wadding*ham, *Wadding*worth, and *Wadding*ton, all names of small and obscure places.

*Bucking*ham is the residence of the *Buckings:* the name of the town was transferred to the surrounding shire of *Bucking*ham. The etymologies of *Beech-tree* and *Buck* (cervus), to which Camden and Spelman severally inclined, are clearly inadmissible.

*Hadding*ton in Lincolnshire, *Heading*ley, and *Heading*ton are due to the English namesakes of cousins-german still discernible in *Hedding*hausen; and the Teutonic proper name *Herine*, preserved in the English *Herring*thorpe, *Herrings*well, and *Herring*ton, is also seen in the German *Hering*hausen. *Messing*, in Lancashire, is a proper name, *Messine;* found in England in *Messing*ham, and in Germany in *Messing*hausen. So also *Upping*ham in Rutlandshire, and *Upping*ton in Shropshire, are seats of the *Uppings*. Of Uppingham, it has therefore been an error to say, '*Uppingham* stands on a rising ground, 'from whence it had its name, though, indeed, the rising is very 'small, and scarce amounts to a hill.' *Up*ton at first suggests as its etymology the local situation of a place higher than some neighbouring places, and makes us look for a corresponding *Low*ton. But there are many places called *Up*ton, of which the origin may have been due to *Upp*, the head of the family of the *Uppings*, the colonists of *Upping*ham and *Upping*ton.

It is very evident that the names of a vast number of the original Anglo-Saxon settlers in Britain have become permanently connected with their dwelling places. We are reminded of the words of the Psalmist, 'Their inward thought is that their houses 'shall continue for ever, and their dwelling places to all genera-'tions. *They call their lands after their own names.*' (Ps. xlix. 11.) This habit of applying the name of the proprietor to the land or house which belongs to him has continued in England down to our own days, and has prevailed in most ages, and in

most countries of the world. Philip of Macedon gave his name to *Philippi*, where Brutus and Cassius sustained their fatal defeat, and where tidings of the Gospel seem first to have been received with gladness by European listeners. Alexander the Great and Antiochus found local and enduring habitations in *Alexandria* and *Antioch*. Other cities were called after Antigonus, Antipater, Attalus, and Eumenes. Mausolus confined his name within the narrow limits of a *mausoleum*. Rulers of the Roman world were commemorated in *Augustodunum* (Autun), *Cæsarea-Augusta* (Saragossa), *Adrian*ople, and *Constantin*ople. *Carls*ruhe and *Carls*bad in Germany, and *Philippe*ville in France, had a like origin. In the last century, the name of the greatest citizen of the United States of America was bestowed on their capital city, *Washington;* and in the present century the name of our Sovereign has sped farther than the Roman eagles ever flew, and has descended on *Victoria*, in the great Australian empire ; where also the cities of *Melbourne*, *Auckland*, *Wellington*, and *Nelson* have risen from the wilderness. These examples of the rulers of mankind have in most ages been largely followed by others. Among the Celts of Caledonia, Dun*robin* and Dun*donald* mean *Robins*hill and *Donalds*hill ; and in France the termination *érie*, or *ière*, converts a man's name into that of his habitation, as in La *Robin*erie, La *Guille*tière. Sometimes the wit of others, rather than the will of the owner, has attached his name to a work of his own folly. La *Folie Gobelin* of three centuries ago in Paris is now the seat of the beautiful manufacture of tapestry which has spread the name of *Gobelins* throughout the civilised world. The *Folie Mericourt* and the *Folie Régnault* are preserved in the names of Parisian streets.

Great caution is often needed in deciding whether a local name is derived from a man's name or from some other source. For instance, we recognise as derived from a man's name *Gaddes*by in Leicestershire, and *Gad's* Hill in Kent, where Prince Hal and Poins, 'three misbegotten knaves in Kendal green,' and 'eleven men in buckram, robbed poor old Jack' Falstaff; but *Gaddes*den in Hertfordshire, the hiding place of King Alfred, seems to owe its name to its situation near the river *Gade*. So *Moles*croft, *Moles*den, and *Moles*worth are probably derived from the animal; yet *Mol*ton in Devonshire, and *Mole*sey or *Moul*sey in Surrey, are from the names of the rivers on which they stand.

Some of the more precious metals are named in our local nomenclature, as in *Silver*hill, *Silver*holme, *Silver*how, *Silver*dale, *Silver*ley and *Silver*ton; *Gold*hanger, *Gold*shaw, *Gold*thorpe, and *Gold*worthy. The existence of such names as *Gold*ings

and *Goldington* tends to show, that some of the compounds from *Gold* may be derived from names of men, and not directly from the metal; others, as that of *Goldcliff*, shining like gold, over the Caldicott level, are derived directly from the metal. We are not aware that David *Copperfield* could, at the present day, point out any paternal acres known by his name. *Stanswood*, *Stanfield*, *Steyning*, *Stanningfield*, *Stanningley*, *Stanningtton*, seem derived from names of men or families. *Staines*, *Stanton*, *Stanhope*, *Staniforth*, *Stanley*, are probably derived from the old form used for *stone*, and refer to physical features; as do *Alstonefield*, *Stonyhurst*. Sometimes the true etymology of the modern word would be irrecoverable, without historical evidence; Bridge-*water*, in Somersetshire, was originally called Bridge-*Walter*.

Next in order to these primeval Saxon names, we may mention the class derived from the animal kingdom. The *Bear* seems to have contributed to form several local names; but when it is remembered that an old German proper name, *Bero*, is found as early as the sixth century, and that the rude Saxon of an earlier time would be just as likely, and as much entitled, to take the name of *Bear*, as Albert the Bear of Brandenburg was, some centuries later, we may justly doubt whether the lord of the German forest has contributed to the local nomenclature of England. The *Wolf* and the *Fox* were, however, still found in great numbers in Britain at the time of the Anglo-Saxon invasion, and the *Wolf* and *Fox* have consequently given names to many places, just as the old word *Tod*, corresponding to *Fox* (and the origin of the proper name *Tod*hunter), is found in *Tod*burn and *Tod*fields, *Tod*ridge, *Tod*wick, *Tod*morden. The existence of a name *Toddington* suggests that the proper name *Todd* is one of high antiquity.

In old times, the word *Mare* (maehre) was used generally, as we should now use the word horse; hence the old local names *Mar*den, *Mares*field, *Mare*ham, *Mar*ford *, and hence too the origin of *Marechal* and *Marshal*, from *Mares*calk, a groom.

The Boar and Sow, or *swine* in general, have given their names to a greater number of places, several of which were mentioned by us on a former occasion. In Saxon times, swine-

* So in Germany, the same word *Mar*, which in early times seems to have been used generally for the horse, and not to have been limited to one sex, is found in *Mar*bach, the name of Schiller's birthplace, and of many other towns, *Mar*beck, *Mar*bury, &c., while *Ross* (horse) appears in *Ross*bach and other compounds.

herds were employed in tending swine throughout a great part of England, and a vast number of names of places are derived from their use for such animals. Among these names are *Swin*combe, *Swin*dale, *Swin*den, *Swin*don, *Swin*fen, *Swine*shead, *Swine*side, *Swin*hoe, *Swin*hope, *Swin*more, *Swin*stead, &c. The *Pig* is probably not found in our local names. Such words as *Pig*burn and *Pig*don, may be derived from an ancient *Pick*, who appears in *Pick*ford, *Pick*hill, *Pick*mere, *Pick*stock, *Pic*thorne, and *Pick*worth. Two places, which till the nineteenth century, were equally obscure with those above, are now widely known on account of the gallant *Pic*ton, and the immortal *Pick*wick. The progeny or kindred of this same Saxon *Pick*, are found in *Pickering* and *Picken*ham.

Other domestic animals, as *Ox*, *Cow*, *Calf*, *Ewe*, *Sheep*, &c., have similarly contributed to form our local names. Many names of places derived from *Ram* (in Anglo-Saxon, *Bock*) are found in the Charters published by Mr. Kemble. *Lamb* appears in *Lamb*ourne, *Lamb*rook, *Lamb*eth (*Lamb*-hithe), *Lamb*ton. The *Kid* (ticcen), and the *Goat* are found in *Titch*field, *Tice*hurst, *Tick*hill, *Gat*acre, *Gate*wood, *Gate*ford. The *Ægospotamos*, or *Goat* river, of ancient Greece, became celebrated as the place where Lysander defeated the Athenian fleet, and closed the Peloponnesian war. The *Dog* is found in *Dog*dyke, *Dogs*thorpe, Isle of *Dogs*, *Hounds*ditch, *Houns*low, *Hounds*borough. Corresponding to *Dogs*thorpe and *Houns*low, we have the German *Hunds*dorf, and the Wendish *Stenne*witz. The resemblance of *Stenne* (derived from Sczene), and the German word *Stein*, has caused the corruption of purely Wendish names, as in *Steinitz*, which word, however, has no connexion with *Stein*, but has a merely Slavonic origin. The Anglian or Saxon population in England have similarly converted Leighton-*Beaudesert* into the more English Leighton-*Buzzard*.

Most of the feathered tribe are met with in the names of our towns and villages. The collective name *Fowl* is found in many such words in the Anglo-Saxon charters. Each bird has also its separate local habitation, as in *Crow*hurst, *Crawley*, *Finch*ley, *Spink*hill, *Swallow*field, &c. The *Eagle* is usually found under the Anglo-Saxon form of his name, as in *Earn*den, *Earn*ley, *Earns*ford, *Earns*hill, *Earns*trey, *Earn*wood, *Ears*don, *Ears*ham, *Ears*wick, and other old names of places collected in the Index to Mr. Kemble's Codex Diplomaticus. *Eagles*cliffe and *Eagles*field have probably a later origin. The *Raven* is perhaps in part due to the worship of Odin, on whom the bird attended, and to Scandinavian influence. This bird is found in *Raven*hill, in the north riding of Yorkshire, in

the place where, it is said, the Danes planted their *reafn* on landing under Inguar, in 876. *Ravens*burn, *Ravens*croft, *Ravens*den, *Ravens*eat, *Ravens*tone, *Ravens*worth, *Ravens*thorpe, *Raven*tofts, and *Raven*spur, where Henry IV. landed in 1378, and which formerly sent members to Parliament, but has since been swallowed up by the sea, like the Master of *Ravens*wood himself.

Game, which abounded in England from the earliest times, has given names to many places. The forest law of Canute, as it has come down to us, may be considered to have prepared the way for the still more severe provisions by which the Norman kings of England showed their love of beasts of the forest or the chase. Most of the names of places derived from such beasts come from Anglo-Saxon or Danish times. From game in general we have *Dere*hurst, *Dere*ham, *Der*ley, *Dear*by, *Der*by or *Dar*by, *Dar*field, *Dar*fould, *Dar*ley, &c. The beasts of the forest are said by lawyers to be Hart, Hind, Hare, Wild Boar, and Wolf; those of the chase, Buck, Doe, Marten, Roe, and Fox. The beasts of the forest have contributed so largely to our local nomenclature that instances are unnecessary. The *Buck*, too, is sufficiently represented; the *Doe* is probably not found; the *Roe* appears in *Roe*hampton and *Roe*burndale. The Marten, which must have been very common in England a thousand years ago, is frequently found; and the warrior saint and bishop of a similar name has done much less than the little quadruped to swell our local nomenclature. Instances of this are supplied by *Martin* (a very common local name), *Mart*ham, *Mart*holme, *Mart*ley, *Martin*hoe, *Martin*dale in Westmoreland, &c. In Manwood's treatise on the laws of the forest, written in the seventeenth century, the 'fourth beast of 'chase,' the *Marten*, is mentioned as one 'whereof we have no 'great store in the forests on this side of Trent; but yet in the 'county of Westmoreland, in *Martin*dale, there are many.'

In pointing out the influence of sportsmen and their quarry in bestowing local names, we must not forget the place which *hawking* held among the amusements of our ancestors. This ancient sport has probably caused the hawk to appear in all such names as *Hawk*don, *Hawkes*borough, *Hawkes*bury, *Hawks*dale, *Hawks*wick, *Hawk*hill, *Hawk*hurst, *Hawk*ley, *Hawk*ridge, *Hawks*head, *Hawks*well, and *Hawks*worth.

In very early times the pagan Anglo-Saxons, who knew nothing of the *Devil*, properly so called, bestowed on several localities names taken from the supernatural beings of their own pagan mythology.

'From the name of *Ælfestun* we deduce,' says Professor Leo, 'a belief in elves. The names of fierce fabulous creatures are coupled with wild dismal places. Thus, in 957, King Eadwig presented Archbishop Odo of Canterbury a territorial possession at *Hel-ig* (in the islet of *Hela*).'

Hel was the mistress of the cold and joyless underground region, which received those spirits who were undeserving of a place in Waelhal.

'A morass is instanced, which was called *Grendlesmere*, after the ancient mythological hero. Thus, to express the ordinary impressions associated with the neighbourhood, recourse was had to mythic personages, as nearer types of life, rather than to abstract expressions or names savouring of a *locus terribilis*. Of this latter kind was a spot surrounded with water, named *Thorn-ei*, presented to the monastery of St. Peter's *in loco terribili*, as it is called.'

This site, situated to the west of the City of London, became *Westminster*, where the abbey of St. Peter was raised. The modern *Grindle*, *Grindle*ton, and *Grindle*ford, and the *Grindles*pyt, *Grindles*beck, and *Grindles*mere of Saxon charters, seem to contain the name of the great fiend of Saxon heathendom, *Grendel*. But the Devil, with all his faults, has added a great many words to our local nomenclature. The Devil's Arrows, immense pillars of millstone grit, are found near Boroughbridge, the Devil's Bridge near Hafod; the Devil's Causeway, in Northumberland, is a branch of the old Watling Street; the Devil's Cave in the Peak, is popularly known by a more precise reference to part only of the Devil's person; the Devil's Ditch, the former boundary between the kingdoms of East Anglia and Mercia; the Devil's Dyke in Sussex, the Devil's Punchbowl in Surrey, and the Devil's Water in Northumberland.

The large tract of mountains on the east side of Cumberland received the name of *Cross*-fells from having had crosses erected on them, a devotional practice frequently observed in such situations. 'Before they were called *Fiend's Fell*, or *Devil's Fell*,' and *Dilston*, a small town under them' is contracted from '*Devil's town*' (Camden). Our *Saint-Cross*, and *Croston* (Crossstone), remind us of corresponding local names in other lands, such as *Holyrood*, *Santa Croce*, *Vera Cruz*. *Kirk*, and *Church*, and *Minster* frequently form part or the whole of the names of places, and show such names to have arisen in Christian times. As instances may be named *Kirk*-burton, *Kirk*-oswald, *Kirk*by Lonsdale, *Kirkby*-underwood, *Kirkby*-moorside; *Church*, *Church*am, *Church*ill, *Church*stow, Christ*church*, &c.; *Minster* in Thanet and in Sheppy, West*minster*, Ax*minster*, War*minster*, Wim-

borne *Minster*. In the British region of Wales and Cornwall, we have *Llan* in the place of *Kirk* or *Church*.

The local nomenclature of every people contains many references to their religion, independently of those relating to ecclesiastical edifices, or to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. We have seen that the Pagan Saxons were not unmindful of Woden or Freia; their Christian descendants sometimes remembered in like manner the name of a Christian saint. But the proportion of names of towns or villages in England derived from Christian saints is very small, because most of the saints who bestowed our Saxon and Danish names were pagans. The like proportion in France is many times as great. In some cases the name of the saint has now in part disappeared, although it is still lurking in a modern name, as in *Bos*ton (St. *Botolph*'stown), and *Marl*borough (St. *Maidulf*'sburgh). So in Germany, the saint has frequently disappeared, as in *Marien*bad, *Marien*werder. The names of saints have also in some instances ceased to be connected with the wells over which they once presided. *Holywell* alone now serves to designate St. Winifred's well, in Flintshire, and many other places in England. Sometimes the well itself has disappeared, along with its tutelary saint, and all holy influences. Of this an example is found in *Holywell* Street, near the Strand, in London. In other countries springs of living water still retain the names of St. Paul, or St. Dionysius, St. Donatus, or St. Francis; and St. Anne's well, at Buxton, is still as salutary as it was in the days of a livelier faith in its holy character. *St. Bride's Well,* of the metropolis, has had a harder fate than that of other such sources. For its name having been first transferred to a neighbouring church, next descended from church to state, and served to designate a palace, which in due course of time became a workhouse, and ultimately a prison. This word *Bridewell* is now applied throughout the kingdom to denote a prison; and neither blessed saint nor holy spring has necessarily anything to do with the edifice.

IV. The ravages and settlements of the Danes occupy a prominent place in the history of England during the greater part of three centuries; and the local nomenclature of England bears very strong marks of the presence of these Northmen in every region in which they settled. At the end of Alfred's reign, the Danish or Scandinavian immigrants had full possession of a vast tract in the northern and north-eastern parts of England. Former Anglian or Saxon occupants had perished in war, or had been expelled from their native seats, or had submitted to their invaders. Among the different forms of political go-

vernment adopted in this vast Scandinavian population, were not only those administered by kings and by independent jarls, but also the confederation of the 'Five Burghs,' namely, *Lincoln*, *Leicester*, *Derby*, *Nottingham*, and *Stamford*; with which *Chester* and *York*, thus constituting 'Seven Burghs,' sometimes acted in concert. Historical records sufficiently show the extent of this Scandinavian or Danish district. Its difference from the rest of England, in respect of dialect and of law, as well as of nationality, is abundantly evidenced by the language of laws in the eleventh, and even so late as the twelfth century. Before the Norman Conquest, the chief divisions of England were spoken of with reference to the particular law under which each was governed. *Dene-laga*, *Myrcna-laga*, and *Westseaxna-laga*, meant the several districts under Danish, Mercian, or West Saxon law. And this triple division of the country appears to have continued till long after the Norman Conquest. In the laws published under Henry I. (A.D. 1100—1135), it is said, 'All England is divided into three parts, *Wessex*, *Mercia*, and the *province of the Danes*.'

One of the most palpable proofs of the settlements and diffusion of these Northmen throughout their *Dene-laga* is to be found in the vast number of names of places which they bestowed and which are still preserved.

In parts of England where the Danes did not effect any settlements, local names usually end in *ton* or *ham*, *bury* or *borough*, *hurst* or *wood*, *hill* or *combe*, *field* or *worth*, &c. But in the region of Scandinavian colonists, and which we may describe in general terms as lying to the north-east of the old Watling Street, many other names of places are found, which are wholly unknown in the southern and south-western parts of England. These new endings, met with in this north-eastern region, all consist of Danish or Scandinavian words. The following are the most frequent and the most important of these. *By*, meaning first a farm, afterwards a town or village; *thorpe*, a village; *thwaite*, an isolated piece of land, or a place cleared; *ness*, a promontory; *ey* or *öe*, an isle; *with*, a forest, and several other such endings, as *holme*, *toft*, *beck*, *dale*, &c. Mr. Worsaae has collected from a common map nearly three hundred of these names in Lincolnshire alone; and above four hundred in Yorkshire.

As the first Anglo-Saxon conquerors attached their own names to the lands they won, so in the north-eastern region we find many names of places derived from those of their first Scandinavian occupants, as *Rollesby* (*Rolfsby*), *Ormsby* (*Gormsby*), *Ormskirk*, *Grims*dale, *Grims*thorpe, *Grims*by, *Hacon*by, *As-*

*lack*by, *Swain*by, *Swains*thorpe, *Ingers*by, *Thirkel*by, *Brands*by, *Osgod*by, and others.

It is a little remarkable that throughout Lincolnshire and the rest of the Scandinavian district, local names ending in *by*, *thorpe*, &c. are very rarely derived from any family name. Out of all the names in Lincolnshire compounded with *thorpe*, there are we believe two only — Bassingthorpe, and Skellingthorpe or *Skilling*thorpe, so derived. And yet, in the same district, the local names derived from the earlier Anglian colonists contain a large proportion of *family* names, as *Bedding*ton, *Bulling*ton, *Dodding*ton, *Donning*ton, *Derring*ton, *Dudding*ton, *Edling*ton, *Elking*ton, and so on throughout the alphabet. This comparison of the local names in Lincolnshire, as respectively due to Anglican and to Danish immigrants and owners, seems to show that there must have been a considerable difference in the manner of the two conquests. We think the comparison suggests the conclusion that the Danes were a small minority of the population, whom they had gradually subdued, and that the subsequent inhabitants of the Danish conquests must have sprung at least as much from Anglican as from Danish progenitors. On the previous establishment of the Anglican colonists, in the north-eastern parts of England, the Romanised Britons must have been almost entirely displaced by their invaders.

Probably we may add to the names of places derived from their owners, the following, *Thores*by, *Turs*dale, *Balders*by, *Frais*thorpe, *Ulles*thorpe. Yet such places remind us of the gods of the old Scandinavian mythology, and justify the poet, when he sings of the Northmen that they 'gave their gods 'the land they won:'—

> 'Then Balder one bleak garth was thine,
> And one sweet brooklet's silver line;
> And Woden's croft the name did gain
> From the stern father of the slain.
> To Odin's son and Sifia's spouse
> Near *Startforth* high they paid their vows,
> Remembered Thor's victorious fame,
> And gave the dell the Thunderer's name.'

We concur with Mr. Worsaae in setting down the greater part of Scandinavian names of places, in England, as Danish.

'The terminations in *thwaite* and *thorpe*, indeed, are to be met with in Sweden, Norway, and Iceland, as well as in the Saxon and Frisian districts of North Germany; yet, as the corresponding English names are for the most part composed of pure Scandinavian or Danish words, and as they seldom appear either in the tracts con-

quered by the Norwegians in Scotland or Ireland, or the southern or south-western, originally Anglo-Saxon districts of England, but keep strictly within the same boundaries as the rest of the Danish names of places, and particularly of those in *by* (Danish for town or village), these are valid reasons for regarding them in general as Danish.'

Some Danish names of places in England make it plain that Christianity was the religion of the people by whom such names were given. *Bishop*thorpe, and *Nun*thorpe, *Kirk*by-underdale, *Kirk*by-moorside, *Kirk*by in Lonsdale, *Cross*by, *Cross*thwaite, show that the Christian bishop had succeeded to the heathen priest, the Christian church or cross to the heathen temple or altar. Danish names were sometimes bestowed in the Danish district, on places mainly occupied by persons who were *not* Danes, as on *Sax*by, *Fleming*by, *Frank*by, *Fris*by, and *Scot*by. Such a use of the Danish word *by* seems to be strong evidence of there having been a considerable proportion of Danish inhabitants in the neighbourhood of such places, when their names were bestowed. This Danish word *by* ultimately found its way into the English language in the word *bye*-law.

In *Balderstone*, *Osbaldistone*, and *Ulverstone*, in Lancashire, the terminal word is used, as *stein* in the middle ages, to denote a house of stone or a castle; and when thus connected with Danish names seems to indicate 'that the Danes, like the later 'Normans, were obliged to protect themselves by building strong-'holds.'

The character of the local nomenclature in Lincolnshire is so marked, that it may be distinctly discerned by a traveller on the Manchester, Sheffield, and Lincolnshire line of railway. Such a traveller passes, in traversing a few miles in Lincolnshire, many stations, each of which shows its name to have had a Danish origin. He sees, at successive stations, the names Great Grims*by*, Ulce*by*, Brockles*by*, Barnet*by*, *Brigg*, Scaw*by*, Kirton-*Lindsey*, Nor*thorpe*. In Grims*by* he may also see *Havelock* Street, deriving, from a famous Dane of olden time, a name which has been preserved to our own days, and made immortal, under the burning sun of India, by a son of England, whose heroic deeds, and those of his fellow heroes, have been recounted wherever the English tongue is spoken.

It is to be observed that the Danish terminations in *by* and *thorpe* here constitute six out of the eight places passed successively on the line of railway. The very word *Brigg* and *Kir*ton-*Lindsey* could not be found among the names of places in the Saxon south, or in the British west of England, but only in the Anglian or Danish east or north. Instead of the *Brigg* of Lincolnshire, the *Brig*house of the West Riding, and *Brig-*

ham of Cumberland, we have, in the south, *Bridge*, and *Bridge*end in Kent, Roberts*bridge* in Sussex, and *Bridge*ham in Norfolk. In the north, we have *Kir*ton or *Kirk*ton, *Kirk*by, *Kirk*laugh, *Kirk*dale, *Kirk*ham, *Kirk*lees, &c.; whereas in the purely Saxon region of the south, the form is *Church*, *Church*ill, *Church*am. Mr. Worsaae speaks of these Danish names as already 'beginning 'to appear' in Essex, Suffolk, and Norfolk. In Essex and Suffolk they are in small numbers, but Norfolk is entitled to a much higher rank in the scale of Danism. The Danes, says Sir Henry Spelman (Icenia, p. 154.), seem to have made their first settlement in this county, in the peninsula called *Flegg*. 'Within its small compass it contains thirteen villages ending 'in *by*, a Danish word, signifying a village or dwelling place.' On this peninsula are the two hundreds of *East Flegg* and *West Flegg*, containing places enumerated and incorporated for the relief of the poor by a statute of 15 Geo. III. The names of these places are as follows, and must manifestly have been bestowed by a population which in the main was Danish. In *East Flegg* are *Caistor* near Yarmouth, *Filby*, *Maltby*, *Ormesby* St. Margaret, *Scratby*, *Ormesby* St. Michael's, *Runham*, *Stokesby* with *Herringby*, *Thrigby*. In *West Flegg* are *Ashby*, *Oby*, *Billockby*, Burgh St. Margaret's, *Clippesby*, *Hemsby*, *Martham*, *Repps* with Bastwick, *Rollesby*, Somerton (East and West), Thurne, Winterton. What a contrast do these names form to any list of the places contained in any Poor Law Union in the south of England! Among these places, we observe a patronymical name *Herring*by, which resembles the *Herring*fleet of Norfolk and the *Herring*thorpe of the West Riding. *Repp* is still a Danish name, and is borne by the recent editor of Rask's Danish Grammar. So we find in Norfolk also the villages of North*repps* and South*repps*, both near Cromer.

Scratby may be derived from a proper name *Scrat*, or it may be due to religious ideas. The old Norse *Skratti* corresponds with the Teutonic *Schrat*, who was a wild and rough spirit of the wood, and may in some respects be compared with the fauns and satyrs of Rome and Greece. *Old Scratch*, our popular name for the Devil, has been transferred to him from this demon of Scandinavian and Teutonic antiquity; and the name of *Scratta*-wood, still found on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, is doubtless as old as the time of the Scandinavian colonists of that part of the country. This *Scratta-wood* is not a place of human habitation, but a mere wood. During the present century a single house was built,

but has since fallen into complete decay; and, in the popular belief of the neighbourhood, is still haunted.

As the Devil derived his name of Old *Scratch* from the heathen wood-spirit *Scrat*, so he is called Old *Nick* from the word which in old High German is *Nikhus*, or *Nichus*, in Norse *Nikr*, in Danish *Nök*, and which means a water-spirit. This being undoubtedly the origin of the name of the *Old Nick* of the English language and people, Mr. Worsaae goes a little too far when he asks of us to confine '*Oud Nick*' to the Scandinavian North as its locality, and to a river sprite as its meaning. Mr. Worsaae's words on this subject, after adverting to the striking agreement usually shown in the phantoms of the imagination among North Englishmen and their Scandinavian kinsmen, are as follows (p. 90.): 'It deserves to be mentioned 'that the Scandinavian name *Nök* (a river sprite) is not yet 'forgotten in Yorkshire, although some by *Nick*, or *Oud Nick*, 'erroneously imagine the Devil to be meant instead of the 'water sprite.'

In ancient times, both Scandinavians and Germans seem to have held all their judicial assemblies in the open air, and in some place of peculiar sanctity. The assemblies at which the Danes in England settled their disputes, were called *Things*. The same word is found in the Scandinavian *Stor-thing* (*Great-thing*) of the present day. *Thingwall* (or Thing-fields) in Cheshire, says Mr. Worsaae, 'was a place of meeting of the '*Thing*, and not only bore the same name as the old chief *Thing* 'place in Iceland, but also as the old Scandinavian *Thing* places; '*Dingwall*, in the north of Scotland, *Tingwall*, in the Shetland 'Islands, and *Tynewald*, or Tingwall, in the Isle of Man. There 'were incontestibly in the Danish parts of England certain 'larger or common *Thing* meetings for the several districts, 'which were superior to the *Things* of separate ones.'

Of all such *Things*, those which had the smallest jurisdiction must have been the *House-things*, or *Hustings*, which probably received their name from being held in a house, when all other *Things* were held in the open air. Such a judicial tribunal, a court of *Hustings*, was held in the cities of York and Lincoln, in London (where it has been preserved down to our own times), and in some places south of the Watling Street. Mr. Worsaae questions whether traces of these *Things* may not be found in the triple division of Yorkshire and Lincolnshire into *Ridings*. In Scandinavia, provinces were not only divided into halves and fourths, but also into thirds, *Tredinger*, 'which 'completely answer to the North English *Trithing*.'

V. By the battle of Hastings the fate of England was in effect decided, and the administration of the government of the country was transferred to the chief of the conquering army. His sixty thousand followers were at once ennobled by their victory, and large portions of the lands of England were soon appropriated to them as the reward of past and the incitement to future services. Within twenty years of the decisive victory from which *Battle* Abbey derived its name, the Conqueror had completed an elaborate survey of the newly acquired realm. Every manor which he had granted to a follower was inquired into, and its value, as it existed in the time of Edward the Confessor, and at the Survey, was duly recorded.

The Conquest, which, by the age of Chaucer, had produced so great a change and increase in the vocabulary of the language of the country, and had converted the Anglo-Saxon into the English tongue, exercised a considerable influence on the details of our local names and partly changed many of them. Other conquests have sometimes been accompanied by less influence on the local names of the conquered country. In the islands of the Greek Archipelago, and in many parts of the continent of Greece, the local names are substantially the same at the present day as they were when Mahomet II. first conquered Constantinople. We will briefly indicate the nature and extent of Norman influence, still discernible in the local nomenclature of England.

An important Norman addition to our local nomenclature, is found in the *Manors* into which the greater part of the country was parcelled out. Some of the Conqueror's companions obtained vast tracts of territory. The Earl of Cornwall had 793 manors; Odo, Bishop of Bayeux, held 439 manors; and the soldier Bishop of Coutances held 280. In many instances the greater barons again granted out smaller manors to be holden of themselves. This practice of sub-infeudation was afterwards put a stop to. The word *Manerium*, *Manoir*, or *Manor*, was used, not unfrequently, to signify the mansion of the lord or *Baron*, at whose *Court Baron* tenants owed suit and service. Not a few of such manor houses survive. The word *manor* denoted the manor or mansion house; as early as the reign of Henry III. Matthew Paris speaks of an architect as '*Maneri-orum* ædificator incomparabilis;' and so the ten thousand manors into which the country was divided became so many marks of the Norman conquest, impressed, in effect, on every separate locality throughout the country.

Along with the manors, there were introduced into the local nomenclature of England, the *Castles*, which, during the reign

of William the Conqueror and his immediate successors, were erected throughout the land. To overawe the subject Anglo-Saxon population, the handful of victorious Normans needed castles walled with stone, and designed for residence as well as defence. Such buildings, as our best antiquaries agree, are in England, for the most part, of no higher antiquity than the Conquest. Matthew Paris says justly of the Conqueror, 'ad 'castra construenda, Rex omnes antecessores superabat.' The great Earl of Mortaine appears, by the Domesday Survey, to have had his castle called *Montagud* in Somersetshire. So the parish of *Montacute* displaced the Saxon *Logaresburch*, a name derived, like *Luggers*hall, from a Saxon owner. Another Norman chief erected a castle on a place which from its situation obtained deservedly the name of Beauvoir or *Belvoir* Castle. A Norman *Richmond* rose in Yorkshire, and Henry VII., in memory of his own earldom, transferred the name from *Yorkshire* to *Surrey*, where it superseded the earlier name of a royal palace called *Shene*, which was burnt down in the reign of that king, 'but like a phœnix sprung again, out 'of its own ashes, with greater beauty.'

> 'Now stately *Richmond* to the right is seen,
> *Richmond*, whose name wise Henry changed from *Sheen*.'

On the Conquest, houses were in many places destroyed to make way for the necessary construction of castles. Of forty-nine castles mentioned as already existing at the time of the Domesday Survey, one only, that of *Arundel*, is noticed as existing in the time of Edward the Confessor. And several castles, known to have been built by the Conqueror, as those of *Durham*, *Nottingham*, and *Dover*, are not mentioned in the Survey. Sometimes the Norman castle took its name from that of the neighbouring village: sometimes the neighbouring village took its name from the castle, as in the *Peak*, where Peveril's castle was at *Castleton*.

The greater land baronies, granted out with so liberal a hand to the companions of William the Conqueror, were very frequently called *Honours*. Each of such *Honours* had its precise boundaries, like a manor or liberty, and had also its *caput honoris*, or *caput baroniæ*. Such chief place or manor, or seat, was, in the case of these greater holdings, a *Castle*. Many of these castles, although the heads of honours or baronies, took their places in our local nomenclature, by the side of the neighbouring towns, and so we have parishes named *Castle Hedingham*, *Castle Cary*, *Castle Acre*, *Castle Rising*, &c. More than 1100 of these castles existed in the reign of Stephen, each

an object of terror, rather than a means of protection, to its district.

Most of the castles erected after the reign of Henry I., and which had sometimes served as mere dens of robbers, were afterwards destroyed under Henry II. These castles in England, although mainly destroyed so long ago, still supply a substantial feature to our local nomenclature, as they have done to that of most nations of Europe. In Italy, France, and Spain, they bestowed names on many places, and they gave its collective appellation to the entire kingdom of *Castile;* the king of which country accordingly bore as arms, a shield charged with several castles. With the *Castlery* or *Honour*, so bestowed in ancient times by the Crown, there was frequently granted an extensive civil as well as criminal jurisdiction, the former, in many cases, extending to all causes whatever, arising within the limits of the honour. Such criminal jurisdictions have long since fallen into disuse, but down to the present age, the grantee of such ancient *honours*, by learned steward or otherwise, has not unfrequently tried civil causes of considerable importance.*

In some instances the Norman *Castle* has been entirely destroyed, and yet the name retains its place in our local nomenclature. 'Castle *Baynard*,' and 'Castle *Mountfitchet*,' which stood upon the banks of the Thames, near St. Paul's Cathedral, and in the former of which Richard III. once lodged, have ceased to exist, ever since the great fire of London in 1666. But Baynard Castle is still the name of the city Ward in which that castle was once situated.

Forests, many of them created soon after the Conquest, long retained well-defined boundaries. In the reign of Elizabeth, it is said, there were still sixty-nine of such forests in existence in England, as well as thirteen chases, and more than seven hundred and eighty parks. Most of these forests, chases, and parks have long ceased to possess any special legal character or incidents. We have long survived the circuits of the Justices of the Forest, and we have little more practical interest now-a-days

* In the reign of Henry VIII. certain manors, then belonging to the Crown were by Acts of Parliament adorned with the titular distinction of being *called* honours. Thus, of the manor of *Hampton Court* and other annexed manors, it is said by the statute that they 'shall be *named* the *Honour* of *Hampton Court*, and that the said 'manor of Hampton Court shall be the chief and capital place of the 'said honour.' The other titular *honours* so then created by statute, were *Grafton* and *Ampthill*. Madox has observed on these curious works of legislation, that they were the first *land honours* that ever were created by statute, and probably will be the last.

in England in any question of *purprestures* or *purlieu* of the forest, than we have in inquiring into the laws of the hunting-grounds of the Ameers of Scinde. Such forests, however, with their incidents, constitute a new Norman feature of our local nomenclature; and show, by the very names used to designate the privileged localities, that they were created mainly for, and enjoyed by, men of the Norman race.

If we pass from the forests to the sea-shore, we find a Norman name applied to a confederacy of ports on the south of England. The *Cinque ports* are still known by their ancient collective name, though severally '*Hastings, Sandwich, Dover,* '*New Romney,* and *Hythe,*' are names belonging to an earlier period. The Anglo-Saxon or Danish names of existing towns and villages were, in the main, undisturbed by the Norman Conquest, just as the framework of the Anglo-Saxon language was, in the main, undisturbed by Norman influence. In the local nomenclature, especially of the southern and some midland counties of England, there are found many instances in which the name of the Norman owner has been coupled with the old unchanged Saxon name of a town or village. Such a compound word was needless, except in cases where the same Saxon name belonged to two neighbouring places. Thus, Ashby-*de-la-Zouch* and Ashby-*Tolville* distinguished two towns, situated in adjacent hundreds in Leicestershire. So we have also Acton-*Burnell,* Acton-*Turville,* Barton-*Stacey,* Barton-*Peverel,* Barton-*Segrave,* Burton-*Constable,* Burton-*Hastings,* Burton-*Latimer,* Carlton-*Colvile,* Charlton-*Marshall,* Drayton-*Bassett,* Drayton-*Passeleu,* Hurst-*Moncieux,* Hurst-*Pierpoint,* Higham-*Ferrars,* Melton-*Mowbray,* Norton-*Mandeville,* Norton-*Malreward,* Norton-*Bavant,* Norton-*Conyers,* Woodham-*Ferrars,* Woodham-*Mortimer,* Stoke-*D'Abernon.* Sometimes the name of the saint to which a parish church was dedicated entered as an adjunct into the name of the parish, just like that of the Norman proprietor. Hence we have Combe *St. Nicholas* and Combe-*Bassett:* we have Liddiard *St. Lawrence* and Liddiard-*Tregoze;* Upton-*St. Leonards,* Upton-*Lovell,* and Upton-*Cressett;* Sutton-*St. Edmonds,* Sutton-*St. James,* Sutton-*St. Mary,* Sutton-*St. Leonards,* and Sutton-*Poyntz,* Sutton-*Valence,* Sutton-*Mallet,* Sutton-*Courtney,* Sutton-*Bassett,* Sutton-*Cheyne.*

Few in number as are the instances of names of saints found in the local nomenclature of England, yet the English church had ample possessions in the land from very early times, and many names of places have been derived, both before and since the Norman Conquest, from the ecclesiastical titles of their

reverend or right reverend owners. Instances are *Abbas*-Combe, Winterbourne-*Abbas*, *Abbots*bury, Charlton-*Abbots*, *Abbots*ton, and *Abbots*ley; *Priors*-Hardwick, Leamington-*Priors*, *Monk*-Bretton, *Monk*land, *Monk*ton, *Monk*-Wearmouth, Buckland-*Monachorum*, Toft-*Monachorum*, and Toller-*Fratrum*, by way of antithesis to Toller-*Porcorum*, the adjoining parish. And on the Tweed the stately rule of the monks of Melrose still lives in the well-known name of *Abbots*ford. So also *Bishop's* Lynn (afterwards, on an exchange between the king and bishop, *King's*-Lynn), Kingsbury-*Episcopi*, *Bishop*-Auckland, *Bishop*-Stoke, *Bishop*-Wearmouth, and the doubly ecclesiastical *Bishop*-*Monk*ton. So *Pres*ton, belonging to the priests of Newbattle Abbey, *Priest*-Hutton, &c.*

With monks and clergy some mention should be made of the Knights Templars, whose extensive possessions in England are still traceable in our local names, and add to their Norman element. A preceptory, or other possession of the Templars, is discernible whenever we meet with the name *Temple*, as at *Temple* in Cornwall, *Temple*-Bruer in Lincolnshire, *Temple*-Chelsing in Hertfordshire, *Temple*-Sowerby in Westmoreland, *Temple*-Newsam in Yorkshire, &c. The head-quarters of these soldiers of Christ were situated in the metropolis, near Chancery Lane, and south of Holborn; but before the end of the twelfth century were transferred to a neighbouring site, between Fleet Street and the Thames, for sometime called the *New Temple*.

* When speaking of monastic establishments and their influence on the local nomenclature of England, it may be mentioned that, at the time of the Domesday Survey, few of the great monasteries were without their vineyards. It appears clear from Tacitus, that the cultivation of the vine had not been introduced into Britain at the time of its subjugation by Agricola. Vopiscus says of the Emperor Probus, 'Gallis omnibus et Hispanis et Britannis hinc permisit ut 'vites haberent et vinum conficerent.' The cultivation of the vine thus introduced by the Romans continued through the Saxon times, as we learn from Bede, and from the laws of King Alfred. William of Malmesbury speaks of Gloucestershire as 'Regio plusquam aliæ 'Angliæ provinciæ *vinearum* frequentia densior.' Nevertheless few traces of the vine are found in our local names. Near Basing, in Hampshire, is the *Vine*, or *Vine-house*, 'in a richly wooded spot, 'where, as is said, the Romans grew the first vine in Britain;' the memory of which now only survives in the 'Vine Hounds.' Professor Hussey, in his edition of 'Bede's Ecclesiastical History,' observes, 'Vitem olim in Britannia cultam fuisse testantur quoque ad-'huc *plurima* locorum nomina in vicis et oppidis.' On the west side of Corfe Castle is a meadow, which is stated by Mr. Hutchins ('Dor-'set,' Introd. p. cxxiii.) to retain still the name of *Vineyard*.

This locality has long been *The Temple*, and has long been possessed by members of a profession more peaceful and enduring than that exercised by this soldiery of Christ. *Cedunt arma togæ.*

Other instances of the influence of the Norman Conquest and language on local names in England, are seen in Adwick-*le*-Street, and Chester-*le*-Street, Bolton-*le*-Moor, and Thornton-*le*-Moor, Laughten-*en-le*-Morthen, Poulton-*le*-Sand, Poulton-*le*-Fylde, and many other similar names. Buckland-*tout-Saints* may properly be classed with them. Sometimes, but rarely, an entirely new Norman name was bestowed, as in *Battle*, already mentioned, *Beaudesert*, *Beaumanoir*, *Bellasis*, *Belsize*, *Belleau*, and other instances. But, as a general rule, the Norman possessor was willing to call his town or village by its old Saxon name.

Such are some of the chief effects of the Norman Conquest of England on our local nomenclature. That conquest, although it changed the succession of the throne, and transferred most of the land from Anglo-Saxon to Norman ownership, was yet very unlike the earlier Anglo-Saxon conquests effected in Britain. The Anglo-Saxon settlers gained their new country step by step during a conflict and struggle of centuries, and remained long without much centralisation of their power. They had exterminated or expelled a large proportion of the British race for generations before the single rule of Egbert. They had to a great extent rooted out the British language as well as the British people. The names of almost every town, village, hamlet, and farmhouse throughout the country had become Anglo-Saxon. A vast number of such names were derived from those of their first Anglo-Saxon owners, and the whole country had finally received, appropriately enough, its collective name of *Angle-land.* But the circumstances of the Norman Conquest were widely different. The conquered nation then remained on its native soil, and the new monarch of a realm acquired by a single victory, claimed to succeed to a lawful inheritance by succession to a kinsman, and promised to observe the laws granted by Edward the Confessor. The nationality of England, as it existed in 1066, was not, in fact, broken up and destroyed by the Norman Conquest, as the nationality of the Britons had been by the Anglo-Saxon Conquest. Only slight changes have taken place therefore in the names of cities, towns, or villages in England, during the centuries which have elapsed since the Norman Conquest; and the name of England is still preserved to designate our country, and may be said to be coeval with the flag 'that for a thousand years 'has braved the battle and the breeze.'

ART. V. — *Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of F. M. the Duke of Wellington: Ireland, from March* 30. 1807, to *April* 12. 1809. Edited by his Son. London: 1859.

ALTHOUGH the present volume may add but little to the reputation of the Duke of Wellington, it is nevertheless valuable as forming an additional link in the long chain of correspondence which enables us to trace the first soldier of his day from his earliest arms in Holland to his grave in St. Paul's. It serves, moreover, to show how one, who has justly been described as the most devoted servant king and country ever knew, comported himself, when suddenly called upon to perform a number of small yet necessary duties, all of which were strange, and many of which must have been distasteful to him.

Actuated by the principle that the King's service must be carried out *quand même*, the Duke appears to have discharged these duties sensibly and successfully enough, but without rising perceptibly above the very low moral standard of the corrupt times in which he was living.

In April, 1806, Sir Arthur Wellesley, at the invitation of Lord Grenville, entered the united Parliament as member for the borough of Rye, chiefly with the view of being useful to his eldest brother, Marquess Wellesley, whose administration of India was at that moment vehemently arraigned in the House of Commons by a Mr. Paull.

Early in the spring of the ensuing year, the Grenville ministry resigned, in consequence of the obstinate refusal of George the Third to make any concessions in favour of his Roman Catholic subjects in Ireland. A new administration, pledged to postpone justice and good faith to the ease of the crazy monarch's conscience, was formed under the Duke of Portland; and the Duke of Richmond, a soldier, succeeded the Duke of Bedford in Dublin, whither he was accompanied by Major-General Sir Arthur Wellesley, as Chief Secretary. Sir Arthur's Irish period of office lasted from March 1807, till April 1809, with two intervals; during the first of which he took part in Lord Cathcart's expedition to Denmark, and during the second fought and won the battle of Vimiero and signed the convention of Cintra. A remarkable letter in the present series (No. 70.) shows that in accepting office at home during a general European war, he had stipulated that he should be at liberty to resign

it for active military service, whenever an opportunity might occur:—

'My dear lord,' wrote he to Lord Castlereagh, 'by all accounts you are advancing the preparations for your expedition to the continent, which I now conclude will be sent. I hope that you recollect what I said to you upon this subject. It may happen that you have it not in your power to employ me as I wish, and it might have happened that I should not have been so employed if I had not been appointed to the office which I hold in this country. But that will not be believed, and it will be understood and said that I had avoided or had not sought for an opportunity of serving abroad in order to hold a large civil office. As I am determined not to give up the military profession, and as I know that I can be of no service in it unless I have the confidence and esteem of the officers and soldiers of the army, I must shape my course so as to avoid this imputation. If therefore you send the expedition, I wish you would urge Lord Hawkesbury to fix upon a successor for me, as I positively cannot stay here whether I am to be employed with it or not. When you will urge this request upon him, I beg you to tell him that the zeal and anxiety for the success of the present Government, which induced me to come here, are by no means diminished. I would do anything to serve them; but I am convinced they will all see that I should lose half the power of being of use to them if any imputation should be cast upon me.'

Sentiments such as these may be usefully remembered in the present day, when the prizes of military life are not unfrequently claimed by, and awarded to, men who have not always pressed forward very eagerly to take an active share in the toil and heat of their profession.

The condition of Ireland in 1807 was deplorable. The cruel wounds which had been so savagely inflicted on both sides during the rebellions of 1798 and 1803, were still open and festering; the Roman Catholics were in vain claiming some instalment of the religious and political freedom which had been promised them by Pitt and Cornwallis as the price of their support in carrying the Union; whilst the Orange party, surprised and angry at the pretensions of those whom they considered as their natural enemies, were struggling hard to retain that ascendancy in Church and State, which they had long held to be their birthright. These circumstances, combined with the depressed condition and known disaffection of the lower and middle classes throughout the country, rendered the militia and yeomanry but a doubtful means of defence against foreign invasion; an event daily expected by all and wished for by many. The violence of the opposition in Parliament increased the difficulties of the Government; and rendered it necessary to maintain by any means, and by all means, a strong majority in

both Houses of the Legislature. The attainment of this object was materially assisted by the unscrupulous exercise of patronage in the wide field afforded by the separate executive establishments of Ireland, then abounding in light duties and heavy salaries.

In the very first pages of the volume before us, even before he had had time to reach Dublin, we find Sir Arthur Wellesley plunged over head and ears in the mire of Irish corruption, as Irish corruption then was. The second letter of the present series, dated from No. 11. Harley Street, exhibits him engaged in bribing over to his party an influential connexion of his own; requesting her to name 'a friend' whom he might appoint to the lucrative post of prize agent for certain Prussian prizes about to be sold; and hinting that 'he believed he could 'make other arrangements beneficial to her interests,' if she would undertake to support the new ministry. The lady, however, rejected the apple thus temptingly proffered to her, and being evidently an Irish patriot of some experience, referred to previous bad faith and disappointments which she had experienced at the hands of the Tory party, declaring that until something more tangible than hints and hopes were held out to her, she could only engage 'to act according to the best of her 'judgment for the benefit of the empire, and of Ireland in par-'ticular.' In this, as in many subsequent cases, an over-considerate reticence as to names on the part of the noble editor, involves the reader in much perplexity and confusion.

The next letter is Sir Arthur's reply to an application—a masterpiece of importunity in its way—making the following peremptory demands: for the applicant, an Irish peerage; for himself and a friend, the entire patronage of the county in which they lived, and a seat in the Privy Council for each; for another friend, a legal office; for a third friend, a staff appointment; for a lady in whom the applicant took an interest, a pension; and for a certain Captain Bailey, immediate promotion in the army. Some 'arrangement as to the park' was also asked for. To all these demands, save the last, Sir Arthur appears to have acceded; explaining that there existed 'insuperable ob-'jections' to the proposed arrangement connected with the park, emanating probably from the same royal source as those which baffled Sir Richard Phillips * when he urged a request of the same nature, and was offered and accepted the Irish peerage of Milford in lieu of the carriage entrance for which he had originally petitioned.

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* Sir N. Wraxall's Memoirs.

Such are the initiatory specimens of the way in which the Duke of Portland's government proposed to administer justice to Ireland in 1807. Sinecures, pensions, and secret service money for the governing classes; bayonets, the lash, transportation, and the gibbet for the people; and fortunate it was for the Irish that two such sensible, upright, and merciful soldiers as the Duke of Richmond and Sir Arthur Wellesley chanced at that critical moment to be set in authority over them.

On the 16th of April, Sir Arthur reached Dublin, where he found the joy of 'those who called themselves the loyal party,' at the change of government, too exuberant to be either acceptable or safe, for the mortified Roman Catholics were sore and savage at the final extinction of their hopes; and it became the duty of the Conqueror of Assaye to commence his civil duties by preaching a sermon on Christian charity and forbearance, to the Protestant Archdeacon of Dublin and his flock, who were desirous to celebrate the advent of the Duke of Richmond by insulting their Roman Catholic fellow subjects in a public and formal manner. Two days afterwards, a report—a false report—was carelessly forwarded to the Castle by General Trench, that a French fleet was hovering about the southern coasts. Whereupon Sir Arthur Wellesley, having concluded his sermon to the Archdeacon—and a very excellent discourse it was—betook himself to organising a force wherewith to oppose the invaders. But as soon as the truth became known, and the supposed French men-of-war turned out to be English West Indiamen, he brought his energies to bear upon General Trench, 'wigging' him for his 'negligence and indifference,' in a style which, he opined, 'would make him more attentive 'in future.'

On the 27th April, Parliament was dissolved. Three days before, Charles Long, the Secretary to the Treasury, had written from London in the following strain, to the Chief Secretary in Dublin, on whom the management of the Irish elections devolved *ex officio:* 'The dissolution takes place on 'Monday next, so that you have no time to lose in making 'your engagements. You will of course, as soon as you can, 'see Pennefather respecting Cashell, Judge Day respecting 'Tralee, and Handcock respecting Athlone. *I believe they all 'sell to the best bidder.*'

Sir Arthur Wellesley replied in the same business-like key:—

'Pennefather has promised me the refusal of Cashell, *but he has not yet stated his price.* We shall have Athlone, I believe, but I have not yet seen Justice Day. Wynne has arranged with Canning for Sligo; I do not know whether it is the Secretary of State or

not. Lord Portarlington is in England; and the agent who settled for that borough upon the last general election was Mr. Parnell. We have no chance with him, and it would be best to arrange the matter with Lord Portarlington. I heard that he had sold the return for the last six years at the last election; and, if that should be true, of course we shall not get it now. I have written to Roden and have desired Henry* to settle with Enniskillen. I have desired Lord H. to send to Lord Charleville about Carlow. *Tell Henry to make me acquainted with the price of the day.*'

A voluminous correspondence ensued, on the most effectual means of corrupting the Irish constituencies. It appears to have been carried on by the gallant Chief Secretary with an unscrupulous zeal, which, in later days, would have done honour to Trail of Shrewsbury, or even to the illustrious 'Man in the 'Moon' himself. From it we glean the following bits, illustrative of the private history of an Irish general election, fifty years ago:—

'I have seen Roden about his borough. It is engaged for one more session to Lord Stair, under an old sale for years, and he must return Lord Stair's friend, unless Lord Stair should consent to sell his interest in the borough for the session which remains, upon which subject he has written to him. . . . Enniskillen told me you might recommend to his seat at Enniskillen; *he will, however, expect its value.* ——'s seat at Dundalk might be had; *as he prefers his brother's claim to a bishopric, he ought not to be suffered to sell.* Long will speak to you about Lord Roden's seat. I have desired Henry to settle for Enniskillen's. I have written to Henry about a seat for myself. I should not of course like to pay much money for one. . . . Send names for the following boroughs — Cashell, Tralee, Enniskillen — Athlone possibly. . . . A name for Athlone, in case we should have the borough. Tell Lord Palmerston to give me his interest for Sligo, and desire his agent, Henry Stewart, to do as I order him. . . . I thought it advisable to encourage Mr. Croker to persevere at Downpatrick. He has promised allegiance, and all that he required was a sum of from 1500*l.* to 2000*l.*, to enable him to carry on the contest, and I have by the Duke of Richmond's advice promised to supply it. You know how we are situated in this country for want of money for services of this description. . . . The sum which I have consented to advance for the purpose of Croker's election, must come either out of the civil list, or out of any fund applicable for election purposes in England. Indeed, I believe that at all events it ought to come in the first instance from the latter, as the process is long by which we must get the money from the civil list fund; it is wanted immediately, and, I suspect, that I shall be obliged to make use of my own credit, in the first instance, to procure it.' [Sir Arthur adds in a postscript, that

* The Right Honourable Henry Wellesley.

if Mr. Croker succeeds, he will have to vacate an office of 300*l.* a year, which will revert to Government, and will serve to bribe somebody else.] 'I have organised a contest for the Knight of Kerry, and I have hopes we shall bring in Colonel Crosbie instead of him.'

From this last paragraph it would appear that the Knight had proved insensible to the blandishments lavished upon him but six weeks before by Sir Arthur Wellesley in the very first letter of the present series. 'I also want Lord Spencer Chichester's 'interest in the County of Wexford, for Colonel Alcock and Mr. 'Ram.' In order to secure this object, a cautiously worded letter appears to have been written to Lord ——, dangling before him, *but not promising him*, a step in the peerage, if he would help Colonel Alcock, who, however, effectually helped himself, *more Hibernico*, by insulting, challenging, fighting and killing his opponent, Mr. Colclough, before the day of nomination. The gallant Colonel was then peaceably elected without further opposition, Mr. Colclough had a 'great' funeral; and Sir Arthur, in writing about other matters to Lord Harrington, incidentally mentions the occurrence — adding, with striking simplicity — 'As this is reckoned fair in Ireland, it has created 'no sensation in the county.' Of Colonel Alcock's exorbitant pretensions, based on his successful act of bloodshed, we hear a good deal afterwards:—

'I heard from Lord Castlereagh, respecting the return of Mr. Quintin Dick, and I have settled that he shall be returned for Cashell. Justice Day had, as usual, opened a negotiation for the sale of Tralee, having before agreed with the government here that we should have the borough. Lord Castlereagh discovered that Dick was to be the purchaser, and recommended that he should be member for any place rather than Tralee. I have therefore put him in for Cashell; and as Henry desired that either he or I might be returned for either of the Irish seats, the elections for which should be on an early day, I have desired Judge Day to return me for Tralee, and I shall desire Hardwicke to return Henry for Athlone. The elections for both these places must be for Saturday next, and if between this day and Thursday I should hear that it is wished that any particular person should be returned, I shall be able to arrange accordingly. . . . If we should get Carlow, you (C. Long) shall be returned for that borough, and Huskisson for Dundalk. . . . *Our elections go on well, we shall have about three quarters of the Irish Members.*'

These few extracts, gleaned from the numerous letters bearing upon the general election of 1807, will be sufficient to show the spirit with which Sir Arthur Wellesley unhesitatingly threw himself into the most degrading duties incidental to official life. We find in his correspondence no comments upon the baseness of the men with whom he had to deal — no re-

luctance to making himself an instrument by which the recently reformed institutions of the country were immediately perverted to party purposes — no expressions of regret at the enormous and systematic corruption in which he was called upon to take the lead. Having accepted the post of Chief Secretary, and having ascertained that one of the most important duties of that influential and lucrative post was to corrupt as many constituencies, and to debauch as many members of parliament as the means placed at his disposal would allow, he seems to have addressed himself to the task with the same grave and deliberate energy which he subsequently evinced more worthily in organising armies and in winning battles. He had taken the King's shilling, he considered it his duty to obey orders, and he left it to those who gave the orders to see that they were justifiable. It is very painful to discover such a man so employed, and we sincerely wish it had fallen to the share of some other Tory placeman to do that evil work; but we are glad to admit that Sir Arthur Wellesley appears to have soiled his own hands as little as possible in doing it; never bating an inch of his self-respect; never permitting a liberty to be taken with him; or for a moment swerving from what he chose to consider his duty to his Party and his King.

Other letters, bearing on subsequent single elections, are scattered through the volume—insignificant enough then; significant enough now:

'July 11th, 1807, London. *To James Trail, Esq., Dublin.*—I propose to vacate my seat for Tralee and to move for a new writ, and I request you to desire Mr. Justice Day to have Evan Foulkes, Esq., of Southampton Street, Strand, London, returned for that borough. I request you also to desire Mr. Justice Day, Mr. Handcock, and Mr. Pennefather to draw upon Messrs. Drummond, Charing Cross, London, for 5000*l.*, British cash, at ten days' sight. This is as good as cash; but it will be very convenient to us here, if you can delay to give them these directions.'

'July 17th. *To the same.*—Sir William Elford, of Brixham, in Devonshire, is to be member for Athlone.'

'December 13th. *To the Duke of Richmond.*—I enclose a letter from Lord Hertford. Lisburn is his borough, in the county of Antrim, and I have written to him that you will not dispose of any office in Lisburn without consulting his wishes.'

'January 9th, 1809. *To the Lord Bishop of Derry.*—I have received your lordship's letter of the 7th. I apprehend that the sum of 5000*l.* is larger than we shall be able to give for the seat at Dungannon; as I believe we have given lately 3000*l.*, at most; but I will this day write by express to my brother Mr. Wellesley, and you shall have an answer as soon as I can hear from him. *Nobody has had any knowledge of our correspondence with you on this subject*

except the Lord Lieutenant, and I enclose you all the letters I have received from you upon it.'

'*To Lord Northland.*—I have the honour to inform your lordship that the sum of 3000 guineas is lodged in Coutts' bank in the name of John Forbes, Esq., and Claude Scott, Esq., which sum will be paid in fourteen sitting days after Mr. Scott will be returned to parliament, to the order of your lordship.'

'March 25th, 1809. *To Sir Charles Saxton, Bart.*—I have moved for a new writ for the city of Cashell, in the room of Mr. Quintin Dick, and I shall be obliged to you if you will let Mr. Pennefather know that the person whom I wish should be returned is Mr. Peel. I will let you know his christian name to-morrow.'

'*To the same.*—The name of the gentleman to be returned for Cashell is Robert Peel, Esq., of Drayton Bassett, in the county of Stafford.'

We have been induced to submit the foregoing extracts to our readers, with the view of neutralizing the effect produced by recent biographers of the Duke, who, mistaking in their affectionate zeal panegyric for history, can perceive in the less admirable points of his Grace's character nought save indications of the rarest and sternest public virtue. It is impossible, after the outline we have here given of his transactions in the electioneering line during the year 1807, and of the means whereby he had contrived to secure for the Tory government three-fourths of those who were called by courtesy 'the re-'presentatives of the people of Ireland,' to read without a smile the following passage in the concluding volumes of Mr. Gleig's life of the Duke of Wellington:

'The conduct of the Duke under the circumstances (the general election consequent on the death of George IV.) was in perfect keeping with the whole tenor of his public life. He positively refused to bring the influence of government to bear on any single election. He forbade his representatives at the Cinque Ports, where in those days the Lord Warden was very powerful, to canvass in his name, or to use any means of threat or promise in order to obtain votes. His theory was, and to the last day of his life he avowed and acted on it, that the right of electing members to serve in Parliament is a great constitutional privilege, and that as they who possess that privilege are responsible to the country for the use to which they turn it, so every interference with their free will, whether for party or personal purposes, is an outrage both to public and private morality. Accordingly, whilst others were occupied with electioneering and its results, he applied his undivided attention to the management of the general affairs of the country.'

A few lines further on Mr. Gleig tells us that

'The Duke once said to him, "Over and over again it has been proposed to me to become the proprietor of a rotten borough, but I

would have nothing to say to the proposal; I would not dirty my fingers with so vile a job." Of Sir Arthur Wellesley's Irish administration the details have not yet seen the light; but thus much may be said, that in an age of universal corruption he neither stifled nor concealed the scorn which he entertained for the venal statesmen by whom he was surrounded.'

Since Mr. Gleig penned the above passage, the details of Sir Arthur Wellesley's Irish administration *have* seen the light, and it is certainly difficult to reconcile the Duke's supposed horror of owning a borough with his experience and success in practising the illicit art of boroughmongering. If he really made the speech which Mr. Gleig attributes to him, we must conclude that he made it on the same principle as that on which a witty Frenchman attempted to reconcile his taste for the society of married women with his disinclination to enter the married state: 'J'ai les mêmes idées,' said he, 'sur le mariage 'que sur le tabac. Je l'aime beaucoup, je m'en sers frequem-'ment, mais je ne porte pas de tabatière.'

Having thus secured the return of a strong corps of Irish Treasury hacks, Sir Arthur Wellesley's next task was to discipline and utilise them: and to do so was by no means an easy matter. Every Irish M.P. who supported Government considered that to make the Government pay over and over again for his support was a sacred duty which he owed to himself and his friends. We find Sir Arthur imploring the whips in London not to call members over from Ireland to vote, if they could possibly avoid doing so. 'Here they think of nothing but 'getting people over to form a majority,' wrote he, 'without 'adverting to the fact, that every man who comes over has a 'claim, which must be satisfied in the course of next summer.' Some were propitiated by hard cash — some by places for their male friends, and by pensions for their female friends. Everybody wanted a commissionership — a seat at some board where the work was light and the salary 500*l.* a-year; every placeman wanted to work by deputy — and invariably preferred that the deputy should remunerate himself by peculation rather than by any deduction from the income of his principal. The two great northern lords, Abercorn and Conyngham, occasioned the Government more trouble than all the other public plunderers of the day. As unscrupulous and as greedy as the class that traded in tide-waiterships and in places in the constabulary, their demands ranged immeasurably higher and quite as low. Clamouring loudly for the most important and valuable rewards the Crown could confer, they omitted no opportunity of securing their share of the pettiest places to be had. The entire

patronage of Donegal they of course divided, the Marquis of Abercorn taking the lion's share in consideration of his larger estate; an arrangement to which it was found necessary to reconcile Lord Conyngham by letting him job *ad libitum* in Clare, where he had also property. We find innumerable instances scattered through these letters of the insatiable pretensions of these great nobles, of their rapacity, their readiness to take offence, their barefaced threats to withdraw their support from the party with which they were acting, if they were in any degree thwarted in their views. And their views, Sir Arthur tells us, were 'immense.' In a single letter we hear that Lord Abercorn wants the next bishopric for his friend Fowler; the next representative peerage for his friend Lord Mountjoy; and that if he does not get what he wants, he and 'his members' will not vote with Government any longer. But as the next bishopric was wanted for Mr. Jocelyn, and the next peerage for Lord Clancarty, Lord Hawkesbury attempted to fob Lord Abercorn off with a green riband for his friend Lord Aboyne; Sir Arthur Wellesley energetically exclaiming that the great northern lord will never bear such a disappointment. 'These damned parties in 'Donegal will destroy us. We must not offend Lord Conyng-'ham, but it will never do to quarrel with Lord Abercorn.'

When such examples were set by the noblest and the wealthiest in the land, it is almost needless to describe how closely and eagerly they were imitated by the gentry and the middle classes. Their impudent greediness defies condensation. The whole volume is but a terse record of it. One influential gentleman wants to be made Mustermaster-general — to get the Post-office—to see his son a lord of the Treasury. Sir Arthur Wellesley proposes to him the command in chief of the Fencibles, but he will not be satisfied with that unless his other son can be made a bishop. Lady ——, a person we are told of 'rank, family, and station,' demands to 'be provided for' at the public expense: but, being a delicate-minded female, stipulates that this comfortable arrangement shall be conducted with entire secrecy. Lords Ely and Donegal squabble like schoolboys for Lord Shannon's riband. A Mr. Everard claims from Lord Mulgrave promotion for his son, Lieutenant Everard of the 'Flora'—not on the ground that his son is a deserving officer—which he is—but because he is the favourite son of his mother, who was a favourite of Lord Mulgrave's thirty years before. Lord Castlereagh demands that Mr. Canning, M.P. for Sligo, shall be fitted with some lucrative office which he can hold with his seat in Parliament, explaining that he

and Mr. Secretary Canning are very anxious for the accomplishment of this job, *as the M.P. for Sligo is nearly related to both of them.*

Nor was the conduct of the Protestant Clergy in preferring their claims to a share of the loaves and fishes more edifying than that of the laity. No bishop, no dean, appeared satisfied with his position, however snug it might be; all were constantly clamouring for change, and for change for the better—in a pecuniary sense. We have seen from the correspondence of the Bishop of Derry with the Chief Secretary, that that venerable prelate had no objection whatever to sell a borough, provided he could get a fancy price for it, and had a good chance of not being found out. We learn that Mr. Jocelyn was made a bishop, because his brother had very handsomely given up a commissionership worth 500*l.* a-year, in order to enter Parliament and support Government; stipulating however that whenever he chose to retire he should get an equivalent office at some other board. The following claim, drawn up by the Bishop of Ferns for the information of the Duke of Richmond, will show the tone and spirit in which the heads of the Protestant Church in Ireland pushed their fortunes in 1807.

'About nineteen years ago Dr. Cleaver was consecrated bishop of Ferns, *to which a borough belonged, and where it was thought advisable an English bishop should be on that account.* He was obliged to finish a house begun by his predecessor at the expense of about 10,000*l.* In the rebellion his house was attacked, and he lost nearly to the amount of 4,000*l.* He does not claim a promise; *but he states that next thing to a promise was given him* that he should succeed to Raphoe or some good see. He has had several junior bishops provided for over his head, and Lord John Beresford, to whom he finds a positive promise has been given, was not on the Bench when *he was given to understand* he should succeed to Raphoe, namely three years ago. He now conceives that he is little likely to succeed to any good bishopric in this country, and his family having been a good deal alarmed during the rebellion, he would readily take any English bishopric, even Bristol.'

Claims such as these were not likely to be overlooked by the Irish Executive of 1809, especially where a borough was connected with a bishopric; and, accordingly, Eusebius Cleaver became —not Bishop of Bristol, as he had in his humility proposed,— but Archbishop of Dublin; and the Hon. Percy Jocelyn—subsequently translated to Clogher—was entrusted with the cure of Tory votes and Protestant souls in the diocese of Ferns and Leighlin.

The distribution of Church patronage in Ireland being in the hands of the Lord Lieutenant and the Chief Secretary, and

they being both General officers, it seems to have been distributed pretty much as we might expect to see it distributed now-a-days, were it at the disposal of the General commanding the camp at the Curragh for the time being, and his brigade major. No personal qualifications, no spiritual considerations, appear to have ever been thought of; all that was required was that the reverend parties on their preferment should not be men of infamous character, and that their friends in Parliament should have voted stoutly on the Tory side. A certain Mr. Hewitt, a layman, who was dissatisfied with his official income, and was desirous to better it somehow or other at the expense of the public, received the following notable advice from Sir Arthur:—

'I should recommend Mr. Hewitt to go into the Church. All that he can look to from office will be about 1000*l.* a year, and the prospect of it not very near. But in the Church, with his claims for provision, with his powerful friends, and the means in the power of the Lord Lieutenant, he has a better chance of getting more.'

The following letter will show how deaneries were then dealt with by the military governors of Ireland; we should certainly not venture to deal as lightly with appointments in the corps of Beef-eaters now:—

'London, June 30th, 1807.—I have looked over my papers and talked to Long respecting the claims to the vacant deaneries. In the first place I must mention to you that the deanery of Tuam is not of half the value of the deanery of Limerick; and, if it were possible, I should recommend you to avoid giving the former to Lord ——, as it is called a sinecure, and can be held with any other livings, for the best of which he will forthwith press you. Long says the person who has the best claim is Mr. Leslie, the member for Monaghan, for his brother. Mr. Pitt promised him preferment in the Church, and when Dr. Kearney was made bishop of Ossory, he declared that he would not consent to that promotion, unless the doctor would engage to give Mr. Leslie the first and best piece of preferment in the diocese. This the doctor promised, but as bishop he has not performed his promise. Pitt's promise, therefore, to Mr. Leslie remains unperformed to this day, and Mr. Leslie has this additional claim to it, that *he has always served well and willingly, and has not, as others have, demanded a fresh subsidy for every service.* Add to this that he was the first who proposed the exchange of the Limerick deanery; and, although he kept his temper better than others when he was told it could not be done, he told me he hoped if it was done for any body it would be for him. The next claimant is Mr. French, M.P. for Roscommon, for his brother, who is a dean already. The only question respecting him is, whether the deanery he has is better or worse than that of Tuam. As well as I can recollect it is 800*l.* a

year; but whether it is better or worse, Long tells me that French has always acknowledged that Leslie has a better and a prior claim to his. The next claim is Dean Carleton's. I believe that Carleton's deanery is worse than Tuam, and that the former would vie in value if transferred to another person. If the values can be made nearly equal, it might be proper to remove Dean Carleton to Tuam, and give his deanery to Leslie. But if there be a great difference in the values, we shall not satisfy Leslie with the worst, and I am afraid we shall not satisfy Dean Carleton's claims even with the best; and that by an attempt to oblige two people we shall fail to oblige either.'

After the foregoing illustrations of the means by which the representative government of the United Kingdom was managed by the predominant party of the day, it is superfluous again to remind our readers that Sir Arthur Wellesley had entered office in corrupt times. And it is but fair to him to state, that he does not appear to have evinced, in his own person, any undignified craving for the honours and emoluments which it was his duty to dispense to others. At the same time, it cannot be denied, that his vigorous organisation exhibited a healthy appetite for the good things which in those days were held to be the fair perquisites of the party and of the class of which he was a distinguished member. In India, under the government of his eldest brother, it is improbable that merits so salient as his own had been either disregarded or ill requited. On his return home, his high military reputation and his influential family connexions secured to him immediate staff employment and staff emolument, and a seat in Parliament on the easiest terms. At war with France, the Ministry naturally looked to the successful aristocratic soldier whenever they wanted an officer of his rank, on whose zeal and capacity they could depend. He was employed in Denmark, he was employed in Portugal, he was placed on the Staff in Ireland — being Irish Secretary — at his own request, for according to him, in 1807 'they were very badly off for intelligent General 'officers.' In the intervals of professional employment, his leisure was filled by the duties of his civil office, which were rewarded by a salary of between 6000*l.* and 7000*l.* a-year. Marquis Wellesley had returned rich and honoured from India, his subsequent official career is a matter of history. Wellesley Pole, his second brother, afterwards Chief Secretary for Ireland, Master of the Mint, Master of the Buck Hounds, and Lord Maryborough, was, in 1807, Secretary to the Admiralty, from which office, and from a share of a patent office in the Irish Exchequer, which he held in conjunction with the Marquis Wellesley, he was in receipt

of 6250*l.* a-year. Henry Wellesley, his youngest brother, afterwards British Ambassador at the Courts of Vienna, Madrid, and Paris, and Lord Cowley, was Joint Secretary to the Treasury, with a salary of 4000*l.* a-year; all four brothers were Privy Councillors and members of the Legislature. And amongst the few names which are left to assist the puzzled reader in unravelling the tangle of jobs which this volume records, we come across that of Gerald Valerian Wellesley, already Canon of Westminster and Rector of Chelsea, afterwards Prebend of Durham, Incumbent of Bishopswearmouth, and Chaplain to the Queen, for whom his illustrious brother was endeavouring, in 1807, to secure from the Duke of Richmond either the bishopric of Cork, or, failing that, an additional 1000*l.* a-year in the Church.

How — to whom — or for what — the Irish pension list was apportioned between 1807 and 1809, the noble editor of these papers will not permit us to know; we are only allowed to learn that it was chiefly divided amongst women; but no clue is afforded by which we may even guess at the nature of the secret services which entitled Lady ——, Mrs. ——, and Miss ——, to the comfortable annuities, ranging between 300*l.* and 500*l.* a-year, which were assigned to them, from time to time, by the gallant Sir Arthur. The discretion observed on this point reminds us of a memorable dictum of the late Joseph Hume, who used to say, that whenever he heard the word 'delicacy' introduced into an argument, he felt certain that there was something wrong.

Under such circumstances, it was not in nature that Sir Arthur Wellesley should not be a strong Tory, or that he should look with other than indulgent eyes upon a system which was dealing so gratefully and liberally with him and his. The King's Government was carried on in entire consonance with the King's wishes; Sir Arthur and the class to which he belonged were well off; his political and personal friends were in office, and were likely to remain there; and by moving with ability a few batteries and a few regiments from county to county, as popular feeling called for them, the internal peace of Ireland could easily be maintained and the disaffected be kept in awe. Far from being shocked at the abuses which disgraced the Irish Establishment — at its exorbitant sinecures — at the preposterous numbers of its placemen, and at the neglected and inefficient condition of its public offices, we find him deploring that the Castle had not at its disposal more means wherewith to buy up more boroughs and corrupt more members, for the more stable support of the Tory Ministry and the more complete

repose of George the Third's conscience. When pressed by an able and friendly correspondent, Mr. Tighe, as to the propriety of certain obvious reforms, Sir Arthur explained, that although he was at heart a reformer, he deprecated all sudden changes, and thought the abuses of which Mr. Tighe complained were much exaggerated, and that the moment was not come for dealing with them. Being brave men and no bigots, neither he nor the Duke of Richmond entertained either fear of or dislike to the Roman Catholics: they were perfectly willing that they should be dealt with as liberally as the existing laws permitted; but, unluckily, the existing laws bore hard and heavy against them, and the delicate state of the King's conscience forbade any hopes of a change. They were indulgent even to Maynooth, and had no objection whatever that the Roman Catholic priests should be salaried by Government, not indeed as a measure of justice, but because they believed that such a step 'would give 'them the command of the Catholics to a great degree, in spite 'of Lord Granville or Montague Mathew.' Sir Arthur Wellesley admitted that the Protestant Church was rich — that Protestant incumbents did not reside much and ought to reside more — that their churches were few, and their glebe houses fewer — on all these points he allowed that there was ample room for improvement, when the proper time should arrive for effecting it — but in the meantime he could not conceive how any right-minded Catholic could object to paying tithes to a Protestant rector; or to contributing towards the erection of a Protestant Church, and expressed his firm conviction, that 'if the real position of the Protestant Church in Ireland 'could but be made known to the House of Commons, its 'cause would be triumphantly vindicated,' in spite of its boroughmongering bishops, its jobbing deans, its absentee incumbents, its parishes without churches, and its churches without congregations. As for education, Sir Arthur Wellesley, after going into the question very fully, came to the conclusion, that in Ireland there was more than enough of it. 'What we want here,' wrote he, 'is discipline, not learning.'

Whenever Sir Arthur Wellesley turns his attention to matters connected with the military profession, he is admirable. His directions to an officer commanding troops in an Irish town during a contested election (No. 65.); his recommendation that horses in camp should be highly fed and but slightly groomed, 'the dust in their coats affording them much warmth;' his sensible and lucid instructions to a General officer commanding a district (No. 483.) are all of them indicative of temper, excellent judgment, and a thorough knowledge of his profession in its minutest details.

He tenders the following valuable advice to the Duke of Richmond just before he sailed in 1809, for the Peninsula, with respect to the military education of his sons:—

'I am decidedly of opinion that the best thing to do with boys who are to be officers, particularly with those who are likely, *from their station in the country*, to command armies in the course of their lives, is to give them a finished education; and I would recommend you not to hurry your boys from school till their education will be more nearly complete. To see service with a regiment is important, but not, when they are very young, so much so as to complete their education.'

This principle of selecting generals on account of their station in the country,—which has cost, and probably will again cost, the British nation oceans of blood and treasure,—was just then about to receive an unfortunate illustration in the fate of the Walcheren expedition. Entrusted to Lord Chatham, a worn-out *bon vivant* of notorious incapacity, at the instance of an influential lady at court, in order to recruit his finances, it failed shamefully in less than six weeks after its departure from our shores; squandering thousands of lives, wasting 20,000,000*l.* of money, and adding 1,000,000*l.* a-year to our taxation for ever.

Had Sir Arthur's wise and practical observations with regard to the attention which ought to be paid to the just claims of soldiers, been present to the minds of our Indian managers before the late mutiny of the European troops, England would have been spared much disgrace, anxiety, and expense. 'The 'Attorney-General's opinion is very good law, I dare say, for 'common purposes, but it won't do for soldiers. In all trans-'actions with them you must have justice as well as law on 'your side.' (No. 433.)

But the most important military papers in the collection are those which bear on the maintenance of the Protestant ascendancy in Ireland, and on the defence of that country against foreign invasion. (Nos. 20-26.) It had been determined to take no steps whatever towards conciliating the Roman Catholics. George the Third, Lord Eldon tells us, 'firm as a lion, placid 'and quiet beyond any moment of his life, had declared that 'he must be the Protestant King over a Protestant country, 'or no King at all,' and under an administration formed on these principles Sir Arthur Wellesley had chosen to accept office. The Irish nation was to be tranquillised by force, by means of English regulars and militia, and German mercenaries. And force was accordingly used, freely, and we fear, in some instances,

cruelly. An Insurrection Act having been passed, it became necessary to find magistrates able and willing to enforce it; and to do so was almost impossible; for the majority of the Irish landowners were either absentees, or were too timid to face the terrible risks incidental to a rigid performance of magisterial duties. Sir Arthur therefore recommended that, in disturbed districts, four stipendiary magistrates should be appointed to each county, and that 'to facilitate the action of the Insurrec-'tion Act in its old form, they should be entrusted with the 'power of transportation.' He urged Bagwell and the other Tory gentlemen of Tipperary to give a hint to the sheriff that 'the whippings in that county should be in earnest, and 'that all persons under sentence of transportation should be im-'mediately removed.'

The picture which Sir Arthur draws of the social and military condition of Ireland at the moment when these stringent measures were being carried into execution, is one which ought to render us thankful that an invading army did not again appear on Irish ground; for it was not to be expected that a people thus unjustly and harshly dealt with should view the probability of passing under French rule with either distaste or apprehension.

We learn in that able paper, that the country in general was disaffected; that the Irish did not appreciate the benefits of British control; that attempts to better their situation either did not reach their minds, or were represented to them as additional injuries; and that in 1807 the English Government had in Ireland no strength whatever, save its army. In case of invasion, we are told that the troops would find themselves in an enemy's country the moment the French landed; that they would have no *points d'appui*, or depôts for provisions and munitions of war, that would not be at the mercy of both rebels and invaders; that their communications would be cut off, and they would only be able to obtain such provisions as they could collect from day to day in a country inveterately hostile to them. They would be safe only where they were in strength, and would be able to command no ground except that which they actually occupied. Dublin, from its natural position, and its want of artificial defences, would be exposed to great danger; and if 'an accident' should occur there, the immediate result would be that reinforcements arriving from England would have to force their landing, and, when landed, would be unable to advance into the country until further reinforcements should follow.

To better this critical position of King George's Irish execu-

tive, Sir Arthur advised the following steps to be immediately taken:—A great naval establishment to be created in Bantry Bay, for the protection of the southern coasts; the city of Dublin and its landing places to be well fortified, and four or five strongholds to be constructed in the interior of the country —not fortresses of the first class, but refuges of a sufficient calibre to resist *coups de main*, and defensible against everything but regular and protracted siege operations. The cost of these measures he considered would be slight, when compared to the advantages to be derived from them. They would at all times give the Government a secure footing in Ireland—would enable the country to be held with a small body of troops, and would infuse confidence into the Protestants, and 'the loyal' of all descriptions.

Sir Arthur's opinions respecting the usefulness of yeomanry and volunteers in case of invasion, will be read with interest just now; but it must be observed that he estimated them at that time rather as a means of keeping down and awing the disaffected, than as likely to be efficient against regular troops. He says:—

'They are disciplined as well as corps of this description can be expected to be, and I doubt very much the policy of attempting to make any improvements in their discipline. I think that both in England and in Ireland we have attempted too much in the way of teaching parade discipline to yeomanry and volunteers. In the event of operations in these countries we should be greatly in want of light troops, particularly infantry, of the description of these troops. The parade discipline which they receive in large bodies would be entirely useless—nay, would embarrass them when they would be called upon to act as light troops; and I would therefore leave them as they are — in detached companies of various strength throughout the country.' (P. 34.)

The paper (No. 206.) addressed to the Earl of Harrington—on the military arrangements to be adopted by him in case of invasion — is too long and too exclusively professional to quote here; but it will well repay perusal.

Towards the end of the volume we are indulged with a peep behind the scenes of a domestic drama, which early in 1807 engrossed the entire attention of the British Legislature. We allude to the parliamentary inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York as Commander-in-Chief. On what principle the present Duke of Wellington has published the letters which bear upon this delicate subject, with the names of the parties implicated by their contents, whilst in all other cases he has been so perplexingly scrupulous—it is not for us to surmise: we have

only to thank him for the light which he has in this instance shed upon a painfully interesting chapter of English History.

His Royal Highness, although a married man, had been weak enough to live in public with a certain Mrs. Clarke, the wife of a small builder or stone mason, who had previously been the kept mistress of an army agent's clerk. For this woman, the Duke set up an establishment in Gloucester Place, then a fashionable quarter of the town, where the most exorbitant luxury and extravagance appear to have prevailed.

Mrs. Clarke, unable to extort from her Royal but insolvent lover sufficient funds to meet their joint ideas of enjoyment, bethought herself of using her influence with him to obtain commissions and promotion for officers in the army, which she subsequently converted into cash; selling them considerably under the regulation prices demanded at the Horse Guards for such articles of commerce. Transactions of this kind, openly and extensively carried on through advertisements in the public papers, soon attracted universal attention and reprobation. Newspaper paragraphs and pamphlets appeared, denouncing in no measured terms the corruption which was in those days known to prevail in every department of the State, both in England and Ireland, and more especially at the Horse Guards; their authors were repeatedly but in vain made the subject of prosecution by the Law Officers of the Crown; but when at last the connexion between Mrs. Clarke and the Duke was broken off, and his Royal Highness proved either unable or unwilling to pay the small annuity which he had settled on her, she placed herself in communication with certain members of Parliament who had shown themselves desirous of advocating reforms in the public departments, and revealed to them the gross malpractices by means of which she had for several years been in the habit of levying funds for the support of his Royal Highness's splendid establishment in Gloucester Place.

Public feeling on the subject had become so strong, that when a motion for inquiring into the Duke of York's conduct was proposed in the House of Commons by Colonel Wardle, and seconded by Sir Francis Burdett, his Majesty's ministers did not dare to oppose it. They proclaimed, however, their entire conviction of his Royal Highness's innocence; affected 'to 'court inquiry;' and menacingly reminded his assailants that whatever might be the result of the investigation, 'infamy must 'attach itself somewhere, either to the accused or to the ac-'cusers.' Much was vapoured, too, by the Tory party about disloyalty, conspiracy, and Jacobinism; and in the House of Commons that party had, by means with which we are now

familiar, secured a majority of nearly 200 votes. When, therefore, it was arranged that the inquiry should take place before a Committee of the whole House—a tribunal unable to examine witnesses upon oath—the Duke's acquittal became a matter of certainty: the publicity thus given to the proceedings ensured, however, that he should at the same time be tried before another tribunal — that of public opinion — and before that tribunal he succumbed.

Colonel Wardle, Sir Francis Burdett, Lord Folkestone, and Mr. Whitbread were the parties who led the attack. They were fiercely opposed by the Treasury Bench, by every placeman, and by every expectant placeman in the House, and by all the law officers of the Crown. The witnesses for the prosecution laboured under the disadvantage of being mostly persons of damaged character and evil life, and Mrs. Clarke's own evidence was weakened by the *animus* which she betrayed against her late keeper for having cast her off, and for having failed to pay her the pittance which he had settled upon her. Unluckily, however, for his Royal Highness, she was a woman of great spirit and quickness, and defended herself with astonishing readiness and success against the severe and protracted cross-examination of the legal phalanx arrayed against her. The Duke's own letters, too, proved that he had been in the habit of allowing her to interfere improperly with the business of the Horse Guards, and corroborated her testimony on several other main points upon which, before their production, she had been disbelieved. On the other hand, the witnesses for the defence — officers and gentlemen of high rank and station — though treated much more tenderly by the House than those for the prosecution—were guilty of many manifest falsehoods in their over-anxiety to discredit Mrs. Clarke and to screen his Royal Highness, and two of them, General Clavering and Captain Sandon, were actually committed to Newgate for prevarication. On reviewing the evidence taken in this celebrated case, and on considering the proceedings of the Committee, after the lapse of half a century, the wonder is, not that a weak and luxurious prince, overwhelmed by debt, should have suffered himself to be led astray by an artful, unprincipled, and beautiful woman — that is an old tale which has been often told — and will be told again, and truly told, until the end of time — but that the ministers of an English King should have attempted to defend such a culprit with such arguments against such evidence.

When the House of Commons came to a decision, it was, as it was well known it must be, in the Duke of York's

favour. But the majority which acquitted his Royal Highness of a guilty knowledge of Mrs. Clarke's malpractices was very small: it was but 82 in a house of 464 members, and in the minority were many names then and since justly honoured amongst Englishmen, as those of the foremost worthies of the times. Lord Henry Petty, Burdett, Folkestone, Romilly, Wilberforce, Horner, Coke, and many others of equal character—all expressed their entire conviction of the Duke's guilt and of the necessity for his immediate removal from the command of the army, and for doing so they were denounced by Lord Eldon as 'the bloodhounds of St. Stephen's;' but in the face of such an acquittal so procured, his Royal Highness had no choice but to resign, which he did, and so the matter ended for the time.

Lord Melville—of all men—and Lord Eldon were entrusted with the private conduct of the Duke's defence, which was led in the House of Commons by Lord Castlereagh, Perceval, Canning, Sir Arthur Wellesley, and Mr. John Wilson Croker, who had, as we know, been brought into Parliament with Government money, and who, on that occasion, laid the unenviable foundation of his future fortunes. The Master of the Rolls, the Attorney and Solicitor General, the Scotch Law Officers, the Judge Advocate, Judges Burton and Leycester, and Messrs. Adam and Leach—in short, every lawyer in the House save Romilly, Horner, Martin, and Wynne,—spoke and voted for the Duke; and we now know, from the various private memoirs which have since come to light, that these four were considered by their friends to have sacrificed their professional prospects to their consciences in acting as they did. Sir James Mackintosh, writing of Romilly's unselfish conduct on the occasion, observes, 'I do envy him so noble an opportunity of proving his disinterestedness;' and in Romilly's Memoirs we find the following entry made immediately after the vote acquitting the Duke of a guilty knowledge of Mrs. Clarke's practices: 'The decision of this night, coupled with some that have lately taken place, will do more towards disposing the nation in favour of Parliamentary Reform, than all the speeches that have been and will be made in any popular assemblies.' Indeed, in the opinion of many competent judges, the reputation of the House of Commons suffered even more by the Duke of York's trial than the Duke himself.

During the progress of this investigation, Sir Arthur Wellesley, in London, wrote from day to day to the Duke of Richmond, in Dublin, giving him an account of its progress.

At first Sir Arthur appears to have believed in the Duke's innocence. On the 1st of February he writes:—

'You will have read with astonishment what passed in Parliament about the Duke of York. Between ourselves, I believe it will be proved that Mrs. Clarke did receive large sums of money; and it was generally understood that applications to her were likely to reach the Duke and be successful. I understand also that she has in her possession a letter or letters from the Duke, adverting to the receipt of money by her. I am positively certain the Duke could not be aware of her selling her favours; whether we shall be able to prove it or not is another question, but we shall be able to prove that the business of his office is conducted in the most regular manner, and that everything has been done by him to prevent the irregular and clandestine traffic in commissions.'

In two subsequent letters Sir Arthur mentions that the evidence against the Duke has broken down. But on the 12th of February he writes that the case does not look so well:—

'The points on which any impression has been made against the Duke are, Dowler's appointment, which proved that Mrs. Clarke had influence to obtain such an appointment; the contradiction by Pearce, Mrs. Clarke's butler, of the evidence of Ludowick, the Duke's footman, on a point on which the Duke himself had examined Ludowick; the purchase of a service of plate at Rickett's, for which the Duke paid only 1350*l.* and Mrs. Clarke 500*l.*, as she says, from the money that she had received, with the Duke's knowledge, on account of her interference in French's levy; and lastly the allowance of 1000*l.* per annum, which she stated he gave her, compared with the extravagant expenses of her house and establishment, and connected with the payment of this last sum of 500*l.* to Rickett, the jeweller, and which sum, it is pretended, the Duke must have known she could procure only from impure sources. . . . I think that the scenes of swindling which have been and will be laid open, will be useful not only to the Duke of York, but to public men, in general, in this country, as it will be manifest to the whole world *that not one of any party or description has had any concern, direct or indirect, in the sale of an office; and that these transactions, which have deservedly created so much indignation, have been carried on by the scum of the earth.*'

It is difficult to imagine what Sir Arthur Wellesley could have been thinking of when, whilst actively employed in discharging the corrupt duties incidental to his Irish office, he penned this last sentence. He soon saw reason to adopt a lower key in commenting upon the Duke of York's case.

On the 17th of February he writes:—

'The *loveletters* have created a terrible impression. They prove that the Duke allowed Mrs. Clarke to talk to him on the claims and requests of officers, and that she had prevailed on him to recommend

Mr. O'Meara to the King as a preacher. Last night there was a terrible case of a Mr. Kennett, a bankrupt upholsterer, who had been in the pillory, for whom the Duke had endeavoured to obtain the office of collector of the customs at Surinam. Connected with this arrangement there was a negotiation for a loan of 70,000*l.* I doubt whether this case was legally proved, but it has a bad appearance. Besides, a note, supposed to be from the Duke, was, after some difficulty, produced, stating that "Tongue's business should be stopped." Mrs. Clarke could give no account of this note; but it is urged by the Duke's friends that it is a forgery, and was written to induce Tongue to pay his money and to show him that he would not be promoted unless he did pay it; and by his enemies that he wrote it himself, and that it proves that he knew of and was even a party to Mrs. Clarke's plunder of Tongue. I doubt the handwriting being the Duke's, although it resembles it much, and we are to have Gordon here to-day before us to say whether it is or not. But I acknowledge that from other circumstances attending the note, namely, its seal, the direction, the difficulty with which we got it from the holder, and Mrs. Clarke's real unaffected ignorance of its existence both before and after it was produced, I am induced to fear that it is the Duke's handwriting. The impression is strong against the Duke both in and out of the House. People are outrageous in the country on account of the immorality of his life, and they have burnt him in effigy in Suffolk and Yorkshire. I hear that the City of Westminster propose to pass a resolution, and that the City of London intend to petition the King to dissolve the Parliament, if the Duke of York should be acquitted of all blame. In the meantime all business is at a stand, and nobody thinks or talks of anything but Mrs. Clarke.'

In a letter of the 19th of February, we read:—

'I think the inquiry of Friday has done the Duke no good. The proof rather turns against his having written the note regarding Tongue's promotion, but the reasoning goes the other way, and the proof is by no means strong, and cannot counterbalance the reasoning upon the circumstances attending the contents, the seal, the direction and the circumstances under which it is supposed to have been written. Then other letters were produced on the same night, some of which tend materially to confirm Mrs. Clarke's evidence. I don't think Perceval's statement of the sums expended by the Duke on Mrs. Clarke did him much good. It was not well or clearly made in the first instance; it was too confined as to the general state of his affairs, but sufficiently detailed and substantiated for a confirmed statement. If he could not prove anything, which he could not, he ought to have gone into a general statement of the Duke's affairs and to have shown, as I understood he might have done, that the Duke had spent, during the two years and a half he kept Mrs. Clarke, not less than 35,000*l.* In short, the impression against the Duke is very strong and very general, both in and out of doors, and I am not quite certain that the best measure for him to adopt would not be to send a

message to the House of Commons to desire that he might be put in the course of having a fair and legal trial. I am convinced that he cannot continue to hold his office; and that if the present ministry endeavour to support him in it, they will be beat in Parliament.' (No. 612.)

The attitude which Sir Arthur Wellesley assumed during the latter part of the Duke of York's trial was a guarded one. It is impossible not to perceive that as the inquiry proceeded, his convictions as to His Royal Highness's innocence faded away. When Colonel Wardle first brought his charges before the House, Sir Arthur, fresh from Roliça and Vimiero, stood boldly forward to testify his entire disbelief of them; and his admiration for the Duke's superior military talents and administrative ability. He professed to attribute all the improvements which had taken place in the British army since the American war to His Royal Highness's genius and industry; and declared that never had an army existed in any country, from the Staff down to the meanest soldier in the ranks, in a higher state of discipline, than that which he had recently commanded in Portugal. Similar evidence was given by every other military man in the House, save one—for the general officers of the 'Military Club' were almost mutinous in his Royal Highness's favour—and the remark which Cobbett made upon the value of that species of testimony well deserves to be recorded. 'The Duke of York is accused of connivance 'at corruption,' said he, 'and you meet the charge by the 'assertion that the army is admirably drilled and officered. 'If a shepherd is tried for sheep-stealing, is evidence ever 'admitted respecting the healthy and excellent condition of his 'flock, and the abilities of his sheep dogs?' Nor was this all. To throw full light on this curious subject, we are tempted to avail ourselves of the indiscretion of another ducal author, who has recently published the following letter from Earl Temple to the Duke of Buckingham*, written at the same time:—

'The papers will have told you what passed last night, and the manner in which Perceval, trusting to a paper being destroyed, and consequently believing he might say what he pleased about it, drew out a document which alone would have damned the Duke of York. At the same time, however, that the messengers seized the papers in question at Sandon's lodging, they brought a parcel of letters from Mrs. Clarke to Sandon, which were submitted for inspection to a select committee. The report is not yet made, but Leach, the chairman, has told me that the scene of infamy they open is dreadful, and

* Court and Cabinet of George III., vol. iv. p. 317.

that all that has passed is a trifle when compared with them. A complete system of traffic for votes in the House upon particular questions, Pitt's Defence Bill, &c., for every sort of military appointment, is laid open; a statement of particular facts which could only have come to her knowledge from the Duke of York; repeated directions to Sandon to call at the office, where he will find such and such official letters for him; a complaint on the part of the Duke that she has not been fairly dealt by, in consequence of a person for whom she had interested herself having made interest elsewhere; all this and much more is exposed in these cursed papers. In short, Leach, who is a cool-headed and well-judging man, says all is over, and though before he did not think corruption was made out, he cannot say so now.'

After the Duke's letter had been produced, Sir Arthur Wellesley spoke no more; he contented himself with voting in silence for His Royal Highness's acquittal; the King's service required that he should do so, and he appears to have done it unhesitatingly. It is painful to contrast his conduct on this occasion with that of General Ferguson, who, voting on the opposite side, prefaced his vote by the following soldier-like speech:—

'It gives me satisfaction to hear that the army has been in such a state of progressive improvement since H. R. H. the Duke of York assumed the chief command, and I am glad to be enabled to bear my testimony to the many wise and salutary regulations which have been introduced into the army under the auspices of the Commander-in-Chief. I shall at all times have great pleasure in joining in all encomiums paid to that royal person, as far as I believe such encomiums to be just and merited. This is as much my duty as it is my inclination, for I am among the many who have reason to be thankful to H. R. H. for personal favours and for more than a merited portion of his consideration, and therefore it was with deep and heart-felt regret that I was compelled to think of him, as I must think, when I vote as I do. But, sir, all considerations must necessarily yield to that imperious sense of public duty, which in this place is our first duty. Deciding, as I have done, so opposite to my original wishes; and what adds to my regret, so opposite to the sentiments of my brother officers, I have, however, not decided hastily. I have read the evidence with care, with an anxious wish to come at the truth, lie where or against whom it may. I have weighed it with mature deliberation, listened to the long and various commentaries upon it with attention, and trust I may now venture to say that I have decided upon it with impartiality. It is not my intention, sir, to offer any observation now on that evidence, it has been already in too able hands to leave anything for me to say; the impression made on my mind is, that the Duke of York is extremely culpable. Throughout the country a cloud of suspicion has been collecting, and it has settled upon his character; while that cloud remains, and until it has

been dispelled, my opinion is, that it is not for the honour of the army that the chief command should remain in the hands of the Duke of York.'

Lord Henry Petty, the present Marquis of Lansdowne, is reported to have said, on the same occasion: —

'Looking at the whole of the proceedings, and considering the evidence which had been laid before the House, he could lay his hand on his heart and say, that he could not find in that evidence anything to warrant him in saying that the Duke of York had not connived at the abuses into which the House had been inquiring.'

On the 6th of March, Sir Arthur Wellesley wrote to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland:—

'The Duke of York is certainly in a bad way. All that we can do will be to acquit him of corruption, and, indeed, I doubt whether we shall be able to carry him so far, as to acquit him of suspecting Mrs. Clarke's practices, and allowing them to go on. If we should succeed in both these objects, the question will turn upon the point whether it is proper that a prince of the blood, who has manifested such weakness as he has, and has led such a life (*for that is material in these days*) is a proper person to be entrusted with the execution of the duties of a responsible office. We shall be beat upon this question, I think. If we should carry it by a small majority, the Duke will equally be obliged to resign his office; and most probably the consequence of such a victory so hardly earned will be, that the Government will be broken up.'

Again on the 12th of March:—

'We have had three days' debates upon the Duke of York's concerns. Perceval made the best speech I ever heard in Parliament; but the impression is very strong against the Duke, not on the score of corruption, or on the knowledge or even suspicion or connivance of corruption, but on the score of imprudence and submission to the influence of Mrs. Clarke. . . . In my opinion the only chance there is that Government will be affected by the fall of the Duke is in the case of his being kept in his office by a small majority; in that case the contest for his removal will be continued, the counties and populous cities will take part in it, and the Government will fall in his ruin.' (P. 641.)

As we have already stated, the Duke of York relieved the Government which had defended him so unscrupulously, and saved himself from further disgrace by sending in his resignation, which the King was compelled to accept. A successor—or rather a warming-pan — was found for him in the person of Sir David Dundas, an unlucky veteran who had long been his devoted follower, and who, Sir Arthur Wellesley tells us, was entrusted with the chief command of the British army—much against the will of the Ministry—not because anybody conceived

that he was fit for the important charge, but solely and entirely because it was known that he was so complaisant and so infirm that he would be ready to vacate it whenever the public mind was sufficiently calmed to allow the Duke to return in safety to the Horse Guards. And this at a moment when Bonaparte was thundering at our gates, when the gigantic Walcheren failure was impending, and when we were about to enter upon the Peninsular war!

The revelations now made respecting the Duke of York and Mrs. Clarke, are strongly illustrative of the difficulties which attend the writer of contemporary history. Sir A. Alison expresses his conviction that the Duke was an innocent man, sacrificed 'to the ambition of selfish faction and the fury of 'misguided zeal;' and quotes in corroboration of his views a paragraph from a complimentary letter, addressed in 1811, by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in Portugal, to the Duke of York's military secretary in London, congratulating His Royal Highness and the army on his re-instatement in office; and speaking of it as 'a matter of justice to him and of benefit to the public 'service.' Sir Archibald also points out how much harm the blind rage of Romilly, Wilberforce, Lord H. Petty, and other political desperadoes of the same kidney wrought to the public service in 1809, by expelling from it a public-spirited prince whose judicious reforms and practical improvements had made the army what it was, and by placing it in 'new and inexperienced 'hands.' We are now afforded an opportunity of judging whether Sir Arthur Wellesley really believed in the Duke's innocence or not; and if he did not, it is difficult to imagine how His Royal Highness's re-instatement could be considered as 'a matter of justice to him.' That he was an abler administrator than 'costive old David,' as Sir Arthur contemptuously calls his successor, may readily be conceded; but that Sir Archibald has been happy in applying to Sir David the epithets of 'new and inexperienced,' admits of dispute. In a letter from Mr. Fremantle to the Duke of Buckingham, dated 24th March, 1809, we find, 'The change of the Com-'mander-in-Chief is limited to the person himself; all the 'staff remains, and I understand nothing is to be moved or 'altered either in the establishment or the system.'

Early in April 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley resigned his Irish office and prepared to leave England to assume the chief command of the British Army in Portugal. Those who are conversant with his despatches will easily recall to mind that the deplorable accounts of the condition and discipline of the army contained in his letters to Lord Castlereagh from

Abrantes, a very few weeks after his arrival in the Peninsula, sadly belied the ornate picture which he had drawn before the House of Commons, of the surpassing qualities of the officers and troops which had enjoyed the supreme advantage of being formed by the late Commander-in-Chief. Thus, having landed at Lisbon on the 22nd April, the late Irish Secretary writes to Lord Castlereagh from Coimbra on the 1st May:—

'The army behave terribly ill. They are a rabble who cannot bear success any more than Sir John Moore's army could bear failure. I am endeavouring to tame them, but if I should not succeed I must make an official complaint of them and send one or two corps home in disgrace. They plunder in all directions.'

And again, six weeks later, from Abrantes (June 17th):—

'I cannot, with propriety, omit to draw your attention again to the state of discipline of the army, which is a subject of serious concern to me, and well deserves the consideration of His Majesty's Ministers.'

That Sir Arthur Wellesley should have succeeded in working this rude and raw material into an excellent army — as the Peninsular war wore on — is one of the strongest proofs of his surpassing military genius; where he was, during the next five years, there was, almost invariably, success and victory; elsewhere, — at Walcheren, at Tarragona, in America, — the British arms fared little better than they had done any time during the preceding quarter of a century: but what can we say or think of his evidence on the Duke of York's trial, when we read, but a few weeks afterwards, his jeremiads from Coimbra and Abrantes?

ART. VI. — *L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IVme Siècle.* Par le PRINCE ALBERT DE BROGLIE. 4 vols. 8vo. Paris: 1856—1859.

THE work before us has reached the extent of four volumes, and two more, apparently, will be required to complete it. It will embrace the civil and ecclesiastical history of the Roman world during the century which stands, at least in its most important aspect, at the commencement of modern times, and must always retain a corresponding interest to the student of theology and of politics. It will be evident from the bulk to which M. de Broglie's labours have swelled, that he proposes to treat this great subject fully and comprehensively, and to render his work both a storehouse of facts, and at the same time an exhaustive disquisition upon them. Such an undertaking, if adequately performed, becomes the heritage not of one country only, but of all civilised people; and we shall not exceed the limits to which the notices of this journal have occasionally extended, in giving an account of a work which may be expected to take rank in the common literature of Christendom.

To understand and to portray this prominent epoch in human history, it is essential that it should be approached in a religious and reverential spirit. The revolutions of the fourth century were the work of great ideas; the conflicts of opinion by which they were animated, were far stronger than any that the world had ever before witnessed, and operated, perhaps, through a more extended area than any similar conflicts at a later period. But these opinions were stirred up from the very depths of man's spiritual nature, and lie beyond the experience of the mere intellect. The dispassionate calmness of the philosopher or sceptic cannot see the hand which beckons the enthusiast, nor hear the voice which summons him. It may be true, indeed, that the world has not yet seen the religious mind which was wholly free from the illusions of sectarianism, and we may be content to meet with a historian of the Church and Empire, who believes in the Church as a divine institution, without cavilling at the peculiar limitation he puts upon it, or the system under the trammels of which he has chosen to place himself. The author of the volumes before us declares himself a Romanist, and his writings sufficiently evince the sincerity of his profession. He shows in the plainest manner the colours under which he sails; he has submitted such parts at least of his work as treat of theological topics, to the inspection of ecclesiastical authority.

'I need hardly add that as a layman, and no professed theologian, I have taken care, whenever I have been obliged, for the understanding of the history, to treat of points which touch on our sacred dogmas, to subject my work to the examination of competent authorities. If, however, on topics naturally so foreign to my studies, any error has escaped me, it is assuredly involuntary, and shall be retracted as soon as discovered. I have not studied the history of the Church to be ignorant of the first duty of every believer.' (P. xiv.)

Such words as these, standing, as they ought, in the preface to M. de Broglie's history, put us at once on our guard, and allow us to feel at ease with our author. We regard him, not as an individual inquirer, but as the exponent of a system; he is the representative of a sect, and reflects the views implicitly entertained by the mass of his co-religionists. Mr. Emerson says, with elaborate irony, that when we meet a bishop in conversation at the dinner-table, there is nothing to be done but to ask him to take wine. We may leave the dignitaries of our own communion to protest, if they will, against the application to themselves of such contemptuous courtesy; but M. de Broglie, by this avowal, has fairly withdrawn himself from the lists of controversy, and we shall, for our own part, abstain from breaking a lance with a champion who fights behind a crowd, if we may not rather say, behind a cloud of polemics. It will be readily understood, that throughout the history of the fourth century there are innumerable questions not of inference only but of fact, and especially of the authority of documents, upon which the Christian Churches of the nineteenth are still irreconcileably at variance; and we may smile at the simplicity or the guile with which a true son of the Papacy silently takes his ground respecting them, but we shall not be tempted to discuss them. We are thankful, once for all, for the religious point of view from which our author regards the general subject, which seems essential to its right comprehension, and we are pleased with the impression he leaves on us of liberality and intelligence, wherever he is free to exhibit them. We only regret that the position assumed by a Romish layman cannot always consist with real force of character, with strong and clear conceptions, or with vigorous and uncompromising logic.

The execution of the history before us is neatly finished, though with some deficiency, as might be expected, in energy and spirit. It is a polished rhetorical exercitation, rather than a genuine portraiture of men and things as impressed on the visual organs of the imagination. There is, indeed, as far as we can see, no want of fairness in the representation of individuals. Constantine is described with that blending of good and evil

impulses, of superstitious faith and licentious practice, of Christian aspirations and Heathen pre-occupations, which marked the man himself, and not less clearly marked the age in which he played the most conspicuous and representative part. There is an elaborate minuteness also in the portraiture of Julian, without any undue attempt to blacken the apostate, the real likeness of whose character our author evidently feels to be best exhibited by a simple recital of the progress hour by hour, of his brief and feverish career. Athanasius, undoubtedly the most interesting personage of the century, receives in these pages the high encomiums he conspicuously merits; but if M. de Broglie is too blind to the obstinacy and impassioned violence of the great ecclesiastic's character, he makes at least no attempt to exalt him, in any but a conventional sense, into a saint or demigod. We are not sure, indeed, how far this moderation of tone may arise from a deficiency in the writer's imaginative powers; for in none of these delineations does M. de Broglie rise, as it seems to us, to a full conception of the real significance of his subjects, as exponents of the conflicting ideas of their age, backed in every case by the moral and material forces of millions of their contemporaries.

We must notice also another indication of weakness in the historical style our author embraces. The domain of ancient history is contested at the present time, by two opposite schools of writers. The one is the critical, which weighs the value of existing records, questioning everything, rejecting a great deal, abandoning without scruple facts and theories which have passed current for centuries, reducing in many cases the narrative of events to a vapid residue of mere general results. Niebuhr, indeed, the leader of this school, is himself to be distinguished from his followers by the ardour with which he devoted himself to a hypothetical reconstruction of histories, which he had eviscerated of all their facts; but he has been followed by many writers, less imaginative but more logical, both in this country and in his own, who have taught us to occupy a position of reserve towards almost all our accredited authorities, and to acquiesce in helpless ignorance on many points on which our fathers were most tranquilly secure. We have a shrewd suspicion that Grote, Thirlwall, or Lewis, would make a terrible abridgment of the received 'history' of the fourth century; they would insist that our account of the Arian controversy is derived wholly from the exparte statements of the great antagonist of Arius, either directly, or through the later church-historians relying implicitly upon him; while the

political career of Constantine, reflected chiefly from the pages of panegyrists or enemies, is described for us by no man of any pretensions at the same time to fairness and capacity.

But there is another school, which finds generally more favour with the French; that which accepts all the statements of all professed authorities without question, and with hardly an attempt to discriminate their respective values; which goes farther, and embraces eagerly every random assertion or anecdote floating on the literature of the age, pressing into its service every scrap of pretended information which can help to eke out its scanty materials, and vamp up a passable picture of the times for the amusement of indolent curiosity. Of such a school in Roman history is the 'Histoire d'Horace' of the ingenious Walckenaer, in which we seem to detect the author laughing at us in his sleeve, and the 'Césars' of Count Champagny; and we must class under the same category, works far superior in our judgment to either of these, the Gaulish histories of Amedée Thierry. And such, it must be added, is the plan of M. de Broglie, who has sedulously collected all the presumed authorities for his period, but exercised little discrimination in the employment of them, seeming rather to plume himself on the neatness with which he pieces his structure, than on the soundness of the materials he employs.

To a writer who approaches his work in this spirit, the history of the fourth century must be peculiarly attractive, from the singular abundance and variety of its materials, in which respect it is rivalled by no other period in antiquity. We possess the whole or greater part of four ecclesiastical histories of the time, composed by contemporaries, or very nearly such; namely, those of Eusebius, Socrates, Sozomen, and Theodoret, together with the more fragmentary notices of Rufinus and Nicephorus. To these are to be added the secular histories of Zonaras and Orosius, Christians; of Zosimus, a bitter, and Ammianus, a moderate and perhaps temporising pagan. We have also the fierce pamphlet ascribed to Lactantius, on the 'Deaths of the Persecutors,' on the one side, and the pamphlets, not less virulent, of Julian, with the letters of Libanius, on the other. Nor are the professed panegyrists of the emperor, three or four in number, wholly without value to the student of history, while the authority of the imperial codes on the various subjects on which they throw light, is of course unimpeachable. But more important, no doubt, than any of these, are the polemical treatises of the great Athanasius, which supply a running commentary from the hand of a spectator and an actor, on many of the most prominent political events of the period.

The church histories above referred to have been celebrated for their general fairness and moderation; when Eusebius, an avowed friend and client of the Emperor Constantine, addresses himself to the biography of his patron, he has the candour to warn the reader that he is to look for a panegyric, and not for an unbiassed narrative of events. But we have less reliance on the judgment and ability of these writers, and suspect that they were liable to be influenced by the authority of the Church whose triumph they celebrated; while in relating the great struggle of orthodoxy and heresy, they were probably awed by the impressive character of Athanasius. Both these historians, and Athanasius himself, must suffer in our estimation of their historical value, from their proneness to believe in miracles and to exalt the most fantastic extravagances of asceticism. The monstrous legend of St. Anthony is enshrined in the pages of the great champion of orthodoxy, and it is impossible not to feel distrust in the good faith, in matters of fact, of an author who professes to credit the visions, recorded by himself or others, of that prince of fanatics. Nor must we forget that while we are thus rich in authorities for the side of orthodoxy, at first, or at least at second hand, time and persecution have combined to make a clear sweep of the publications of their opponents; a few scattered notices from the Arian historian, Philostorgius, selected by their enemies, are all that remain to us of the productions of the heretics who defended themselves with voice and pen for fifty years, perverted more than one emperor, and seduced the barbarian conquerors of the most Christian provinces of the West.

If, however, we have reason for caution in the use of our Christian histories, we find still more cause to distrust the pagan. Zosimus is bitter and fanatical; Julian can hardly have spoken fairly of the men whom he did not refrain from cruelly maltreating. The panegyrists deliberately shut their eyes to the progress of the new faith, and try to imagine themselves still living in a moral atmosphere which had long been dissipated around them. The poet Claudian supplies a curious instance of a habit, not perhaps uncommon at the time, or at other times of fluctuating opinion, of disguising an indolent yearning for the old superstitions, under vague and inconclusive generalities. Such abstract divinities as Rome, Discord, and Bellona might serve to symbolise Olympus to the remnant of orthodox pagans, while they were too vapid and unsubstantial to give serious offence to the staunchest foes of idolatry.

But a large part of the so-called history of the age is derived from a still more questionable source, namely from the ancient

martyrologies. The competent theologians to whom M. de Broglie has submitted his faith and his manuscript, have not suffered him to withhold his assent, or refrain from reference to any one of these wretched impostures; and he seems, unfortunately, only too willing to admit into his sober text episodes, of the truth of which he cannot really expect to persuade us. It was, we would fain believe, a relief to the author, as it will surely be to every judicious reader, to turn from these paltry impertinences to the genuine records of Roman legislation, which preserve the real lineaments of the age in colours which cannot deceive us. M. de Broglie has understood the duty of employing these resources also, and they have materially assisted him to give a general view of society in the reign of Constantine, which forms one of the best chapters in his book.

The Theodosian Code contains the best evidence we possess of the ameliorating influence of the true religion upon the manners and sentiments of antiquity. We turn to it for consolation and we are not disappointed. While the men who stand out most prominently in social and political warfare, whether priests, philosophers, or emperors, seem too often to differ but little from one another, be they Christians or pagans, in their moral character, we can trace in the legislation of the period the strong under current of purity and humanity which sets in with the authoritative promulgation of the law of love and godliness. The sternness, indeed, of imperial justice is but little relaxed; steel and fire succeed to the bitter exposure on the cross; but the objects against which they are directed are at least more legitimate. Christianity introduced for the first time the principle of preventing crimes against society by repressing sins of the heart, sins against God and against a man's own moral nature.

Having thus surrendered the right of discriminating between the authorities before him, all that remains for M. de Broglie is to accept them in the mass, and exercise his ingenuity in putting them together in an harmonious and interesting story. In this object he has had the success, perhaps more than the usual success, of his countrymen generally. In lucidity of arrangement, in the felicity of his combinations, in terseness of language, and brilliancy of remark, he is not inferior to some of his greatest rivals. The disposition indeed to confound the history with the essay is common to him with many other French writers of his class. Accordingly he qualifies his work with the title of 'the Church and the Empire'; implying a picture of the age rather than a narrative of events. He thus relieves himself from the duty of strictly following the sequence

of events, and assumes the licence of grouping the personages of his drama so as to produce the most striking and interesting effects. He excuses beforehand the rhetorical artifice by which he divides his subject into a succession of brilliant chapters, each having a unity and interest of its own. He thus prepares us also for the comparisons or contrasts he may think fit to draw with modern times and circumstances, from which he cannot abstract his mind while poring over the records of the ancient world. He can at any moment fly away from Constantinople to Paris, from councils to concordats, from Athanasius to Bossuet. Not, however, that our author indulges in an extravagant use of this licence. He points a moral to his history in his preface, but he does not often refer to it in the subsequent pages of his work. He imagines there is something in the relations of Church and State in France at this moment nearly parallel to those which existed in the Roman Empire in the fourth century, and hopes that the views he brings forward may help to throw light upon the contests and prejudices now at work in society around him. We can understand the anxiety of an intelligent Frenchman to find analogies in the past for the anxieties and perplexities of modern politics and theology, and regard with indulgence the fanciful similitude he thus lightly adumbrates:—

'It would be vain to dissemble that the idea of such an undertaking was suggested to me by reverting to the present state of society in France, and to the part which religious ideas are playing, or perhaps might play there. Not assuredly that I desire, by an exaggerated and morose estimate of my contemporaries' failings, to liken the France of the nineteenth century to the Roman Empire of the fourth. France, as I truly hope, in spite of her moral disorders, is not a society in decay; nor is French civilisation a pagan civilisation. Such a comparison then would fail in two principal points. But the present state of French laws and manners dates notwithstanding from a memorable epoch; when our country, under the influence of a seductive philosophy endeavoured to break with the ancient religion of her fathers. Though in fact she remained much more Christian than she imagined, inasmuch as it was not in her power to efface eighteen centuries of evangelical education, France every where obliterated from her institutions and monuments the blazonry and stamp of Christianity. She made herself, as far as in her lay, a nation exclusively philosophical. Accordingly when, at a later period, the experience acquired at the cruel price of public misfortunes, and the revived taste for order, brought Frenchmen again under those religious influences which they had so lightly despised, the Church found herself confronted by manners she had not directly inspired, by laws she had not dictated, in short, by an entire society to convert. Between this situation and that of the

Church towards the Pagans in the fourth century, there exists, as it seems to me, an analogy, the points of resemblance of which we must not exaggerate, but which nevertheless it may be useful to consider. How did the Church of the first ages and the great doctors, the Church of the Council of Nice, of Athanasius, and Augustine, comport herself with regard to the old Roman society, still thoroughly imbued with Paganism? Did she proceed by violent destruction, by wholesale excommunication, or even by radical changes? If, on the contrary, she treated with maternal tenderness the persecutors of yesterday, if she preserved with scrupulous care every fragment of pagan civilisation which could consist with Christianity, if she saved, by purifying them, the arts and sciences of antiquity, the Roman law, and all the labours of the genius of past ages, we may hope and expect from her a still more kindly influence on a society which does not proceed, after all, from so vicious a source, nor is sullied by crimes so atrocious. Such examples are given us, we believe, to moderate the impetuous warmth of anathemas, in which Christians too often indulge, against our modern society, and so familiarise that society itself, standing as it does so much in need of a rule, with the idea of submission to the light yoke of the Gospel.' (P. v.)

But if impressed with this conception of the relation of the two epochs, the author had proposed originally to make it the ruling idea of his history, he acknowledges that in executing his task he has rather striven to keep it in the background, and to let his narrative takes its course untrammelled by any theory whatever. He soon perceived that nothing could be more injurious to the true understanding of the past than a systematic determination to find or make a conformity with the present. Nor do we find that he has in fact leant too much to any such preconceived opinions. He discovered perhaps that the parallel which had first occurred to him would bear but a slight weight of pressure. No comparison could be sustained between the ancient and multiform traditions of heathen superstition, discarded by the intelligent, but retained in the deepest recesses of the heart by the ignorant vulgar, and the sharp shrewd logical scepticism of the French revolutionists, the offspring of a shallow and restless intellectual movement, and itself a reaction from the stolid formalism of the popular creed. Nor was there much similarity between the circumstances under which Christianity has been required to combat these two enemies at an interval of 1500 years. The one, though shaken to its centre by the progress of spiritual enlightenment, still maintained itself by the force of old recollections, and the pride of ancient triumphs: the other plumed itself chiefly on its novelty, and professing itself the child of the epoch, was in fact the growth of only a single generation. Nor can we allow our author to assume

without a protest, the identity of the Nicene theology at Constantinople or Antioch, with the ultramontanist popery of Paris at the present day.

Among the many noble recollections of their own history which modern Frenchmen have allowed themselves to repudiate, none perhaps is more really worthy of their pious regard than that of the Gallican Church in the seventeenth century, which, besides the spirited attitude of rational freedom which it assumed towards both the Monarchy and the Papacy, is remarkable for the success with which it really moulded itself to the pattern of Christianity in the fourth. Protestants may admit the manifold corruptions of the Nicene Church in form, sentiments, and practice; and regret that they were too faithfully imitated by the Gallicans of the age of Louis XIV.: nevertheless our Anglican clergy at least must allow that the principles on which our neighbours' 'liberties' were founded by Bossuet and other gallant champions, are almost identical with those of the Elizabethan Reformation, and very nearly succeeded in establishing a common platform for the alliance of the two national churches. Undoubtedly the greatest divines of the Gallican Church, the preachers at the court of the Great Monarch, formed their style on the Chrysostoms and Gregories of the fourth century, and most modern students of the art of preaching will allow that they surpassed their brilliant originals. Bossuet, as the staunch defender of Gallican orthodoxy, may be compared in eloquence, in zeal, and still more closely, in relentless logic, to the illustrious Athanasius; nor shall we complain of the partiality of his countrymen if they place him, as a reasoner and an orator, on even the higher pedestal of the two. In Fénélon they may boast an ecclesiastic of another order of merit, with whose virtues the Nicene Church can scarcely venture to compare the mild wisdom, and at last fatal moderation, of the gentle Hosius. Nor can the heretics of the earlier period produce any names to compete with the lights of Jansenism, Arnauld and Pascal. The Abbé Fleury was honourable and unambitious, a pleasing exception to the common run of confessors of the royal palace; but we must look to our own Burnet for the nearest parallel, as a politician and a man of letters, to the historian of the early church, the biographer of Constantine, the keeper of the imperial conscience, the latitudinarian divine, Eusebius of Cæsarea. The Gallican Church had, moreover, like its predecessor, the task of reconstructing the alliance of Church and State, suspended by theological dissensions for almost a century; and the acknowledgment of the claims of the secular power on all Christian institutions, and

abatement of the highest spiritual pretensions, was the same price which the Nicene divines were fairly called to pay for this just and salutary arrangement. Even the position of the Christian establishment under Constantine in respect to the discomfited Pagans, presents an analogy to that of the triumphant Catholics towards the Huguenots; and the use it made of its influence with the state by whetting the temporal sword from time to time against its fallen adversary, may suggest recollections of the dragonades and the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. But we too are not wholly strangers to the harsh domination of victorious ecclesiastics, and whatever were its faults in teaching and temper, we may reasonably regret the downfal of the Gallican Church, which Louis himself, in the capricious jealousy of his latter years, or for the momentary advantage of a political alliance, sacrificed to the See of Rome. We regret ourselves, and are only sorry that so few Frenchmen appear to share our regret, that he should have destroyed thereby the best safeguard of rational piety among his people, and the surest defence of his own throne. The modern establishment in France has repudiated all the elements of greatness which constitute the glory of the Church of the fourth century, and the comparison which M. de Broglie would institute between them seems to us to fail in every outward and inward characteristic.

But the investigation of such historical parallels is but child's play at best. The circumstances of the first political establishment of Christianity must be regarded as peculiar in every essential particular. The conditions of society under which it occurred were new to the world at the time, and have never been repeated again. The supplanting of one entire system of religious ideas by another, at an epoch of high intelligence and civilisation, is an unique event in human history. The 'solution 'of continuity' in the life of a nation, and that nation conterminous with the limits of the civilised world, which it involves, may fairly determine to this epoch, among many that have contended for the honour, the close of ancient and the commencement of modern history: —

'Un grand destin commence, un grand destin s'achève.'

It is only with great and important modifications, in almost every case, that we can apply the lessons of the times that went before, to those that have succeeded them. We may observe, for instance, not without a bearing, as will presently appear, on the subject before us, that the warnings we are accustomed to draw from the overthrow of the republic, and the rise of despotism in Rome, are rendered essentially nugatory by the difference in the

social condition of the two epochs. We do not sufficiently realise the existence in ancient Rome of an ascendant class domineering, as masters of slaves, and again, as rulers of conquered subjects, over the great masses of mankind. Octavius overthrew one close oligarchy; but he was himself the instrument or representative of another, larger indeed, than the first, but still very limited in number, and specially endowed, as compared with the whole population of the empire. The conqueror of the senate replaced the tyranny of a privileged class of a few hundreds, by that of another privileged class of a few hundred thousands; and though at Rome, and within the immediate sphere of the imperial autocracy, the emperor was enabled, by the support of this class, to control his nobles, and make havoc of the treasures of all his other subjects, still the most important effect of the Cæsarean usurpation was its replacing the sway of the Roman aristocracy in the provinces by that of the Roman commons. The citizens of Rome and Italy, the knights, freedmen, and proletaires, who kept Augustus and Nero on the throne, were not the true democracy of the empire, such as the seven millions of electors who have voted for despotism in modern France. We might rather compare this change in the constitution of Rome with our recent arrangements for the government of India; by which an Anglo-Indian aristocracy of a few hundred families has been forced to share the patronage of that vast empire with the middle classes of this country, generally, which had been practically excluded from it. The subjects of Rome, — the Gauls, Greeks, Syrians, and Africans, — had no more voice in the transfer of authority from one class to another than the natives of Bengal and the Carnatic.

The imperial government thus constituted was constrained, by the condition of its own constitution, to effect one of the most wonderful social revolutions on record; in the gradual admission of this mass of subject races to an equal status with the original ruling class. On a smaller scale, such emancipations have not been uncommon at all periods; they constitute, in fact, a political law; but the proportions this revolution assumed in the Roman Empire remove it beyond the reach of modern comparison. The Spaniards resisted and refused it in America; we do not contemplate it in Hindostan. The Romans themselves would have shrunk appalled from it, but for the modification which attended it in their case from their recognition of the principle of slavery. After all, when the whole of the free subjects of Rome had been amalgamated, in the age of the Antonines, with the genuine Romans, there still remained an aristocracy of freemen lording it over a democracy,

probably not inferior to it in numbers, of slaves. But this distinction itself, this last remnant of the old class-opposition, which kept the balance of the ancient governments, was gradually, and for the most part silently, vanishing. The ancient world was little aware of the progress of the social revolution by which it was about to perish. Neither the history nor the legislation of the period bears any distinct traces of it. But suddenly the world woke up, as it were, and found that slavery had almost ceased to exist, and mankind were again equal. The prædial bondmen, of whom the great mass of the servile population consisted; the class which had been for ages almost the sole cultivators of Greece and Italy, and other districts, the most civilised in the empire, had been supplanted by the coloni, serfs with a sort of tenant-right, and therewith possessed of the most essential elements of freedom. The decrease of wealth, and the cessation of successful wars, had stopped the supply of servile labour, and probably before the establishment of Christianity, the slaves, confined principally to the households of the wealthy, had dwindled to a very small fraction of the whole population. The distinction of the ancient jurists, who divided the civilised or Roman world into citizens, foreigners, and slaves, had become almost obsolete in the time of Constantine. The subjects of the first Christian Emperor were now, for the most part, of one race and origin in the eye of the law.

This great social revolution, so important for the acceptance and establishment of the equal law of Christianity, had been long preparing; but, alien as it was from the notions of the ancients, and of the Romans especially, it was assisted by the circumstance that during the second and third centuries the throne was almost uniformly occupied by men of foreign birth, unswayed by Roman prejudices. Latterly, indeed, the military chiefs whom the senate recognised as emperors, were generally adventurers of the meanest origin, animated in many instances by feelings of direct hostility to the ancient families, and old caste-sentiments of their capital. Spaniards, Africans, Thracians, Syrians, Arabs, they knew only to despise the traditions of the nobles, the priesthood, the philosophers of the state in which they were themselves intruders. The bursts of persecution to which the Christians were exposed during this period, mark precisely the exceptional intervals at which the empire was governed from Rome, or in a Roman spirit. It is instructive to remark the different phases which the spirit of persecution assumed during the time of the Church's trial and suffering: 1st, the history of the Acts of the Apostles indicates the enmity excited against the believers by the malicious mis-

representations of the Jews, so that the Christians were everywhere 'spoken against' as seditious, corrupt, and anti-social. The Neronian persecution, according to the common account of it, was the crowning result of this original calumny. 2nd. The great military emperors, martinets in discipline, and accustomed to govern the empire on the principles of a camp, regarded the new sect as mutinous soldiers, who resisted the rules of the service or deserted from it, and hesitated to swear by the genius of their commander, the patron and champion of the state. By Trajan and Hadrian the Christians were punished for insubordination and treason. 3rd. With Aurelius began the great public calamities of the empire, — famine, pestilence, and the onslaught of the barbarians. Rome repented of her impiety to her gods, and sought to recover their favour by returning to the ancient ways and exterminating their revilers. Fortunately for the Christians, the emperors at this time were generally foreigners, such as Philip the Arabian, and Alexander the Syrian, both of whom protected the believers, while one is thought to have even shared their belief; or mere soldiers, attached to their camps, wholly occupied on the frontiers, and hardly caring to visit Rome, which shrank with horror from encountering them. Such were Severus, Maximin, Carus, and Probus, of whom the first only condescended for a moment to visit the Christians with displeasure. Decius, the arch-persecutor, was almost the only chief of the later empire whose policy was Roman and reactionary. 4th. When, in spite of persecution, the new religion had grown into a formidable rival of the old, and divided the empire into hostile factions, the final attempt to crush and exterminate it was reserved for the emperors who, at the end of the third century, tried to regenerate the body politic by a new and bolder treatment. Diocletian himself was reluctant to enter upon a war with Christianity, the issue of which might seem to his clearer foresight more than doubtful; but his reluctance was overcome by the instances of his more vehement colleagues, who conceived it to be a paramount necessity to enforce unity of sentiment throughout the dominions which they apportioned to four political administrators. The centralised system of government introduced for the first time by the joint Cæsars and Augusti, would seem to want the keystone of the arch, if, on the vital question of religious obedience, every subject of the empire were free to serve what gods he pleased and to denounce every other.

The conspicuous failure of Diocletian's persecution, fierce, obstinate, and sweeping as it had been, must have been felt throughout the Roman world as an augury of impending

changes. Men of ordinary reflection must have been made sensible that the truce between the old and the new ideas had been broken to no purpose; the war could not now cease till the one party or the other should finally succumb, while the intense vitality of the younger faith had been proved by the triumph its endurance had achieved. No other conclusion of the tragedy was now possible but the final victory of Christianity by the hands of some apostate pagan. Constantine stepped into the place which circumstances had already prepared for him, and which could not long remain unfilled. He was himself the son of the only chief of the empire who had stood aloof, with a prescient feeling, from the late battle of religions; and by his birth in one province, and his breeding in another, had never been brought under the charm of Roman associations in the capital of Roman heathenism. The common religion of the age among men of no special training or direction, — and this was now the greater number, — either in the Christian or the heathen systems, was a keen apprehension of temporal rewards and punishments, and the only outward cult they paid was deference to signs and omens. Constantine, a man of strong imagination, was deeply impressed by the complete failure of the recent attack on Christianity. He was startled by the succession of fearful and violent deaths which had overtaken all the persecutors. The Christians themselves naturally made the most of this apparent declaration of Providence in their favour, and impressed it in sermons, tracts, and speeches on every wavering unbeliever who would lend them his ears. His apprehensions awakened, his feelings interested, the delusion under which he fancied to himself the vision of the Cross in heaven, with its inspiriting and consoling legend, came opportunely to confirm Constantine in this previous inclination. But if the illustrious convert was a man of ardent temperament, an enthusiast, and even a fanatic, he combined with this adust complexion the temper of a shrewd forecasting politician; and perhaps the greatness of his character — for few men have really deserved better the name of great than he — was owing to the combination of these diverse faculties, by which, like a conspicuous emperor of our own day, he was so remarkably distinguished. As a politician he could not fail to see in Christianity a firmer support of the state and throne than Heathenism. Of the proportion of their respective numbers we say nothing. The question is full of difficulty from the apparent conflict of the statements regarding it; but the new faith was manifestly waxing and the ancient waning; the towns were one by one pronouncing unmistakably in favour of Christianity, while

Paganism was retreating sullenly to the villages. The superior activity and vigour of the believers was ensured in a manner which no statesman could overlook, by the moral law which restrained from the grossest vices of pagan celibacy, and required them to accept the obligations properly entailed by the marriage state, and labour for the support of the children whom the pagan would have sacrificed to his selfish indolence at the moment of their birth. Again, Christianity was united, Heathenism was broken up into an infinity of sects and persuasions. Christianity was a system; Heathenism a bundle of individual notions. Christianity was governed by a hierarchy singularly well organised, and efficient for controlling turbulence and animating resistance. The Church reposed upon authority, on precedents and traditions, and offered to resolve all the questions of the schools by reference to its primitive decisions; while Heathenism, after two thousand years of conflict and agitation, was still tost on the shoreless ocean of uncertainty. The light of human reason had been tried and found wanting. The world was weary of the debate, and sighed for relief in the bosom of a dogmatic theology. This recurrence to authority in matters of opinion was naturally grateful to a despot. It had another claim upon his favourable regard. The Roman world, as we have intimated, had become fused at this moment into one homogeneous nation. Patricians and plebeians, conquerors and conquered, the free-born and the freed, had mingled in one undistinguished mass; even slavery had become modified into serfdom. Some new comprehensive principle was required to consolidate the body politic, to infuse a vital organisation into the confused elements of national life. Such a principle now suddenly presented itself in the alliance of the Church and the State, or rather the fusion of the Church and State together in one body of which the emperor should himself be the head. Augustus indeed, as Pontifex Maximus, had placed himself at the head of the state religion; but this was only an honorary presidency: it might affect the imagination of the citizens, but it did not encroach on the domain of doctrine and opinion. But the alliance offered by the Church to the emperor was the surrender of substantial authority. It gave him the ultimate control of the organisation by which the Church herself controlled the faith and practice of all her spiritual subjects. It gave the realms of air to him who was already master of earth and ocean. Not indeed that this surrender was direct or explicit. It was only with a vague and imperfect presentiment of its full importance that Constantine first accepted it. But in some indistinct way, probably, he anticipated from the first the in-

fluence which would accrue to his sceptre from it; and we may easily believe that this anticipation was not without its weight, as might be expected, in determining his bias towards it.

To explain indeed, to account for, to justify, the authority conceded by many Christian theorists to the secular chief of the political body, is one of the subtlest problems in theology. It lay beyond the scope of vision of every man who had been bred in the ideas of the ancient heathen politics. Hadrian might talk philosophy in private, in the tone of the master of thirty legions; yet even he never conceived the possibility of the rival sects of Athens and Alexandria ranging themselves in solemn session at the foot of his throne, inviting him to moderate between their views of transcendental verity, and framing their decisions and dogmas by his judgment or prejudices. Yet such was the strange and awful position into which the first Christian emperor practically stepped almost from the moment of his conversion. We shall trace with interest the progress by which he rapidly arrived at this startling consummation. But it is not true, we may observe at once, that the establishment of Christianity as an official machine, rendered the chiefs of the ecclesiastical hierarchy the slaves of the chief of the state. The schools of philosophy were, in like manner or even more directly, endowed, either by Hadrian or by his predecessors, and the government, had it chosen to interfere, might have exercised quite as much influence in the appointment of a sophist at the one period, as of a bishop at the other. It was not that the 'unholy' alliance of Church and State vitiated the character of the spiritual partner in the union, and cut the sinews of spiritual independence. The influence of the emperor, always powerful, sometimes paramount as it was, resulted, paradoxical as it may appear, not from the relaxation, but from the increased earnestness, of opinion and belief. The intense anxiety of the inquirers to have all their questions answered; of those who hoped, to be convinced,—of those who believed, to be secured from error, — of all Christians to have their minds set at rest, while working out their salvation with heart and hand,—drove them, in spite, perhaps, of their better judgment, to seek a dogmatic solution of their difficulties, where only it could apparently be found, in the centre of ecclesiastical unity, in the Council which expressed the sentiments of the Church under the sanction of the State. The hearer of Favorinus or Porphyry cherished his liberty to follow whom he would, and choose his teachers for himself. He might embrace such tenets as pleased him, and recommended themselves to his taste, his caprices, his mental associations. But whence

this freedom, this licence of 'doing what he would' with the truth, which was not 'his own?' Because he did not really care for the truth: he only sought for amusement. Philosophy with him was a *pastime.* When, however, the questions in debate were such as concerned his soul, and sounded the depths of his heart, and were felt to belong to *eternity,* he became at once another man: he could no longer afford to dally with truth, to tamper with conviction; he could not endure that others should make light of questions so grave, so terrible to himself; the discussions of the Gospel and Heathenism, of the Church and the Heretics, were become matters of life and death, of life and death eternal to him; and when, to his vexation and dismay, he first began to feel that the Church possessed in itself no machinery for their peremptory and final solution, he threw himself at the feet of the temporal sovereign, as the last practical expounder of truth, as a judge who could make himself both heard and felt.

There are three particulars in which the Christian emperors, beginning with Constantine, assumed a certain spiritual authority, wholly alien from the ideas and usages of the pagan empire: 1st, in judging themselves, or as, at first, in appointing judges of spiritual questions; 2nd, in convening councils of spiritual persons for the more solemn decision of such questions, in legislating upon these decisions, and enforcing them by penal sanctions: 3rd, in designating the chief pastors of the Church for the suffrages of the legitimate electors. The first of these assumed prerogatives was originally thrust upon the emperor, and exercised by him for general convenience, with no intentional usurpation on his part. The second was adopted, *bonâ fide,* as we may presume, also, for the authoritative settlement of questions in debate, when the prince's more private decision had failed to satisfy the contending parties. The third, the only one which has continued in practical operation in modern times, and which the laity in this country at least have been wont to regard as a security for their religious liberties, was apparently the last resort of the temporal power, when both the others had proved unavailing for the purpose in view. The regal prerogative of appointing, more or less directly and definitively, the spiritual rulers of the people, was adopted for the prevention of scandals which the others before mentioned had failed to cure; and it is generally admitted to have worked well on the whole for the end in view, in this country, and in others where it has been consistently exercised. In casting a rapid glance over the ecclesiastical history of this epoch, we shall see more clearly how these three prerogatives were successively

assumed, and how unconsciously the powers of the Regale were developed, till they settled, under due limitation, into the best and surest safeguard of rational religion.

The first great question on which Constantine was required to direct the action of the Christian Church, was that involved in the schism of the Donatists. It was in the year 313, the next after the edict of Milan, by which a general toleration was promised for all religions, and the battle of the Milvian bridge which secured its application to the Christians,—while the conqueror was hardly yet recognised as a believer, and had only evinced his inclination towards the Gospel by acts of magisterial favour,—that a letter was conveyed to him in Gaul, where he was at the time, from the assailants of Cæcilian, Bishop of Carthage. The fierce puritans of the African province had already, in earlier times, resented the pusillanimity of the disciples who had evaded persecution by any kind of concession. They retained, under the recent trials of their faith, the same uncompromising spirit, and wreaked their bitterness on the weaker brethren who had consented to surrender the sacred volume to the imperial inquisitors. The sword was now in other hands; and they were prompt to invoke the secular arm to reinforce their spiritual censures. Against Cæcilian, indeed, himself, there was no such charge advanced. But among the bishops and priests who had assisted at his consecration, one at least was branded as a 'traditor;' and this fatal intervention sufficed, as they intemperately urged, to vitiate the spiritual character of the act. A council of seventy prelates of the province had cited Cæcilian to meet this charge; but the Bishop of Carthage was supported by the partial favour of his own flock, and the approbation of the Roman See, which had not seen cause to refuse communion with him. He declined to attend at the summons. The council condemned him in his absence, declared his consecration invalid, and proceeded to elect another bishop in his place. When he persisted, nevertheless, in executing the functions of his office, they confidently addressed the emperor for his removal, entreating him to appoint judges for the investigation of the case. Such was the first illustration that Constantine received of the theory of an alliance of Church and State. He had announced the full toleration of the Christian religion, and secured it in the exercise of its internal regulations, and the Christians straightway invited him to decide upon their differences, and deal with their temporalities. No doubt he was flattered by the deference so unexpectedly paid to him, and little conscious of the embarrassments in which it would involve him. Taking counsel with the most distinguished

prelate of the age, with whom he had formed an intimacy, the celebrated Hosius of Corduba, he first nominated three Gaulish bishops, with whom he afterwards associated fifteen from Italy and Rhætia, to determine the question before him. He appointed Rome for the place of meeting, as most convenient for all parties, and allowed the Bishop of Rome to preside at a conference held in his own city. The judges, still more to show their direct appointment by the civil power, assembled in a hall of the Lateran Palace, which had been imperial property since the time of Nero, and in which Constantine had himself resided during his recent visit to his capital. The inquiry was abruptly terminated by the non-appearance of the accusers, after the first day's sitting; and the judges hastened to confirm Cæcilian's consecration. They refrained, for the sake of peace, from branding the African prelates with schism, and mildly laid the error of their decision to want of a true knowledge of the facts. But before the emperor had time to congratulate himself on the adroitness of his arbitration, the Africans returned with redoubled vehemence to the charge, and offered to produce proof against the 'traditor,' who had assisted at Cæcilian's consecration. A new trial must be held. As a simple matter of fact, which could be determined by a reference to the records of criminal procedure, Constantine submitted this charge to the cognisance of a civil officer. The fact of the 'tradition' itself was now formally disproved. But the chief of the state found, to his mortification, that his interference had not yet secured peace for the Church. The dissidents continued as vehement and perverse as ever. They clamoured against the decision of the bishops at Rome, not because they were nominated by the emperor, but because their number seemed too small for the importance of the question to be decided. Constantine, perplexed by their importunity, and shrinking from the exercise of personal authority, hoped to settle the affair by convening a larger assembly. The council of Arles was convoked in 314, by the sole fiat of the emperor. Though more numerous than the court lately held at Rome, it does not seem to have been constituted on any other principle. The bishops who were called on to take part in it were confined to three or four provinces of the West; and though Augustine, in his loose language, may call it 'plenary,' the number who subscribed to its acts does not seem to have exceeded forty-five. 'The 'assemblies of the clergy at Rome and Arles,' says Mosheim, 'are commonly called councils, but improperly, since in reality 'they were nothing more than meetings of judges, or com-'missaries appointed by the emperor.'

Whether the fathers at Arles regarded themselves as representatives of the Church, or simply commissioners of the civil power, they deliberately ratified the previous decisions against the Donatists, and condemned the schism which could no longer be ignored. But with the cessation of persecution the case of the 'lapsed' and the 'traditors' lost its interest; and on this account, perhaps alone, the council failed to obtain that formal acceptation throughout the provinces of the empire, which was technically required to give it the title of Œcumenic. At all events, the principle of referring questions of church discipline and usage to the emperor, to be decided by judges of his own appointment, whether few or many in number, was established by these two successive precedents; and when, two years later, a further appeal on the same subject was made to him, the Christian world acquiesced without remark, in his citing the contending parties into his own presence, and finally determining their quarrel by his own imperial decree. The gratification of the orthodox emboldened him to bring in, for the first time, the terror of the secular arm. The Donatists were deprived of their churches, and their schismatical bishop sent into banishment. They became afterwards mingled, or perhaps confounded, with the seditious fanatics called Circumcelliones, and subjected as enemies of the state to a severe political persecution.

Constantine had been carried thus far on the wave of public opinion. A great majority of his Christian subjects had blindly thrust into his hands the prerogative, unclaimed and unexpected by himself, of spiritual authority. He was sincere in his reluctance to strain the powers thus precipitately confided to him. But much meditating on the peculiarity of his position, as the first imperial patron of the Church, though yet hardly recognised as a disciple, he soon satisfied himself that it was expedient to determine ecclesiastical controversies through the medium of ecclesiastical assemblies. When, about ten years later, a far greater question of doctrine inflamed the public mind at Alexandria, and throughout the East, and he, a layman and catechumen at best, was requested to settle the first principles of the Christian belief, he had recourse to a council of Christian divines, and he took care that it should be numerously attended.

Hitherto the prelates of separate districts had been accustomed to meet at the bidding of their primate; but even these provincial gatherings were generally confined to the neighbourhood of the chief city: there had been no idea of assembling together the higher clergy of a whole province; still less of one of the great divisions of the empire which lay under the eccle-

siastical superintendence of a metropolitan; least of all, the collective episcopate of the Church Universal. In fact, such an assembly had no means of meeting. It was hardly possible for the delegates of regions removed from one another many hundreds of miles to make the pilgrimage required. Ships, indeed, might have conveyed them across the interior waters of the empire; though we know how tedious and uncertain, at best, this mode of locomotion was; but there was far less facility for private travelling by land: the posts were in the hands of government, employed solely in the conveyance of public officers; and it was not till the government itself convened them, and placed its carriages at their service, that the bishops of the east and west, the north and south, could meet each other face to face. But when Constantine uttered the word, this difficulty vanished; time and space were annihilated. The prelates who assembled at Arles were conveyed to and fro at the public cost and by public machinery; and when the same emperor convoked a still more numerous assembly, from still more distant quarters, at Nicæa, he granted them the same indulgence, as a matter of necessity rather than of favour.

The opening of the council of Nicæa, which took place in the month of June, 325, deserves to be regarded as one of the most sublime epochs in human history. For the first time, the whole Grecian world, drawing along with it its satellites in the West, and some wandering stars in the far realms of space beyond the limits of Greek or Roman civilisation, met in solemn conclave to determine by an authoritative decision the most mysterious subject of metaphysical inquiry. The questions of deepest spiritual interest of the day centered in the nature of the Deity. This was the apple of discord which expiring paganism had cast into the ranks of the victorious Christians. The contest of faith and philosophy had already developed a tendency to compromise, by grafting spurious interpretations on the genuine dogmas of Scripture; and the converts from the camp of the sophists had brought with them an unconscious inclination to reconcile the hardest facts of Revelation with the notions current in the schools of human speculation. The various shades of opinion on the subject of the Divine Nature, which preluded to the promulgation of the great Arian heresy, seem to have sprung from these attempts to soften the stern protest of Christianity against the general polytheism of the ancient world. The defeat of paganism under Constantine, stimulated a desperate effort of the carnal understanding to degrade the supremacy of the One God of the Christians into a hierarchy of Gods, varying in degree and authority. The Chris-

tian dogma of the Trinity supplied a pretext for this degradation, which was wanting in the simpler theology of the Jews. But there can be no doubt that many among the pagans made the Arian hypothesis, by which the Son and Spirit were substantially subordinated to the Father, a step to the nominal acceptance of the Christian faith. In this way we may not be disinclined to admit that the arch-heretic did real service to the cause of truth, facilitating as he did, the transition from the Timæus of Plato to the Gospel of Jesus Christ. But it was only to their most favoured and select disciples that the philosophers, for the most part, had revealed their ideas on the Divine Nature. While they discussed in public the various problems of morality, and the relations of mind and matter, fear, perhaps, of the prejudices of the popular belief had deterred them from wandering at will in the higher regions of theology. To the Christian doctors a wider sphere was spread; of them a bolder teaching was demanded; and by them, accordingly, the nature of the Deity, with all the corollaries thence depending, as to the nature of the human soul, its fears and its aspirations, the nature of grace and faith, of fate and free-will, was debated, not by the fallacious light of human reason, not under the precarious authority of private opinions, but by reference to ecclesiastical tradition and the recorded belief of primitive antiquity. The doctrines of an Inspired Revelation, it was admitted on all hands, must be found purest and surest at the fountain head; and the question at Nice, as at other councils of the Church, was not so much, What is the relation of the Son to the Father? as, What has the Church from the first held and taught that relation to be? *Quid semper, quid ubique, quid ab omnibus?* The assembled divines were successors of the apostles, not leaders of sects; they were depositaries of an ancient record, interpreters of an universal sentiment, representatives of the Church in which the Holy Spirit was believed to dwell, and to make His informing presence ever implicitly felt. The imagination of the great Christian society, and to no slight extent, we may believe, of outlying paganism, was moved to its depths by the conviction that now, at last, in the consummation of ages, the profoundest questions of human interest could be determined once and for ever. Here was the end of controversy, the goal of the long race of twenty centuries, and of ten thousand ardent competitors. Christianity, ascending at last the throne of the world, was to wave her golden sceptre over the movements of the human mind, and subdue them to everlasting harmony. Faith was to crown reason. Plato and Aristotle, Chrysippus and Epicurus, would

shrink into the night of forgotten dreams. Eternal peace would succeed to immemorial divisions.

And how dazzling to Constantine was the idea that he, as chief of the Christian monarchy, was allowed or invited to take his seat in this assembly of Christian doctors; that though he could take little active part in it, bear no testimony of his own, give no utterance of God's Holy Spirit from his own mouth, to aid in the solution, yet the question could not be debated without his proclamation. The Holy Spirit could not speak except at his bidding. For even to this awful conclusion the Christian world was insensibly driving, and the emperor, we may believe, was not the last to perceive its drift, and to accept it. Unlettered though he was, and rudely nurtured in the border camps of the empire, Constantine was, as we have seen, a man of greet natural genius, and the position in which he found himself placed may well have kindled a less lively enthusiasm. Weak and selfish as he proved himself too often in the course of his career, he seems to have risen to the height of the occasion which now presented itself, and to have behaved with the dignity of a man fully possessed with a sense of the greatness forced upon him.

Summoned by the chief of the state, conveyed to their place of meeting by state-machinery, the subject of discussion appointed them by state-authority, the fathers of the Church assembled in the common town-hall of Nicæa, placed at their disposal by their secular patron. We could wish that the ancient historians had taken more pains to describe to us, with the details which they alone could have furnished, the striking scene which there presented itself. M. de Broglie, while shunning, as it seems to us, the political or ecclesiastical aspect of the occurrence, has not forgotten to study it with the eye of an historic painter, and the view he has taken of it deserves to be quoted as no bad specimen of his powers in this character: —

'The first meeting of these holy men gave rise to many touching scenes. United by the same faith and by common trials, but separated by seas and mountains, they were only known to each other by their virtues and their sufferings. It was joy unspeakable to meet, to embrace, and converse together upon evils so long endured, and the unlooked-for blessings of the present time. They pointed out to each other the most illustrious servants of God. In the first rank appeared the relics of persecution, bearing on their bodies the scars of a glorious confession. When Paphnutius, a bishop of the Thebaid, entered trailing a limb the muscles of which had been severed while he worked in the mines, and turned on the bystanders the quenched orbs of his blinded eyes,—when Paul, Bishop of Neo-Cæsarea, on the Euphrates, raised in blessing a hand maimed by fire,—there was a

general emotion, and all hastened to salute the traces of these holy wounds. The solitaries, whose strange austerities were the favourite theme of recital at all Christian firesides, attracted no less attention. There might be seen James of Nisibis, recognised by his raiment of goat's and camel's hair, in which he resembled John the Baptist. He had lived for years on the desert borders of Mesopotamia and Persia, nourishing himself on raw vegetables and wild fruits. There was Potamo, Bishop of Heraclea, on the Nile, who could describe the interior of the monastery of Pispir, and draw the portrait of St. Anthony. There was, likewise, Spiridion, a bishop of Cyprus, whose childlike gentleness and rustic manners were proverbial, and who continued to keep sheep even after he had become a bishop; but he kept them very ill, and when robbers came to steal them — "Why," said he, "did you not take the trouble to ask for them?" Beside him the mild St. Nicholas, Bishop of Myra, the friend, like Jesus Christ, of children; the memory of whom, unrecorded by history, is preserved in the grateful traditions of families. Then followed the sages, the men of letters, famous for their preaching and their writings; Theodorus of Tarsus, educated at Athens, Leontius of Cæsarea, the master of Gregory of Nazianzum, Eustathius of Antioch, Macarius of Palestine, Marcellus of Ancyra, of restless but powerful genius; and among the number the important personage of the day, the venerable Alexander, leaning on his young adviser Athanasius, from whom he was known to be inseparable, and whose rising talents and ardent energy were already recognised. Amidst all these Orientals, Pæderotius of Heraclea, Protogenes of Sardica, Alexander of Thessalonica, Eustorgius of Milan, Capito of Sicily, Nicasius, Bishop of Digna in Provence, Cæcilian of Carthage, figured as representatives of the West. At their head appeared the deputation from the Bishop of Rome, St. Sylvester, whose great age did not allow him to leave his see. It consisted of two priests, Vito and Vincentius, and was directed by the friend of Constantine, the luminary of Spain, Hosius of Corduba. Lastly, two barbarians, one a Persian, John, and one a Goth, Theophilus, completed this assembly of the human race. The very diversity of their accents, and even of their idioms, brought out in a more touching manner their community of sentiment. It recalled the gift of tongues and the first Pentecost. On that day all the dispersed nations reunited after the lapse of three centuries, proud of the trials they had suffered for the symbol of the faith, and of the innumerable offspring they had borne to Christ.' (Vol. ii. p. 17.)

This goodly array of prelates, 318 in number, afforded a fair representation of the Eastern Provinces, among which the question in debate had excited the nearest and warmest interest; but we recognise no more than eight episcopal delegates from the West, for we cannot reckon among these the presbyters who appeared, in some equivocal way, for the bishop of Rome. It was only by the subsequent reception of the Nicene decrees in all parts of the empire, that the presumed

œcumenicity of the council can be established. But beyond the limits of the empire there lay already a small number of Christian communities scattered through the regions beyond the Euphrates and the Indus, and the appearance of two bishops,— one from Scythia, and one from Persia, — could not be regarded as conveying the consent of the distant churches thus imperfectly represented. But in fact the reception of Christianity as an ally of the state had already, as its first consequence, destroyed for ever the possibility of a truly œcumenic council in its proper and natural acceptation as a representation of all Christian societies, before a single œcumenic council had actually been held. It was apparent that such bishops only could meet to confer on matters of faith and discipline, and to contribute their testimony to belief and usage, as belonged to one political body, and could be summoned by one political chief. The theory of a Universal Church as the combination of diverse communities conferring mutually on the fundamentals of their faith, was already gone in the fourth century. And further, it was evident to those who could look beyond the political arrangements of the present to a time when the Roman world itself would be broken into more temporal sovereignties than one, that even this partial representation of general Christendom would not be always feasible. A time must come when even the pretence of œcumenicity must be practically abandoned, and national churches must be content to act alone in their own national synods. Indeed, when only in the next generation the empire was split into two monarchies, this result was not slow of accomplishment. The councils held by the sons of Constantine in the East and West respectively debated and decreed without reference to each other, and for many years were arrayed in mutual hostility on points of vital importance. Nor is there any reasonable doubt that the idea of œcumenicity has been an after-thought of the Church of Rome, and that even at Nice the assembled prelates regarded themselves simply as representatives of Asia and Egypt, the regions most disturbed by the quarrel of Arius and Alexander. Hosius himself, though bishop of Corduba, was a native of Egypt, and perhaps personally interested in the local question. He was also, as we have seen, a friend and adviser of the emperor. The deputies as they are called, of Sylvester of Rome, were not bishops at all, and stood no doubt on a different footing.

It would appear, indeed, that in all matters of thought and speculation the East, impregnated with Greek ideas, and rejoicing in the possession of the Greek language, was still reputed the legitimate arbiter. Constantine himself was fully imbued

with the deferential feelings of his generation towards the nurse and mother of the arts, and the same predisposition which helped, perhaps, in deciding him to convene his council in some eastern city, was already leading him to fix in the same quarter the site of his future capital. It is a mistake to suppose that the first Christian emperor was induced to abandon Rome because it was the head-quarters of Roman paganism. Julian, the apostate from Christianity, whose brief career was one feverish struggle to revive the old faith, to recover the ideas, and restore the holy places of antiquity, showed no inclination to make Rome his place of residence. Till the requirements of his eastern warfare induced him to fix himself at Antioch, he too was content to place his throne in Constantinople, and to issue his decrees for the restitution of Paganism from the centre and stronghold of the faith he hated and despised. It might be shown, perhaps, that in the decline of the Roman power the factitious civilisation of the West was rapidly scaling away from the crude core of barbarism, and that the superiority of the East in moral and material cultivation, was relatively greater in the fourth century than it had been even in the first.

A heterogeneous collection of bishops and presbyters, — for several presbyters, and even inferior clergy, were also sent, though their powers do not seem to have been strictly defined, — assembled on no fixed principle from various quarters, and with no superiors of their own order around whom to arrange themselves,—summoned also by the chief of the state, and meeting in a secular edifice, in the midst of numerous lay officers and nobles,—could not fail to fall under secular presidency. It does not indeed appear that the emperor formally assumed the direction of their discussions; possibly he made his adviser Hosius, or his favourite Eusebius, his spokesman; but when he entered the hall, and passing with downcast eyes between the ranks of ecclesiastics ranged against the wall on either side, took his place on a golden seat at the top,—still more, when he opened the proceedings with a set harangue recommending unity and order, — all countenances must have been turned towards him, and to him every argument addressed. The conscript fathers of the Church would not unnaturally follow the old political tradition, and rise, each in his place and turn, at the invitation of the first magistrate of the state. If upon these details of procedure our authorities happen to be silent, we need have no difficulty in assuming that the first great council of Christendom followed in the conduct of its debates, more or less nearly, the precedents of the Roman Senate House. In so doing the Church would only indulge the same

powerful sentiment or habit, which had already induced it to adopt in its territorial divisions, the names, the limits, and the hierarchical subordination of political prefectures, dioceses, and provinces.

In another respect also, the fathers who met under the eye of the emperor, closely imitated the example of the Roman senators, namely, in the startling rapidity with which they changed their decisions, and veered from one extreme of opinion to another. Of the Nicene Bishops, however, it cannot be said that they showed any subserviency to the views of their imperial patron. Constantine indeed had called them together in perfect good faith. He was a neophyte among them, and felt himself wholly uninformed on the abstruse metaphysical points to which they addressed themselves. If naturally disposed to take the colour of his own sentiments from his friend, the semi-arian Eusebius, he would be retained on the side of orthodoxy by respect for his counsellor Hosius. The well-known decision of Nice was obtained by the genius and fervour of Athanasius, not by any latent desire to be found fighting in the sunshine of imperial favour. The Church imposed its decrees as a matter of spiritual obedience upon the prince as well as the people; and it urged him to sanction them with his imperial authority, and enforce them with secular penalty. The civil courts were called into vigorous action, and their powers over the conscience were only limited by the encroachments of episcopal jurisdiction. When, however, the Nicene decision was proved to have brought no rest to Christian dissensions, and new questions, or the old questions revived, had to be again debated in councils throughout the provinces, Constantine himself, and still more his next successor, began to yield to the intrigues of the ecclesiastics who surrounded them, and to range themselves, with the whole weight of their influence and authority, on one side or the other. The sons of the first Christian emperor took up their position at the head of opposite views and factions in the opposite quarters of the empire.

The grand debate of the Homoousion was renewed, and the question settled and unsettled, under circumstances of the gravest scandals by decrees each in turn pretending to the sanction of reason, tradition, and divine illumination. Though the solution, as determined at Nice, was finally accepted by the great mass of the Christian communities, it was not perhaps till the world had grown weary of the subtle dialectics employed upon it, or had drifted away to other topics of interest. At all events, the spell was now felt to be broken, the hopes of absolute theological unity were falsified. A decision, so long in

making itself acknowledged, and arrived at by processes so rude, vulgar and precarious, so like the common course of mere secular judgments and resolutions, seemed to show too clearly that no infallible tribunal was lodged, after all, in the breasts of the episcopate. Whatever salve theologians might discover for the wound thus inflicted on their vanity, temporal potentates at least admitted the fact, and accepted its consequences. Men, it seemed, were again cast upon their old resources; opinion and argument must take once more the place of authority; but the subjects of debate would in fact lose none of their vital interest from being again thrown open to private judgments; and political rulers, anxious to quell the storms of polemical controversy, sought to guide theological decisions by exerting a direct influence on the theologians themselves. They firmly grasped and widely extended the powers already assigned them as temporal rulers of the Church. They governed through the governors, and directed the influence of the episcopate. They assumed, in the first instance, the right of removing from their posts the chief pastors of the establishment, whose zeal or fanaticism gave them offence. They subdivided their dioceses, turned them over from one metropolitan to another, or translated them for the furtherance of their own objects, from obscure to important bishoprics. Each of these innovations caused some scandal in its turn; but the evils of the existing system of election to sees, generally by the bishops of a province controlled by the clamour of the mob, were so apparent, that when the emperors at last exerted their prerogative in the direct appointment of the highest dignitaries, the Church seems to have made no stand against it. Such was the policy of the emperors from Constantine himself, in his later years, to Justinian. They introduced first the custom of investing elected bishops with the pallium, thereby assuming a sort of temporal authority over them in return for their temporal jurisdiction; they held out to them the splendid bait of the patriarchal thrones at Constantinople, Antioch, Alexandria, and Rome; entangled them in intrigues, or laid them under obligations to secular politicians. It could be objected, even to Chrysostom, that he owed his elevation to the favour of the eunuch Eutropius. Theodosius displaced the Arian Demophilus, and appointed Gregory to the see of the Eastern capital. Nestorius, Proclus, and others, were similarly nominated by his successors. Valentinian divided Cappadocia into two metropolitan dioceses, to break the spirit or the influence of Basil. Theodosius, again, divided Phœnicia to create a metropolitan see for Eustathius at Berytus. Once, and for a moment, this stretch of imperial prerogative was im-

pugned by the council of Chalcedon; but it was reasserted by Justinian in favour of two cities which bore his own name in Mœsia and Cyprus. On the recovery of Rome and Italy from the barbarians, this emperor enforced without hesitation his direct nominations to the see of Rome, and of the cities in immediate subjection to the Roman patriarch. It was in this reign, moreover, and by formal enactment, that the election to bishoprics in general was withdrawn from the mass of the laity and vested in the higher clergy and chiefs of the nobility only.

Gibbon indeed has asserted, and his opinion is endorsed by Hallam, in opposition to extreme Erastianisers and establishmentarians, that the Greek emperors, with remarkable moderation, allowed 1800 posts of influence and dignity throughout their dominions to be filled by the suffrages of their subjects, and that the alleged instances of political interference, except with regard to the great patriarchal sees, were no more than occasional acts of extra-legal violence. It may be true, that the imperial appointments were confined, as a rule, to the chief cities of the empire; but when we consider the vast influence of the patriarch in the election of metropolitans, and of metropolitans in the choice of inferior prelates; and again, the probability that the action of the emperor himself in his capitals would be copied with more or less effect by his prefects in the provinces; we may believe that the appointment of the hierarchy of the East, at least, was in fact very generally subjected to political influence. It was the primitive theory of the Church, that the whole body of the faithful should elect their pastors. It was the theory of the State, dating from an equal antiquity, that the powers of the emperor were delegated to him by the common voice of the people. When it was no longer possible to entrust the suffrage in ecclesiastical elections to the mob of the great cities, corrupt and vicious, heretical or infidel, the emperor might naturally step into its place, and assume, with logical precision, that its prerogative in ecclesiastical, as in secular matters, had devolved upon himself. The revolutions which followed in the East, the loss to Christendom of the fairest provinces of the empire, and the fears and weakness of the rest, bound both priests and people more closely to the military chief who protected them, and no reaction of spiritual pretensions arose to question, to check, and eventually to curtail the Regale at Constantinople. The Czar of Russia has succeeded to the ecclesiastical supremacy of the Byzantine emperors, which has lost none of its prerogatives in the transmission. The progress of opinion and usage in the West, though it long continued in the same direction, started from a different point.

The chiefs of the Franks, the Visigoths, and the Saxons were not, like the Roman emperors, sovereigns by the Vox Populi. If they claimed the appointment of bishops even more decidedly than their fellow potentates in the East, they could not plead for it a delegation of prerogative from the mass of the laity. But they were the feudal lords of the countries conquered by their swords. From them prelates received their temporal fiefs, and were admitted by them to many temporal privileges. Further, they established Christianity, by their own regal acts, among their heathen subjects converted at the same time as themselves. The claim to appoint the chief pastors of the Church was in their case a legitimate deduction from the principles of feudal tenure. It was supported in popular opinion by the simultaneous development of the rights of lay-patronage in parishes. The layman who charged his estate with tithes, received in return authority to select the 'persona ecclesiæ,' the spiritual representative of the church upon it. And popular opinion, among the bold, self-asserting children of the North, revolted against the notion of the clerical body having a strict corporate right to nominate to cures and offices affecting the common interests of the whole nation. Hence the patronage, more or less direct, of episcopal dignities, cheerfully conceded by the people, was firmly grasped by the sovereigns of France, Spain, and England. It was conceded to them, one and all, with definite and moderate limitations, by the laws and constitutions of their respective realms. The Church, thus held in hand, became a strong and loyal supporter of the throne, and was enabled to act on all internal questions with vigour and unanimity. Both powers worked together in substantial harmony, till the ambition of the Papacy interfered to mar and dissolve their intimacy, and launched Christendom on the long war of priests and princes, in which so many independent polities have successively succumbed, though some of them have risen again and hurled back their importunate assailant. France and Spain indeed, with other western states, were early induced, under the pressure of political exigencies, to make an unworthy surrender of their ancient prerogatives; and more than once, in our own country, were the rights we prize so highly imperilled and even for a moment bartered; but England, thanks to the gallant spirit of her Plantagenets and Tudors, to the 'Statute of Provisors,' and the 'Institution of a Christian 'Man,' still retained, through the great crisis of theological controversy, the palladium of religious liberty in the Royal Supremacy, and the designation of her spiritual rulers by temporal authority.

ART. VII.—1. *An Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. J. Payne Collier's Annotated Shakspere, folio, 1632-5; and of certain Shaksperian Documents likewise published by Mr. Collier.* By N. E. S. A. HAMILTON. 1860.

2. *The Shakspeare Fabrications; or, the MS. Notes of the Perkins Folio shown to be of recent Origin.* By C. MANSFIELD INGLEBY, Esq., LL.D. 1859.

3. *Mr. J. Payne Collier's Reply to Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton's Inquiry.* 1860.

THE controversy respecting the authenticity and value of the celebrated manuscript corrections of the text of Shakspeare, which Mr. Collier professes to have discovered in his copy of the Second Folio, has now assumed a shape which almost removes it from the tribunal of literary criticism. Charges involving dishonour of the most serious character, long hinted, are now freely advanced by some and supported by others, with all the force which official position and special experience in manuscript learning can give to their testimony. It would be, in many respects, more satisfactory to leave this painful dispute to that decision of Time which we may hope will be ultimately given with general acquiescence. But this prospect seems as yet distant. The violent partisanship which for the present has taken possession of the minds of those principally engaged in the quarrel renders cool examination unattainable by them. And the charges themselves are of such a nature as scarcely to admit either of absolute proof or of absolute refutation. Were we certain that they would come under the investigation, either of a court of justice, or of some body of competent and impartial literary inquirers whose verdict would be generally accepted, we should feel that we were performing our duty best by abstaining from any interlocutory notice. But as it is, much more discussion impends, and many more discoveries have to be made before final judgment is given, if it ever be. In the mean time our readers may not unnaturally expect some information as to the present state of the question, occupying as it does the minds of literary men to a far greater extent, and involving much deeper researches, than the forgeries of Ireland or of Chatterton, or any other cognate subject which has ever obtained a prominent place in literary discussion. We shall attempt little at present beyond this office of simple exposition.

The subject of these marginal corrections, found in what Dr. Ingleby calls the 'Perkins Folio,' was brought before the readers of this Review in the year 1856.* At that time the only question which we discussed was that of their value, and their probable authority: did the Corrector work simply by conjecture, or had he the assistance, to some extent, of some other text which we do not possess? It was taken for granted, for our then purpose, that the handwriting was of the seventeenth century, as it appears to be. 'For our own part,' we said, after adverting to the suspicions of Mr. Singer and others on this point, 'we ask our readers to assume throughout the genuine-'ness of Mr. Collier's discovery, and to confine themselves to 'estimating its value.'

Not that the question of genuineness was, even at that time, quite an undisputed one. Guided by the precedent of the famous Ireland forgeries, some adverse critics already suspected fabrication. Some, like Mr. Singer, had openly avowed their doubts. At the very time when the sheets of our own article were passing through the press, Mr. Collier was drawn into court by the charges made in a pamphlet signed 'Detector,' to justify himself against the charge of forgery in this and another case. He applied for a criminal information, which was refused by Lord Chief Justice Campbell only on the ground that his honour was sufficiently vindicated; and he rested his application on an affidavit relating, over again, the circumstances of his famous discovery of the Folio. For reasons, however, which then appeared to us sufficient, we declined entering on this painful portion of the controversy. The conclusions at which we then arrived, not dogmatically, but as the better opinion, were—That the emendations were, on the whole, of much value. That it was very improbable they could be all conjectural. That the writer was probably the same person throughout; but that he had gone over his work at different times and with different purposes. That he had carefully 'rectified' the text. That in so doing he had possessed the help of some independent authority but partially only. That this authority was probably written, not oral. But that the Corrector had also dealt with the text (as Mr. Collier himself had first pointed out) for a totally different purpose; apparently that of adapting it for the stage, sometimes merely erasing difficult words or lines; sometimes slightly modernising old-fashioned ones; sometimes striking out whole passages; sometimes introducing rhyming couplets, which have no resemblance

* Ed. Review, vol. ciii. p. 358.

to Shakspeare at all, nor were intended to be taken for Shakspeare, but for stage improvements on Shakspeare. And the supposition of this double process (we said) diminishes a good many of the difficulties which seem at first sight to beset the subject.

Supposing the theory of forgery removed, after four years of continued and noisy controversy, we should find ourselves still deliberately adhering to these conclusions. We have attended to all the onslaughts which have since been made on the Corrector, both by capable critics and by intemperate sciolists. They certainly have not changed our opinion; nor, so far as we can learn, the opinion of any who have really considered the question for themselves, instead of following the multitude. But all these considerations now sink for the time into insignificance. The questions before the public are—Have these corrections been forged at a recent date, and have they been forged by Mr. Collier?

We are told that the affirmative of the first proposition is established. So say Sir Frederic Madden, head of the Manuscript Department in the British Museum, and Mr. Hamilton, junior of the Assistant Clerks in that department. They profess themselves certain, as men having authority to speak, that the marginal corrections in the Perkins Folio are all of them in a modern and disguised hand. The farther and most unwelcome conclusion, that Mr. Collier is the forger, is not, indeed, directly drawn by them, but implied as a matter of fearful probability. The question would, therefore, seem at first sight decided, so far as it can be decided by the assertion of men who are qualified and who ought to be impartial. But, unfortunately, this is not so. The reasons given for the opinion, as we shall see, are not in themselves conclusive. It is the opinion itself —the dictum of men of skill — which is presented for our guidance. But of all the false maxims current in proverbial philosophy, the saying, 'cuilibet in suâ arte credendum,' is perhaps the most deceitful and the most mischievous. No man's life, or property, or reputation, could be safe for an hour, if the judgment of 'experts' were to be received as conclusive evidence. But, happily for mankind, there are always to be found abundance of other men equally skilled ready to meet the positive assertions of their brethren with as positive contradiction. Any one familiar with courts of justice will remember how often the question of the genuineness of a deed, or of an entry, (a case exactly analogous to that now before us) is debated on the conflicting testimony of men learned in palæography, brought as witnesses by the opposite parties, to the utter

confusion of a court conscious of its own inadequacy to decide between them. And in the first of the pamphlets now before us, we find that Sir Frederic Madden and Mr. Hamilton have actually certified that a document in the State Paper Office is a spurious document; although its authenticity has since been confirmed by evidence which appears to us to be irresistible. We, therefore, attach no weight at all to the conjectural imputations in which they have dealt so freely. Such evidence is at least doubtful even on the supposition that the witnesses are impartial; but in the present instance they are not so. It is of no use wasting space in conventional euphonisms, and we shall be able to convey our meaning in words which will not necessarily offend the readiest susceptibilities. Mr. Hamilton (who assumes throughout to represent Sir F. Madden likewise) comes forward as an accuser, not a witness. His determination that Mr. Collier shall be found guilty pervades every line of his pamphlet, every step of his conduct in the transaction. No doubt ever seems to enter his mind, no mitigating or questionable circumstance his pages. Of course he would indignantly repudiate the paltry motives which have been imputed by some of Mr. Collier's friends for this partiality. We need not allude to this meaner portion of the controversy. There have been unworthy accusations on both sides. We assume at once that (in Mr. Hamilton's own words) 'a sense of the importance of his inquiry has kept 'him up;' that the feeling which has plunged some of the authorities of the Museum into such very deep water, was neither more nor less than that of indignation on public grounds at what they judged to be a gross imposition on the literary world, and that no meaner impulse entered into their motives. But it is another question, whether they did not form that judgment hastily—before, in fact, they had even become thoroughly acquainted with the volume which they were criticising, as some circumstances lead us to conjecture — and whether they have not since adhered to a foregone conclusion with blind inveteracy. Very recently Mr. Hamilton has published a letter, in which he denies that any of his colleagues in the Museum have assisted him in his investigations, except those named in his pamphlet. But Mr. Hamilton cannot be ignorant that the weight of his charges has been materially increased, by the fact that they have emanated from the manuscript department of that great national collection. His letters have been dated from the British Museum; and if his pamphlet has commanded any attention, that attention was paid to the public rather than to the private character of the accuser. And the

alternative in which Mr. Hamilton and his friends are now placed, if Mr. Collier be not a forger, is by no means a creditable or a pleasant one. Hence, no doubt, the intense acrimony with which they have pursued this subject. The result is, that although the questions of external evidence in this controversy for the present eclipse in point of interest those of internal evidence, they do not wholly supersede them. With Mr. Hamilton's positive accusation before them, met by Mr. Collier's positive denial, men will and must still recur to some extent to their own means of forming an opinion: the value, number, peculiarities, and so forth, of the annotations; all those points, in short, which were so seriously discussed before the charge of forgery had assumed its present shape. For even on the simple issue — forgery or no — internal probabilities must still be of considerable weight. So, assuredly, think Mr. Collier's opponents. The friends of Mr. Hamilton do not rely solely on that gentleman's external proofs. Dr. Ingleby, in his 'Shakspeare Fabrications,' Mr. Arnold, the police magistrate, in the pages of 'Fraser's Magazine,' (we make no apology for attributing the articles in question to that able Shaksperian scholar,) back them up by arguments of a critical nature. We cannot in justice abstain from following their example, or confine ourselves wholly to observations on handwriting, ink, and pencil marks. We can only promise our readers that we will spare them that idlest of all classes of testimony, in which the champions of this controversy have indulged beyond all reasonable proportion, — our own opinion, namely, or that of Mr. A. or Mr. B., as to the 'æsthetic' value of this or that correction, and the probability that Shakspeare wrote it, because we or they like it.

The matters, then, with which we propose now to deal (far more by inviting our readers' attention to them, than by any dogmatical conclusion of our own) are the following:

The probabilities on internal or critical grounds, on the question whether the corrections are of old date, or are recently made in a seeming old hand.

The probabilities arising from the character of the writing, and other external signs.

The probabilities arising from Mr. Collier's dealings with the volume, his statements respecting it, and the counter-statements of others.

And, lastly, (a branch of the subject which has now become for the first time of very formidable importance,) the probabilities arising from Mr. Collier's connexion with other dis-

coveries, now broadly alleged to be *all* forgeries, and *all* forged by the same hand as the corrections.

The points of internal evidence in favour of the anthenticity of the corrections, we range in the most compendious manner, as follows:

1. Their value.—On this head we decline to reopen, on the present occasion, an old controversy. If they are proved to be modern forgeries, we shall remain persuaded that they are the work of a forger possessed of very extraordinary powers of Shakspearian criticism. And we could cite many names, to which any fair inquirer would attach considerable weight, among those whose persuasion coincides with our own. On the other hand, there are no doubt many scholars, and some of rank, whose general impression has been strongly adverse to the corrections. We have the late Mr. Singer, who designates them as a batch of crudities and inanities. We have Dr. Delius, who christens the unhappy author of these attempts at improvement 'Sir Oliver 'Mar-text.' We have Dr. Ingleby, who raves in more vehement contortions against 'the presumption, the plagiarism, the 'vulgarity, the imbecility, of those wretched libels on the text 'of Shakspeare:' and talks with a ferocious confusion of metaphors of

> 'The *incubus* of those marginal corrections, which to the shame of the nineteenth century have been permitted, like the unclean birds of old, to *settle down* upon Shakspeare's text tearing and mangling and befouling where they cannot destroy.' (P. xxiii.)

We have at present no intention of setting up one judgment against another; our own we have candidly avowed; and this we will say in defence of it — that 'in spite of spite,'— in defiance of all the industry and all the violence of those who have disparaged them, several of the Corrector's most noted and boldest original emendations are gradually finding their way into the received text, and will gradually become incorporated in it, while we doubt whether any one of the critics who have assailed him has ever furnished one single conjectural emendation which has any chance of permanence.

2. The very great multitude of the corrections, their laborious execution, and the amount of pains and trouble, both manual and mental, which they indicate. This is a branch of the argument of which it is extremely difficult to indicate the force, to persons not familiar with the volume itself. It must be repeated once more, that this is not only a volume containing marginal emendations, in the common sense of the word. It is a volume which, to appearance, has been thoroughly corrected for some intended reprinting. Not only are words and sen-

tences altered, lines added, omitted, or transposed, but the orthography and punctuation are set right with the minutest and most fastidious care. While the really important alterations are counted by many hundreds, the comparatively insignificant ones almost escape the powers of numeration. They have been roughly estimated at twenty thousand in all. To examine one narrow class only—that of changes of single letters. Tycho Mommsen, in his curiously microscopic essay on 'Der Perkins-'Shakspere,' gives a list of fifty-one instances in which the initial letter of a word is altered, seven in which it is added, eleven in which it is erased, thirty-four of initial double consonants altered, ninety-five of initials altered, together with other letters, two hundred and sixty-six (if we count rightly) of final letters variously altered, and a proportional number of changes in letters between the first and the last. And yet Mommsen had under his eye, not the folio itself, but only Mr. Collier's publications, which, according to his enemies, are almost valueless from imperfections and omissions. Now, if this be forgery, we have to suppose not only the patience and accuracy required to execute an enormous mass of *unnecessary* work, but also to execute it with great labour, in a forged hand, and in paint (as we are told) instead of ink. For what purpose? only to pass off a very few favourite corrections, under the cover of thousands, at which no one would care to look? No other object is alleged. We are driven to suppose that the ingenious contriver of the fraud added many thousand minor alterations to a few hundred substantial ones, multiplying enormously the separate chances of detection, with the sole view of inducing the reader to believe that so elaborate a work must be genuine. Insane as such a proceeding must appear, no one can say it is not *possible*. Nothing can be more abnormal and farfetched than the real reasons which are sometimes found to actuate the perpetration of dark, slow, and secret crime. But though possible, it would be indeed very strange. It is among the strong *à priori* improbabilities which Mr. Hamilton's theory has to overcome. To liken the forgeries of such a personage as Ireland, a clever youth, who, having attained a superficial facility of imitating ancient handwriting and ancient style, dashed off his very shallow fabrications with ease and carelessness, to the slow, painstaking, studiously elaborate method of the Corrector, is to institute a totally false analogy.

3. The next important consideration is that which arises from what we may term the unexpected character of a great number of the emendations. To explain what we mean, we must resort once more to that fundamental difference (strangely neglected

by most writers in this controversy) which subsists between Shaksperian criticism and criticism on any other author since the early classical poets. It arises from the simple fact, that of Shakspeare we possess no real text at all. There is no text sanctioned in the most indirect way by himself. There is only one (that of the first folio) which professes to be taken by strangers from his manuscripts, and which, beyond all doubt, is *not* wholly so taken. And that text, besides its original deficiency in authority, is mangled by misprints to a degree which it is difficult to make credible to those who have not examined it for themselves. Now the critic who takes up the work of an ordinary author — Milton, for instance — is of course bound by the received text. There may be misprints and errors of neglect, but they can be but few. If the editor meets with a harsh, farfetched, unintelligible expression, his plain and only duty is to elucidate its meaning as well as he can, and to illustrate it by parallel passages from other writers. But if the editor of Shakspeare light on a similar passage, the first question which inevitably arises is whether it be corrupt or no. Not only this, but the probability fairly is, that where a passage in Shakspeare is harsh, or farfetched, or unintelligible, it *is* corrupt, and not what Shakspeare wrote. We are prepared for all the consequences of this startling proposition. We know what havoc it will make, if carried out, in many of those supposed daring felicities of expression, which habit, and constant quotation, and the love of generations, have consecrated in our minds. But it is simply true, notwithstanding; a truth which increasing familiarity with the controversy must bring more and more home, as we believe, to every unprejudiced mind. Now, this being so, one result follows: that notwithstanding all that has been said about the itch for conjectural correction, we pass over habitually in Shakspeare, passages which are neither sense, nor grammar, nor possible English; some of us, out of a misplaced reverence for what we call the text — some of us, not because we reverence the text, but because we know it is all we have, and that conjecture is but idle work. Now nothing is more striking in the work of our Corrector than the number of passages of this description with which he boldly deals, and with which no one had dealt before. It does not signify (for our present purpose) whether his manner of dealing with them suit our taste or not; it is the fact itself which is so remarkable. To take a single instance. Timon bids each Athenian

> '*Take his haste,*
> Come hither, ere my tree hath felt the axe,
> And hang himself.'

'Take his *haste*' is sheer nonsense: it is all but certain Shakspeare did not write it: yet it is so near sense that every editor has passed it by without remark as not worth touching. The Corrector reads 'take his *halter*.' We are not here concerned with the aptness of the change: we are only considering its boldness: why should a mere forger have gone out of his way to meddle with a text which no man had disturbed before? This very striking example might be multiplied, had we only room for this course of proof, by hundreds.

4. We must next refer to the obvious improbability of forgery in that bulky class of the Corrector's changes which are made, as we have said before, not for purification of the text, but obviously for adaptation to the stage: changes not critical, but theatrical, to use a phraseology which we will now employ for convenience. Very likely, as we shall presently see, the Corrector executed these two purposes, of purifying and of adapting, at different times. But, at all events, he kept the two operations perfectly distinct in his own mind. The proof positive or crucial test of this is to be found in the circumstance, that in many passages (notably in the last scene of Hamlet), while he has struck through whole series of lines, he has continued the process of correction in the erased lines and under the erasing strokes.

Now, to apply these facts to the supposition of forgery. Let us look first at the omissions. We will borrow here once more the analysis of the painstaking Mommsen. Seventy lines are struck out in the 'Tempest,' 100 in 'All's Well that Ends Well,' 110 in 'Henry V.,' 180 in 'Richard III.,' 100 in 'Macbeth,' 100 in 'Othello,' more than 200 in 'Hamlet.' These are the most numerous; but there are many in other plays. Some lines seem to be erased because nothing could be made of them in the way of correction. Some, because it was found the audience would not understand them (note in particular the two heraldic lines in Helena's complaint to Hermia). Some few because of indecency. But by very far the majority are evidently only erased for the common stage manager's reason—to shorten the plays. And it is very acutely remarked by Mommsen, that the plays thus unmercifully treated are all of them the popular acting dramas. Some, which were seldom acted, 'Antony and 'Cleopatra,' for instance, have not a line erased at all. Now, let the reader mark what conclusion we are driven to form respecting all this, on the supposition of forgery. We are to suppose that Mr. Collier, intending to palm on the world a set of conjectural emendations as ancient, resolved to back their credit by forging, also, a whole mass of stage alterations of no

value or interest whatever. We are to suppose that with a view to make these probable, he selected, with wonderful tact, the best acting dramas, and left the others comparatively untouched. We are to suppose, in short, an amount of deep and prescient forethought, for the mere purpose of puzzling and bewildering mankind, such as perhaps was never exhibited by forger where a fortune was the prize of his dexterity.

And when we come to detail, the result is almost ludicrous. The stage manager—as dramatic poets, by experience, know full well—is the most ruthless and tasteless of anatomists. When amputation seems to him required for acting purposes, little recks he of the 'æsthetic' value of the parts amputated, any more than of the mangled appearance otherwise presented by the victim. The Corrector has over and over again struck through some of the best lines in the plays. In 'Hamlet,' to take one instance only, he has actually cut out the lines 'Look, where the morn, 'in rosy mantle clad,' &c.: for no conceivable reason, unless that he thought the ghost had delayed the action of the drama too long. Imagine Mr. Collier — imagine any Shakspearian critic of the nineteenth century — perpetrating so daring a sacrilege! and for what? Again, the Corrector, in his *theatrical* alterations, continually evinces a childish passion for rhyme. He alters the ends of lines, over and over again, merely in order to produce a couplet. To take a single instance, in Lord Scales's speech,—

> 'Fight for your king, your country, and your lives,
> And so farewell, *for I must hence again*,—'

the Corrector has substituted for the last words the appropriate *tag*, 'Rebellion never thrives!' Now this is intelligible enough, if the corrections be old. Blank dramatic verse is said to have been first introduced by Marlow, whose lines still savour of the tameness and monotony of rhythm just relieved from the fetters of rhyme. It was Shakspeare who seized on the noble instrument thus invented, improved it *by degrees*, (as is proved by the remarkable difference between the stiffness of versification in his early dramas, and freedom in the later,) and rendered it, by his single genius, that unrivalled vehicle of poetical thought of which our language is so justly proud. But Shakspeare, whether in obedience to his own fancy or that of the public, besprinkled his blank verse with occasional rhyming couplets. The dramatists who followed him, partially discontinued these remnants of the older day. But in the reign of Charles the Second (to which the Corrector, if not a forger, most probably belongs), the rhyming taste rose again in the ascendant. For a short time rhymed tragedies

prevailed; and adaptors of Shakspeare (Davenant, and so forth) abounded in rhyme. So did the Corrector. But for what reason a *modern* forger should have shown the same propensity, passes altogether our comprehension. To extend the same reasoning to one or two minuter particulars. It is often difficult to discern positively to which class one of the Corrector's emendations belongs—critical, or theatrical. But we may conjecture the latter, whenever an obscure, scarcely intelligible word is struck out, and a common-place synonym, with no typographical resemblance, placed in the margin. Instances of this class are not many; but they are remarkable. Critics have been puzzled with the sporting word 'stallion,' or 'stanyell' (Warwickshire for a kite, some say), used by Fabian in 'Twelfth Night,' act ii. scene 5. The Corrector simply strikes it through, and writes 'falcon.' We can quite understand his doing so, if he was thinking of 'adapting' the play for a Cockney audience. But what on earth should induce a modern forger to do so? what, above all, could induce Mr. Collier to do so, full of Shakspearian learning, and well aware of all the glosses by Hanmer and others, which this passage has called forth? Why imperil the credit of his other corrections by one so manifestly absurd? The whole theory of forgery involves us in a labyrinth of such contradictions, which are so far from removing the difficulty that they render it infinitely more perplexing.

4. We come now to the question of language, or how far the recent fabrication of the corrections is to be inferred from the use of words, or a diction too modern for the seventeenth century. Probably no exercise of ingenuity is so difficult — so nearly impossible —as that of giving a strictly archaic character, which shall defy all criticism, to a modern composition. It is very easy to come near success. It is almost impossible to succeed. None of the very close imitators of the old Scottish ballad have succeeded. Burns could never accomplish it. Scott, as he was continually attempting it, so came nearer to the achievement than any other man; but we know of only one imitation of the antique by Scott, in which no modern word or phrase jars on the critical ear — and that is but a fragment — Elspeth's ballad of the Battle of the Harlaw in the 'Antiquary.' Now, no doubt, the skill required merely to avoid the use of a modern word is far less than that needed to imitate antique phraseology. But it is not so very easy of attainment notwithstanding; and this has been very strongly felt by Mr. Collier's opponents. While profuse in their vituperations of the 'modern 'phraseology' of the Corrector, they have perceived that if they

could detect him in the use of a single clearly modern *word*, their cause was gained. Accordingly, no common amount of ingenuity has been exercised to find out some 'test-word,' to use their own phrase, of this description. But the propounders of 'test-words' must be riper scholars, and less anxious to 'snap' a judgment, as lawyers call it, than these impatient gentlemen. The late Mr. Singer thought he had found such a 'test-word' in 'wheedling' used by the Corrector; but, unluckily for him, it was pointed out that a book called the 'Art 'of Wheedling' was published in 1679. It was reserved for Dr. Ingleby to attempt the boldest discovery in this line, and to meet with the most signal discomfiture. *His* test-word is 'cheer' in the modern sense of an applauding and encouraging cry (Coriolanus, act iv. scene 7, where the Corrector substitutes 'cheer' in this sense for 'chair'). This, says Dr. Ingleby, is positively modern. He has satisfied himself of this point of criticism, by a 'careful search in files of old news-'papers,' and can take upon himself to assure mankind that it came into use about the year 1808. 'The inference,' he says, with solemnity, 'is, that whoever substituted "cheer" for '"chair" in the Perkins Folio, he is of our own time; and with 'Mr. Arrowsmith, I may say, "I have much reason to believe '"he is living still."' This, he repeats, is 'the test-proof' of 'the Corrector's recent phraseology,' and exults over it with exuberant triumph. Mr. Arnold — too knowing a hand to be taken in by such youthful sallies—looks on at the feats of his brother in arms with some amazement, as our Heavy Brigade did at the charge of their friends the Hussars at Balaklava; and gently presages disaster. Well he may do so; for a writer in the 'Athenæum' has simply upset the theory, by showing that the nautical word 'cheers,' in the modern sense, is used eight times at least in 'The Diary of Henry Teonge,' who served as a sea-chaplain from 1675 to 1679. We do not see how this is to be met, unless by adding a new count to the prosecution, and charging that 'Teonge's Diary,' a singular book enough, is also a forgery of Mr. Collier's.

Thus far, therefore, the supposed forger has escaped the ordeal of test-words, and this is no common testimony to his strange ingenuity. But one more curious circumstance demands attention. There is no doubt that the Corrector (forger or not) *has* taken the liberty of modernising to some extent. In the seventeenth century the language was in continual flux. Mr. Halliwell has very ingeniously pointed out that there are pointed alterations in the second folio, 1632, from the first folio, 1623, clearly for the sake of modernising. Words,

common in Shakspeare's day, had become unfamiliar twenty years after he had left the stage. Davenant and Dryden of course took greater liberties still; yet the first was born in Shakspeare's lifetime. Now this, if we are not mistaken, is the character of part of the Corrector's work. He has modernised down to his own (supposed) day. He has not modernised a step farther. Either, therefore, he is no forger, or he is one of strange acuteness as well as audacity.

5. The next point — and the last of internal evidence with which we shall trouble our readers on the present occasion — is the proportion of original emendations introduced by the Corrector. This is one of the subjects on which the impugners of his authority have been most eloquent and urgent. It has been over and over again maintained, that by far the greater part of his corrections are, in truth, merely plagiarisms from the suggestions of critics. Mr. Arnold more cautiously says, 'the great bulk of the emendations unfortunately happen not 'to be original, *at least of those which are really good;*' a limitation which leaves the question just where it was. Now, however this fact, if substantiated, might bear on the value of these corrections, we must own ourselves at a loss to see in what way it would bear on the question of their genuineness. No doubt it is true, on the one hand, that a clever forger would have searched out and adopted good emendations from other quarters, to pass as his own. But then it is equally true, that the genuine text of Shakspeare, if we possessed it, would, beyond a doubt, contain by anticipation a great many of the subsequent conjectures. To suppose the contrary is simply to take for our basis the position, that all corrections are mere idle exercises of ingenuity, and that no conjectural critic has ever hit the mark. Now, though conjecture has no doubt very much degenerated, of late years, into an idle exercise, in which the critic is far more anxious to display his own minute ingenuity than to attempt seriously a restoration of the text, this was not so at first. Great numbers of corrections of Rowe, Theobald, Pope, and other early critics, were self-evident or nearly so. It may be fairly suspected that many more had some authority of tradition. These the Corrector has doubtless incorporated — and would equally have done so, as it seems to us, on any possible supposition — whether he were a modern forger, an old guesser, or actually in possession of some part of the text of Shakspeare.

It is not, however, true that the original emendations are few: whoever will take the trouble to examine the question in earnest will find that they are, on the contrary, very numerous; and that those for which no other authority can be found, com-

prehend many of the most remarkable, some of the most self-evident. Mr. Hamilton professes to supply a test for this purpose, than which nothing can be more misleading. He gives a collation of the play of 'Hamlet,' carefully executed we have no doubt, marking the 'original sources from which the principal 'corrections are derived.' 'Many of our readers,' he says, 'will 'probably be surprised to see the number of these which can be 'thus identified, and the small claims to originality which the '"Old Corrector" actually possesses.' Why does he select 'Hamlet'? Because, as we suppose, it is a play which serves his purpose particularly well, *being one of which there are three old quartos.* Of course it stands to reason that the quartos, which have an independent authority of their own, are very often right, and that whether the Corrector were forger or true man, the coincidences between him and the quartos were certain to be very numerous. Indeed, Tycho Mommsen, though a determined Collierite, has a whole chapter on the 'relation between the 'Old Corrector and the quartos.' If Mr. Hamilton had really wished to institute a fair inquiry into this question of originality, he would have selected one of the plays of which there is *no* quarto; that is, more than half the whole number. Dr. Ingleby has supplied the deficiency to some extent. He selects fifty-five remarkable alterations in 'Measure for Measure.' Now, on his own showing, twenty-nine of these coincide with the conjectures of others, twenty-six have no known parallels. Surely a pretty fair proportion, and quite sufficient to relieve the Corrector of the charge of timid plagiarism, for whatever other offences he may have to account.

One result, however, of Mr. Hamilton's collation is worthy of attention. Adopting it as our guide, we have counted in the play of Hamlet thirty-eight instances of coincidence with conjectures of the older critics down to Johnson exclusive; eight only from Johnson exclusive (besides a very few of uncertain data from what is called the 'Variorum' edition); of modern and cotemporary critics, not a single one. How this circumstance bears on the supposition of a *recent* forgery, our readers will judge for themselves.

And now, having pointed out the leading circumstances of internal evidence which seem to bear on the question, whether these remarkable corrections are really of the seventeenth century or of later date, let us point briefly, before going further, to one possible hypothesis. Some of our readers may perhaps by this time have anticipated it. May not there be truth on both sides in this controversy? Is it not possible that some one, becoming master of an old folio full of *theatrical* corrections,

may have added, in a feigned hand, most of the *critical* ones? All that gives the volume its real importance — those emendations, some of them so exquisitely felicitous that they seem to flash on us the truth that the text of Shakspeare is here recovered; some so quaint and daring that they seem more like the work of a clever critic dallying with his subject, than of one endeavouring seriously to rectify by conjecture — may then be the manufacture of later times, the ruder contents of the folio being what they appear to be, not much later than the date of the edition? The supposition is a tempting one. But it is beset by many and very serious external difficulties, as we shall see when we come to the next head of our subject. It is scarcely possible: and yet anything seems more credible than that *all* is forgery.

We now come to the more immediately important branch of our inquiry. What is the evidence from external indications, on the face of the book itself, that these corrections are the forgeries of a modern hand, whether that hand be, or be not, the hand of Mr. Collier? a question which it is essential to keep, for a time, distinct from the former. We must now give Mr. Hamilton's own account of the matter:

'On the 18th of May, 1859, Sir Frederic Madden, keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum, attaching at that time, as I understand, no great importance to the various doubts respecting the authenticity of the corrections in the Annotated Folio 1632, which from time to time reached him, but having a great desire to inspect the volume for his own information, wrote to the Duke of Devonshire begging the loan of it for a short time, for the satisfaction of himself, Dr. Bodenstedt of Munich, and a few friends. On the 26th the book was placed in Sir Frederic's hands, and, at his request, a discretionary power was shortly after granted him by the noble owner, to exhibit the book to a more extended literary circle. In accordance with this permission a considerable number of persons interested in the matter did so examine the volume during the period it remained in the Museum; and no application to see it was declined, except during the brief period in which Mr. Frederick Netherclift was occupied in making from it the *fac-similes* prefixed to this volume. Such were the circumstances under which the Folio came into the Museum. And it was not at first imagined that anything would *result from its examination tending to invalidate the manuscript corrections on its margin.*'

We must here interpose, to express our own doubts whether Mr. Hamilton's recollection can be altogether accurate on this subject. In a note he quotes from a 'Memorandum of Sir F. 'Madden,' as follows:

'I had a great wish to see the volume, after the second avowal

of doubts expressed by Mr. Staunton and Dr. Ingleby; but my mind was so free from bias that I did not entertain any suspicion of forgery.'

Why, what were the doubts 'avowed' by Mr. Staunton and Dr. Ingleby? Doubts of the genuine antiquity of the corrections, most undoubtedly. The volume clearly came to the Museum tainted with a suspicion of fraud of some sort; and it was with their minds preoccupied by this taint that the Museum authorities began their investigation. Sir F. Madden can surely mean no more than this, that no suspicion of the particular mechanism of fraud, which he now considers established, had then crossed his mind.

But to continue Mr. Hamilton's statement:

'A short inspection, however, of the ink corrections in the text and on the margins was sufficient to give rise to the gravest suspicions as to their genuineness. In the first place, although evidently written by one hand throughout, yet the form of the letters, especially of the capital letters, presented strange anomalies. On one page would be found a word or letter, characteristic rather of the writing of the 16th than of the 17th century; while in close juxtaposition, and sometimes on the same page, the identical letter or word would occur, having every appearance of having been written within the present century.'

'But' (he continues, after stating some minor points of suspicion) 'it was further discovered, and this, too, before the whole weight of these literal objections had been fully considered, that a series of partially obliterated pencil corrections was visible throughout the margins of the Folio, *corresponding* with the corrections made in ink, and sometimes *actually underlying* them. The appearances presented by these pencil corrections merit exact description. In the first place, they have none of the feigned antiquity about them of the ink corrections, either in form or spelling. They are in a bold, clear handwriting of the present day, are evidently executed by one hand throughout, and have been placed on the margins to direct the alterations afterwards made in ink, and with which they invariably correspond. They are of various kinds. Amongst the most common are crosses and ticks, apparently used to call attention to words or letters requiring correction. Some of them may, of course, be the "crosses, ticks, or lines" which Mr. Collier acknowledges he introduced himself. But as cases occur where such pencil ticks actually *underlie* corrections in ink, some of them at least must have been placed on the margins before the "old Corrector" commenced his labours. . . . . Again, whole syllables or words occur in pencil, partially rubbed out but still legible, and in which the character of the modern handwriting is plainly visible: while in near neighbourhood to them, the same syllable or word is repeated in ink in the antique hand. In some cases, the ink word and the pencil word occupy the same space in the margin, and are written one upon the other; and

in these instances the naked eye readily detects the fact that the pencil has been written prior to the ink.'

It should be added that these pencil marks which are now said to be so visible, some of which form the title-page to Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet, had never been observed or detected by any of the numerous persons who had previously pored over the volume, and were not discovered until after it had been in the Museum for eight or ten days. This fact, which is stated by Sir F. Madden in his last letter, is at least as extraordinay as every other part of this mysterious case.

Mr. Hamilton then passes to another branch of evidence. He adduces the testimony of Mr. Maskelyne, keeper of the mineral department in the British Museum, to the fact that the ink in which the corrections are written

'proves to be a paint, removable, with the exception of a slight stain, by mere water, while, on the other hand, its colouring matter resists the action of chymical agents which rapidly change inks, ancient or modern, whose colour is due to iron. In some places, indeed, the paint appears to have become mixed, accidentally or otherwise, with ordinary ink, but its pervading character is that of a paint formed perhaps of sepia, or sepia mixed with a little Indian ink.'

Mr. Maskelyne also asserts from microscopic investigation, that the pencil marks *underlie* the ink.

Such are the indications of forgery now relied on by Mr. Hamilton. It is necessary to add, that the subject was brought before the public by Mr. Hamilton and Mr. Maskelyne, in letters published in the 'Times' as long ago as June and July last. These are reprinted in the appendix to Mr. Hamilton's present volume; we presume, therefore, that he still abides by them; at the same time, it is necessary to observe that Mr. Hamilton then relied on certain additional proofs which in the *text* of his present volume are omitted. It was then made a great point of, that the binding of the mysterious volume in 'rough sheep' is of a modern kind. However, the fact may be, it can scarcely be of much importance, considering that the rebinding of old volumes, falling to pieces from much use, without interfering with the margin where it contained anything which it was wished to preserve, is and always was a common practice enough. In the next place, Mr. Hamilton, wandering rashly from the province of the palæographer to that of the critic, staked his reputation on certain peculiarities of spelling which do not bear his inferences. He pointed out, for instance, that the word originally written 'body' in pencil, became in one place 'bodie' when copied in ink. But,

unluckily for this piece of proof, the word is spelt indifferently either way in the writing and printing of the seventeenth century. But so childish is the pertinacity with which this attack is pursued, that one of Mr. Hamilton's brothers in arms, finding that nothing can be made out of the pencilled 'body,' now shifts his ground, and declares that in turning it into 'bodie' in ink, the Corrector has 'overdone his part' of simulating antiquity!

We are driven, therefore, to the objections which are strictly palæographical. Of these, the factitious ink is admitted by Mr. Maskelyne to be only a secondary matter. The common ink of that age contained much iron, and was very corrosive, and it is by no means impossible that for employment on the margins of a printed book some compound may have been preferred. This, however, is only a conjecture of our own. It will be recollected how large a part this circumstance played in the Ireland forgeries, and how that ingenious young gentleman confessed to having learnt the art of composing an old-looking ink from a bookbinder's apprentice, in New Inn Passage. According to him, there are several easy ways of doing so; but he mentions none so recondite as the composition of 'sepia with some unknown substance,' which occupies Mr. Hamilton's imagination, and which would seem to indicate a forger of very unusual learning in his art. On the feigned appearance of the ink writing we do not think that much reliance is really placed. The seriously suspicious circumstances therefore reduce themselves to one alone; the alleged modern character of the pencil marks. It is really idle, in such a case as this, to foist in other minor suspicions, and to say, as Mr. Arnold does with magisterial gravity, that 'in 'every case of circumstantial evidence, each individual link in 'the chain, taken by itself, may prove little, but it is the conca-'tenation of the whole that gives the evidence its binding force.' A very fallacious dictum here; for it is quite equally true, that when once a false suspicion prevails, every innocent and immaterial incident wears at once a suspicious air to hostile eyes.

And now we can only apologise to our reader for detaining him so long from the chief feature of the case; the real appearance of the volume itself. When the arena is occupied by such clamorous accusers and defenders, we are driven to rely on our own inspection, and our own familiarity with palæography, whatever that may be, rather than adopt conclusions urged indeed with all the weight of authority, but with all the unfairness of partisanship. Mr. Collier's own description of that appearance, in his 'Notes and Emendations,' seems to us accurate enough. The first thing that strikes the eye is, the amazing

quantity and particularity of the alterations, so utterly different in character from such marginal notes and corrections as are commonly found in books owned by studious men. The next is, their business-like look, as if done for a purpose. The multitude of corrections of punctuation alone is quite startling. The handwriting is (or pretends to be) the stiff engrossing hand with old forms of letters, which was common in Elizabeth's day, and was gradually replaced by the cursive or Italian hand now in use; the change being general, though hardly complete, in Charles the Second's time. It would be rash to assign to the corrections (if genuine) any very precise date from the character of the handwriting. The general change from old hand to cursive could not have extended to individual handwritings. An elderly gentleman, who had used his pen familiarly in the reign of James the First, would not adopt the 'cursive' along with his youthful cotemporaries under the Restoration. Later than Charles the Second, however, we do not think it would be possible to place them, on the evidence of handwriting alone.

The next circumstance which will strike the observer is one which Mr. Collier pointed out long ago, but to which his adversaries hardly allude. We mean the very great difference in appearance between the corrections, not only in different parts of the volume, but, constantly, in the same page. We think the first impressions on the mind of an inquirer seeking for himself would be, notwithstanding Mr. Hamilton's summary 'evidently,' that more than one hand has been at work there. On second thoughts he may, perhaps, be inclined to modify this opinion, and to think, though still not without hesitation, that one hand only has been engaged on it; but that the writer performed his tedious task at different times, — probably at times far apart, — and probably with different intentions at different times.* There are two characters of penmanship employed in it. The one is much freer than the other; more inclined, and more approaching to the cursive in style, though the forms of the letters are old. The other stiffer, rounder, more print-like. Yet instances are soon found in which the two hands approach so near each other as to incline the observer rather to believe that the writer was the same man, with a hand somewhat modified in the course of years. The inks used, again, are various. Much looks thick and black, with a kind of 'sticky' appearance, such as was produced in our

* To avoid possible misconception, we must except one bit of 'cursive,' a list of *dramatis personæ*, which seems to us to have been added by a different hand altogether.

school days by surreptitiously placing a bit of sugar in an ink bottle. To this we suppose the notion about sepia and unknown substances to apply. Much — a good deal more probably in amount—looks to the innocent eye merely like common ink, rather pale, and become browner by age. And if any distinction can be traced, we should say this, — that a large number of the peculiar literal and verbal alterations intended to purify the text — the 'corrections' properly so called — are in the blacker ink, sometimes (as has been noticed) overlying the pencil marks; but that the rougher stage work, such as the erasures of many lines, the substitution of others, the change of unrhymed into rhymed couplets for the sake of a 'tag,' and the like, is for the most part in the browner ink, and evidently executed at a different time. It seems to be the latest of the two. Our reason for saying so is this. In many places, where (as above mentioned) long passages are erased, but the corrections of the text continued throughout the erased passages, we think we have noticed that the corrections are in the blacker ink, the erasures * in the paler. Now the Corrector would scarcely have amended the text *after* striking it out.

Now if our glasses have not deceived us in noting these minute circumstances, it is obvious that the result militates to a considerable extent against the supposition of forgery, at least forgery of the whole mass. The more various, changeable, and indicative of various purposes the corrections may be, the less likely to be the work of a solitary and determined forger.

As to the appearance of the ink-writing — whether feigned or natural — we shall say but little. It is a question on which we can take small account of the *ipse dixit* of an expert, knowing as we do that other sagacious eyes have received a contrary impression. And there is little but assertion to deal with. Mr. Hamilton speaks, indeed, of anomalies and variations in the forms of the letters, and of what he thinks suspicious attempts at retouching, as if the forger had failed in his first attempt to produce an archaic letter, and tried again, sometimes with different ink. That the Corrector did often 'retouch' his work is clear on the face of it: but to our eyes the retouching is only such as to show his minute attention to this work. It is exactly what we detect every day in our own handwriting and that of others, when employed in correcting the

* We mean, of course, the lines denoting erasure. Why has not our language two words—one to denote actual obliteration by scratching or defacing—the other, the sign (cross lines) denoting obliteration? Sir Frederic Madden uses the word 'delete.'

press. Partly from cramped space, partly in attempting extra clearness, we fall naturally into an imitation of print. Were we to be judged by a jury of Maddens and Hamiltons, on a comparison between such specimens of our writing and our ordinary scribble, our shrift would be a short one. But it so happens that when the Corrector has room and verge enough, when he is adding whole lines or couplets, for example, on the broad margin at the top or bottom of a page, his hand, though generally rather formal, is very firm and free, and totally exempt to our eye from all signs of laborious imitation.

But then the mysterious pencil marks! There they are, most undoubtedly, and in very great number too. The natural surprise, that they were not earlier detected, is somewhat diminished on inspection. Some say they have 'come out' more in the course of years; whether this is possible we know not. But even now they are hard to discover, until the eye has become used to the search. But when it has — especially with the aid of a glass at first — they become perceptible enough, words, ticks, points, and all. In many places even the most sceptical observer can hardly doubt that the mode of correction was, as alleged for the prosecution, by pencil first and ink afterwards. And in others, where no pencilling can be read, there is an appearance as if it had been rubbed out. Are these pencillings in a modern hand? That, after all, is the real issue of this complicated case. And it is one which we must leave to better eyes and more experienced judges, whenever this unfortunate volume shall be *honestly* examined. For the vehement assertions of partisans we care nothing. All we can say is, that to our eyes the faint and feeble ghosts of words and letters which are here and there to be made out, do wear the appearance of a hand more like that now in use, than the stiff Gothic ink writing. But then we must observe, on the other hand, that even in Elizabeth's reign the mixture of cursive with Gothic was very common. In many an instrument of the seventeenth century, engrossed in the Gothic, names of places and persons and other words to which it was wished to attract special attention, were inserted in a cursive hand very like modern handwriting in general appearance. Such a cursive an old Corrector may have used in his freer pencil jottings, to be replaced by elaborate half-printing in penmanship. This, however, we can but give as conjecture. We must, at all events, utterly disclaim and repudiate Mr. Netherclift's *facsimiles* in Mr. Hamilton's volume, if they are intended to be verified by the naked eye or by an ordinary glass. They are to our view infinitely too distinct, and we have carefully com-

pared each of them with the original. In particular we must caution our readers against the very modern-looking 'r' in 'armed' (cited as from 'Hamlet,' p. 277, col. 1). Our sight, at least, failed altogether to discover its counterpart in the Perkins volume.*

We must also once more direct our readers' attention to a circumstance which we placed before them when formerly reviewing Mr. Collier, but which has not since received the attention we still think it deserves. In the first three or four pages, nearly through the 'Tempest,' there are brackets, like those used to indicate a parenthesis, inserted at the beginning or end of nearly every fortieth line. We fancied then that these indicated that the Corrector had, when at his work, some manuscript under his eye in which there were about forty lines to a page (printed quarto of the 'Tempest' there is none); and that he kept up this kind of pagination some way, for purposes of reference, but got tired of his task. On the supposition of forgery, this peculiar phenomenon puzzles us altogether.

We must now consider this charge as affecting Mr. Collier, and that gentleman's own demeanour under it. The subject is a painful one to approach; it is one for which the pages of a review are in some respects unfitted; but justice to Mr. Collier's accusers, as well as to that gentleman himself, absolutely requires that it should not be passed over in silence. We shall not carry our readers again over the often beaten ground of Mr. Collier's discovery. That gentleman, now a little above seventy, has been engaged in literary criticism, and especially on the works of the Elizabethan period, for more than thirty years. He has been very conspicuous among the race of modern Shakspearian conjectural critics. He has been engaged in all the polemics in which this class of writers are in the habit of indulging towards each other. But we must say it to his credit, his tone and temper have been usually far more temperate, and far more consonant with ordinary notions of literary decency, than those exhibited by other gentlemen, his rivals in the same field. Mr. Collier has brought out an edition of Shakspeare, of no great value, say his critics; and he has made many 'conjectural' emendations, which have met with but little favour. Altogether, though his antiquarian contributions to the literary history of the period have been useful, his critical have been of small account. Mr. Collier has likewise been a good deal honoured with the

* Mr. Netherclift, senior, the most celebrated of *fac-similists*, has written to repudiate these performances. They are not his, he says, but his son's; and he speaks of them with distrust.

friendship or patronage of eminent persons interested in his walk of literature, particularly the late Duke of Devonshire and the late Lord Ellesmere. And owing to their assistance and to other circumstances, he has employed himself a good deal in disinterring from repositories of manuscripts, documents throwing light on the life and times of the great poet. These he has published at various times and in various shapes; and he is now accused (as we shall by and by see) of wholesale forgery of these also, extending over a period of nearly forty years.

Such were the 'antecedents' in French phrase, of Mr. Collier, when he had the misfortune to discover the problematical folio which has since been the bane of his existence, and the *bête noire* of the whole race of Shakspearian critics. He bought it for thirty shillings, of Mr. Rodd, the late well-known bookseller, in Great Newport Street, in 1849. He noticed that its margins were covered with manuscript notes. But for reasons which he has repeatedly stated, he did not then examine them. His attention was not directed to them until a year or two afterwards. Then, as soon as he was led seriously to investigate these notes, the conviction of their extraordinary value flashed upon his mind.

So far Mr. Collier. Of course it need not be said that his present assailants, as in duty bound, (for if capable of forging these notes, Mr. Collier is capable of forging his account of their discovery,) reject the whole story as destitute of proof as well as probability. At the same time, the only portion of it which it is essential to their case to deny is, the existence of the MS. notes at the time of the purchase. This fact had hitherto rested on Mr. Collier's evidence alone. But he has now met with a very singular corroboration of it. He produces a letter from the Rev. Dr. Wellesley, (the Principal of New Inn Hall, at Oxford) which is of so much importance that we subjoin it in full. It is addressed to Mr. Collier:

'Woodmancote Rectory,
'Hurstpierpoint, August 13, 1859.

'Sir,—Although I do not recollect the precise date, I remember some years ago being in the shop of Thomas Rodd, on one occasion when a case of books from the country had just been opened. One of those books was an imperfect folio Shakspeare, with an abundance of manuscript notes in the margin. He observed to me that it was of little value to collectors as a copy, and that the price was thirty shillings. I should have taken it myself, but, as he stated that he had put it by for another customer, I did not continue to examine it, nor did I think any more about it, until I heard afterwards that it had been found to possess great literary curiosity and value. In all

probability Mr. Rodd named it to me: but whether he or others did so, the affair was generally spoken of at the time, and I never heard it doubted that you had become the possessor of the book. I am, sir, your faithful and obedient servant, H. Wellesley.'

Mr. Collier may indeed congratulate himself on the opportune arrival of a witness to clear him in circumstances of great jeopardy. The circumstances, the place, the price, the notoriety of the volume, all serve strongly to show that the book mentioned by Dr. Wellesley is no other than Mr. Collier's folio. Dr. Wellesley is a gentleman, we need not say of high character, but also of known bookish propensities, and therefore the less likely to be mistaken. If he is unable to identify the book when he sees it (as we have been informed is the case—but we speak only from vague authority) this can affect but little his remembrance of a transaction of ten years ago. It is the fact of such a book, at such a price, having been thus disposed of by Mr. Rodd, which is of consequence—not its outward appearance.

If this evidence be received, then the bulk of the MS. emendations could not possibly have been forged by Mr. Collier or by any one since his purchase. Nevertheless the hypothesis remains, to which we have adverted already, while pointing out the difficulty of admitting it, that the subsequent forgery may have been partial only.

We have now traced Mr. Collier into possession of the volume. His own imaginary discoveries or conjectures respecting its former history—its connexion with the library of the 'Perkins' family, of Ufton Court, through Mr. Parry, we must pretermit. The whole story is, in truth, of no direct importance in the case, except in so far as readers, believing in the *genuineness* of the notes, might conceive that the family pedigree of the book helped to establish their *authority*. But it *is* of importance in another way. The foundation of the story is, that this volume was once possessed, and lost, by a gentleman of the name of Parry. Mr. Collier has repeatedly reported this as on the authority of Mr. Parry himself. But Mr. Parry, on being confronted with the book, denies altogether that it was ever his. His former admission, he says, was founded wholly on Mr. Collier's description—not on his own eyesight. Mr. Collier declares he showed Mr. Parry the book; and thereon issue is joined. In an ordinary case, we should think of this as no more than a common trifling difference of memory, between two gentlemen, for both of whom the ordinary duration of accurate recollection is passed. Mr. Parry is upwards of eighty,

and not of strong memory.* But the only real importance of the controversy lies in this: Mr. Collier being accused of forgeries of the most extensive and complicated character, it is insinuated that the story about Mr. Parry was originated and 'got up' by himself. This Mr. Collier now distinctly disproves, by quoting a letter (in his Reply) from Mr. John Carrick Moore, in which that gentleman relates what Mr. Parry had actually said when his attention was first directed to the subject. This letter, from an impartial third party, fully corroborates Mr. Collier's account of the transaction: and the manner in which he responded to the letter, by instantly bringing the book up to London for Mr. Parry's inspection, strongly impressed Mr. Moore with his entire good faith.

In possession of the mysterious volume, Mr. Collier proceeded, however, to deal with it in so strangely inconsistent and inadequate a manner, as to rouse not unnaturally the suspicions of his many ill-wishers. True to the instincts of his former literary career, always fumbling with the text of Shakspeare, advancing new conjectures and new discoveries by piecemeal, and never taking counsel of time and silence to ripen his own convictions, he first brought out, in 1855, his volume called 'Notes and Emendations from early MS. Corrections;' but which comprised a great deal of conjectural matter besides those corrections, and gave only fragments of the corrections themselves. Then followed his one volume edition of Shakspeare, professing to incorporate the corrections, but really incorporating only some of them, and without the slightest attempt to enable the reader to find out where the corrections are; respecting which we are half inclined to echo the sentiments of the infuriated Mr. Grant White: 'With all respect due from me to a gentleman who was a man when my father was a boy, I must say that the publication of that volume was a crime against the republic of letters.' And, lastly, to omit other intermediate fidgettings with the subject, he published in 1856 his 'Seven Lectures on Shakspeare and Milton' (a compilation from alleged original notes, in which

* It is very strange, and we must say not creditable, that Mr. Hamilton, who must have known the fact of Mr. Parry's advanced age (that gentleman had seen the folio at the Museum), never even alludes to it. How differently witnesses for or against the prosecution are treated by his party is shown by an amusing passage in a contemporary journal, commenting on Dr. Wellesley's letter. 'Dr. Wellesley' we are informed 'is old. He took his B.A. degree forty-four years ago.' That is to say, he ought to be about sixty-six! This is Old Bailey smartness without Old Bailey ingenuity.

some hostile eyes have seen another forgery), and for some inscrutable reason, added in an appendix to this volume, what he terms 'A list of *every* note and emendation in Mr. Collier's 'copy of Shakspeare's works;' but which really contains, says Mr. Hamilton, not above half the emendations—we should have fancied, hardly a third or a fourth.

What is to be said of an antiquarian who adopts such ways as these of introducing to the world a discovery which he deems of first-rate value? He has a right, no doubt, to deal as he pleases with his own. But he has excited and all but justified hostile suspicion, both in the editing of these emendations, and in all his public dealings with the subject. We are speaking, we know, of a gentleman and a scholar, and an old man likewise; but we are speaking also of one who stands before the world as the object of a heavy literary indictment for forgery; the plainest language is therefore the best. He scarcely ever gives a detailed account of anything without a blunder. He scarcely ever tells the same story twice without variations of more or less importance. He obviously quotes from memory on occasions where the exact wording is of importance, and his memory is constantly wrong. Even his vindications of himself are rendered unsatisfactory by his apparent incapability of grappling in a vigorous and effective way with the charges against him. He denies them, indeed; but then he wanders off into observations of no pertinence, elaborately criticises the language of his assailants, 'crimina rasis librat in antithetis,' affects contempt, tries hard at counter-sarcasms, and all intermixed with occasional innocent blunders, such as his taunt about the 'Simonides-Uranius' microscope used at the Museum to examine his folio. In short, there is real truth in what Dr. Ingleby says in bitter irony (p. xxvi), that Mr. Collier throughout this business seems to have been doomed by some evil genius to be the centre of 'base insinuations,' and at every turn 'to have done or omitted something to foster them.'

All this is true; and there is truth also, no doubt, in the common saying that forgeries are generally detected at last, through the inconsistencies and blunders of the criminals. But to those who carry the inquiry a step farther, this argument appears utterly unsatisfactory in the particular case. It is perfectly true that even the most accomplished thief is liable to break down before experienced detectors, in his accounts of the act itself. But is an accomplished thief a man peculiarly weak and illogical in his general language and conduct? We assume that Mr. Collier's enemies have succeeded in proving that he possesses a loose, forgetful, imperfect, wandering kind of un-

derstanding. Does this go far towards making him out the perpetrator of a singularly curious and elaborate system of forgeries, of surprisingly vigorous execution? Mr. Collier was an indifferent editor of Shakspeare at best; an abominably bad one, say his assailants. They are never tired of pointing out the want of perception and tact evinced in the conjectural corrections of which he is the avowed author. Does this make it at all probable that, in his anonymous capacity, the same man produced a series of corrections which have attracted the attention of the whole literary world, and which on the lowest estimate comprise several of surpassing and acknowledged merit?

Let us now proceed to the question concerning Mr. Collier's private dealings with the folio,—which have been made the origin of all kinds of additional suspicions, we are at a loss to understand why. Never was book, the property of a private person, more openly dealt with. Mr. Collier showed it himself to many. He gave it to the late Duke of Devonshire. It lay in his Grace's library for two or three years, open to inspection by respectable persons with very little difficulty. Thence it was transferred last year to the Museum. And it is now in the hands of the present Duke's solicitor. What better guarantee the accusers would have against tampering, we really do not know. And we have not space — nor, we must add, patience — for the trumpery personal charges against Mr. Collier, of 'discourtesy' to this gentleman, and fear of that gentleman, because inspection was not obtained by every one precisely as and when he wished. From all we have learnt, Mr. Collier, however imprudent or awkward he may have been in his collisions with this or that party, has never given the slightest handle for the charge of fraudulent or suspicious concealment. Small 'bye' accusations had better rest, when great ones are on trial.

We have now only to consider the contents of the last part of Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet. He there declares positively, on his own authority and Sir Frederic Madden's, that several manuscript documents, used by Mr. Collier in his literary production on the history of Shakspeare, and alleged for the most part to have been discovered by him, are modern forgeries. And he asserts of these forgeries, with the utmost positiveness, that they are all *the work of the same pen.*

'Nor can I too pointedly reiterate my belief, that the whole of the forgeries treated of in this volume have been executed by one hand; the same exaggerations, the same blunders, and even the same excellencies in performance, being observable in Mr. Collier's corrected folio'

and in all the others. Of course the conclusion, all but inevi-

table, but which is left to the reader's powers of inference, is, that Mr. Collier forged one and all of them.

It is a very serious charge, advanced on grave authority, and cannot be lightly treated, whatever we may think of the style and temper in which it has been advanced. As bearing on our present subject, we will only observe as follows: Simply to prove these documents modern forgeries, does not in itself affect in any way the question whether the Corrections are forgeries or no. But if the forgery of these documents is brought home to Mr. Collier, or if even a reasonable presumption not amounting to absolute proof, is raised, that they were forged by him, or a confederate of his, then undoubtedly the character of the Perkins Corrections is seriously jeopardised also, and most men would think it wisest to disregard probabilities of internal evidence, and to consider the volume as a tainted instrument on which no reliance can be placed. Thus far we fully agree with the assailants. But it is most essential not to go too far, or fast, on a road along which the mind travels so readily. A vague suspicion is not a reasonable presumption. Nor do any number of separate cases, each of which goes no further than vague suspicion, establish in fairness a reasonable presumption on another and distinct charge against the same individual. In Strafford's homely phrase, 'a hundred white rabbits, will not make one 'white horse.' If a prisoner is on trial for a theft, vague suspicions, and no more, that he had been concerned in other thefts, are not evidence against him in a court of conscience, any more than they would be in a court of justice. Otherwise, no man could be safe against ingenious accusers: for a charge may be rebutted: a 'vague suspicion,' in a matter so obscure as the supposed forgery of an ancient document, can never be dispelled, except by some very fortunate casualty in the way of negative evidence. The suspected documents are as follows:

1. The marginal corrections in a folio Shakspeare, 1623, belonging to Lord Ellesmere. These corrections are well known and have been seen by many. They are printed in Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet, p. 74: and appear there to be only eighteen in all; they are 'frequently' identical with those in our 'Corrections,' says Mr. Hamilton: in five cases only, as we interpret his notes; three of these merely setting right plain misprints.

'Prior to their discovery by Mr. Collier,' says Mr. Hamilton, 'it does not appear, so far as I can learn, that any alterations were known to exist at all' (implying, of course, that Mr. Collier made them). 'He is certainly wrong in attributing them to the time of the Commonwealth. They are not only modern, but, *decidedly*, by the same hand as those in his more famous copy of the second edition.

'In both cases,' he adds, 'the corrections have been made 'first in pencil and afterward in ink.' The force of this charge seems to us to rest altogether on Mr. Hamilton's 'decidedly,' by which we should, ourselves, very much object to being tried. Others differ. The present Lord Ellesmere writes to Mr. Collier:

'There is no pretence whatever for saying that the emendations in the Perkins Shakspeare are in the same handwriting as those in my first folio. On the contrary, except so far as they are, or profess to be, of the same period, they are *quite different.*'

We have not ourselves made the comparison. We must, therefore, leave the question, with only this remark, that the internal evidence amounts to nothing at all. If the two correctors were different men, they were clearly not accomplices. If one man did the whole, he was very cunning in masking his work. For in some cases they do not amend the same passages, in others they amend them differently.

2. The so called 'Bridgewater Papers.' A series of documents discovered by Mr. Collier in the library of Bridgewater House, illustrating more or less the life of Shakspeare, and communicated by him to the public in 1835. The questions arising on these documents we must omit, not from their want of importance, but from our want of space, and because they would present no novelty to those of our readers who are already familiar with the controversy. For doubts respecting their genuineness were raised long ago, by Mr. Hunter, Mr. Halliwell, and others: and especially as to the well-known 'H. S. letter,' one of the series, by Mr. Knight in his Biography of Shakspeare. All that is now for the first time imported into the quarrel is, the more seriously alleged connexion of Mr. Collier himself with the forgery. Mr. Collier answers this charge by direct denial. He repeats that he found these papers. He declares, as is the truth, that the question of their genuineness is an old one, in which he and many others have taken part, though the alleged forgery is now for the first time attributed to him. He maintains them to be genuine still. He adds that from the time of their discovery he has never hesitated to submit them in the most unreserved manner to the inspection of antiquarians; that some (including Mr. Halliwell himself at one time) have admitted, some denied, some first doubted and then yielded; and, in especial, that Mr. Netherclift the father, a most experienced and competent judge of such matters, has had them under his eyes for the purpose of his profession, and declares them genuine.

'Surely,' adds Mr. Collier, 'if I had been conscious that all these were forgeries, it is not likely that I should have placed them, without the slightest scruple and contest, in such knowing hands.'

We would not detract in any degree from the force of Mr. Collier's exculpation. At the same time we do not exactly see how he could have prevented their being so submitted, sooner or later; they were not his property.

3. The next case relied on against Mr. Collier is of a very singular kind. It is not one of alleged forgery. But it is of that kind of tampering with original documents which is very nearly akin to forgery. In the library at Dulwich College there exists a MS. letter (of which the genuineness is not doubted) to Alleyne, the actor of Elizabeth's reign, from his wife. It is in a mutilated condition. Mr. Collier published this (imperfect) letter in his 'Memoirs of Edward Alleyne,' for the Shakspeare Society in 1841. In the letter, as published by him, occurs a mention (not in itself important) of 'Mr. William Shakspeare.' Mr. Hamilton now gives a fac-simile of the original, in which the name of 'Mr. William Shakspeare' does not occur at all. The answer on the part of Mr. Collier is, that the document when he saw it was in a very rotten condition: that he folded it up, replaced it in an envelope (in which it was in truth found) with an indorsement cautioning the keeper of the treasure as to its fragility: that when he read it, twenty years ago, the name of Shakspeare and the other suspected bits were certainly there, whatever may have become of them since. Thus much a candid inquirer would admit to be at least possible. But the misfortune is that, if Mr. Netherclift, junior's fac-simile is correct, the name of Shakspeare not only is not there, but *could not have been there.* There is no room for it in the paper, and no place for it in the collocation of sentences. In this questionable position we must, of necessity, leave the case. Anonymous friends of Mr. Collier have since been at Dulwich, and have reported that the letter *is* in a very crazy condition, that it may have contained passages now lost, and that Mr. Netherclift's fac-simile is not to be too closely relied on. But one remark we cannot avoid adding. Mr. Hamilton declares, in addition, that Mr. Collier, in his transcription of this letter alone, has been guilty of 'thirty-two 'blunders.' But how greatly this weakens his case against that gentleman, as a forger, in his words, of 'marvellous dexterity!'

4. Omitting for want of space one or two minor cases of suspicion, (in particular the 'Marston letter' in which Mr. Hamilton detects some pencillings,) we now come to a matter of some special interest to the public, besides what may attach to

Mr. Collier's character or the authenticity of certain Shakspearian literature. There exists in the State Paper Office a (supposed) original or early copy (there is nothing on the face of the document to show which) of 'the humble petition of Thomas Pope, 'Richard Burbadge,' and other actors (including Shakspeare), to Queen Elizabeth's Privy Council, soliciting leave to complete certain repairs of their theatre at the Black Friars. It is without date. Mr. Collier first printed it, in his 'Annals of 'the Stage,' as long ago as 1831. It looks like a copy rather than an original; but we are not aware that its antiquity had been hitherto questioned. 'Its execution,' says Mr. Hamilton, 'is very neat.' (We must pause for a moment to observe that nothing has perplexed us so much in Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet as his strangely opposite statements respecting the character of the handwriting of these alleged forgeries. They are all, he is confident, by the same hand; but sometimes the execution is described as 'very neat,' at other times 'performed with mar-'vellous dexterity,' then as 'grossly exaggerated,' or as 'dis-'playing the spurious character at a glance.')

'And to any one not minutely acquainted with the fictitious hand of these Shakspeare forgeries it might readily pass as genuine. But on examination of the handwriting generally, the forms of some of the letters in particular, and the spurious appearance of the ink, led me to the belief not only that the paper was not authentic, but that it had been executed by the same hand as the fictitious documents already discussed. This conviction I made known to the Right Hon. the Master of the Rolls; who was good enough to direct an *official inquiry* into the authenticity of the document. In accordance with this direction, *on the 30th of January*, Sir Francis Palgrave, Deputy Keeper of Public Records, J. Duffin Hardy, Esq., Assistant Keeper of Public Records, and Professor Brewer, Reader at the Rolls, *met Sir Frederic Madden and myself* for the purpose of investigation, and after a minute and careful examination, the following unanimous decision was arrived at as to the fact of its undoubtedly spurious character. "We, the undersigned, at the desire of the "Master of the Rolls, have carefully examined the document hereunto "annexed (describing it), and *we are of opinion that the document in "question is spurious.*"'

Then follow the signatures of the three gentlemen above named, and in addition, of Frederic Madden, K.H., keeper of the MSS., British Museum, and N. E. S. A. Hamilton, assistant deputy librarian of MSS., British Museum.

It has been with no small surprise that this very singular announcement has been received by the literary world. We must direct the attention of our readers to the leading circumstances. The 'Record Office' (in Chancery Lane) is under

the superintendence of the Master of the Rolls. The 'State 'Paper Office,' in Westminster, is a branch of the same department and under the same head. Various plans have been suggested for collecting in one place the archives of the nation, but, hitherto, without result. Each department has its own staff of superior and subordinate officers, and its own distinct class of archives. Now, as to the gentlemen engaged in the inquiry, Mr. Hamilton's indictment of Mr. Collier appeared in the 'Times' as long ago as last July. Since then, the controversy between him and Sir F. Madden, on one side, and the friends of Mr. Collier on the other, has never ceased to rage. The approaching publication of Mr. Hamilton's pamphlet, which was to settle that controversy at once and for ever, has been announced over and over again. It was delayed for many months; owing at first, we believe, to reasons for which Mr. Hamilton is in no way responsible. But at last the delay, after so many positive announcements, became very singular, and attracted attention. *At the end of January* this document, of such importance in the case against Mr. Collier, discovered by Mr. Hamilton to be spurious, is brought from its proper place in the State Paper Office to the Record Office. An 'official inquiry' takes place, and it is certified to be spurious. *In that inquiry not one of the officers of the State Paper Office, who had the custody of that document, takes part, or appears to have been present.* The certificate is signed by three officers of the *Record* department, and by two gentlemen wholly unconnected with that department, functionaries of the British Museum, who were then engaged in prosecuting that most crushing charge against Mr. Collier, in connexion with this very document, in the issue of which his character, and theirs, were so very seriously involved.

We cannot but ask: is it the custom of the Master of the Rolls in an 'official' proceeding of this kind, to leave out of the inquiry the officers charged with the custody of those documents, and to decide the case without hearing the principal witnesses? is it customary, instead, to admit *assessors* wholly unconnected with the department? If it *is* the custom, no one might have been a more fit assessor than Sir Frederic Madden, if he had not been so unhappily connected with the pending quarrel. But what place, in so august a company, has Mr. N. E. S. A. Hamilton, sixth and junior assistant of the third class in the MS. department in the British Museum? Is *his* voice of official weight in pronouncing a portion of the archives of the realm to be genuine or spurious?

We are quite aware of the answer which will be given to all this. We shall be told that we are 'imputing motives' to the

three excellent officers of the Record Department and Rolls, whose names are also appended to this certificate, and who can only have acted through a 'laudable desire to preserve the 'purity of our archives.' We can only answer, most sincerely as well as 'officially,' that any such imputation is as far as possible from our thoughts. Not only are those gentlemen above all such suspicion, but they have no connexion whatever with this unhappy controversy. But we must speak the language of common sense. Sir F. Madden and Mr. Hamilton may have been actuated by a desire to 'preserve the purity of ar-'chives' of which they are not the keepers; but they were certainly *also* actuated by their desire to strengthen their case against Mr. Collier.

The document has been returned to the State Paper Office with the certificate of spuriousness attached to it, but without the slightest account of the evidence on which this opinion has been formed. In spite of this verdict, to which Sir F. Madden and Mr. Hamilton have pledged whatever reputation they enjoy as palæographers, the authenticity of the paper is still maintained by the best authorities in the State Paper Office to be equal to that of any other document in the collection; and this opinion is curiously confirmed by the fact, that there are spots of corrosion by rust in the paper, which have eaten away not only the paper *but the ink*, showing that the *writing* as well as the paper *is old*. The handwriting is not only not the handwriting of the Corrector, but it is of an essentially different character and period. Moreover, this paper, which was published in 1831, can be proved to have been in the office for a much longer period. Mr. Lemon, the assistant-keeper of the State Papers, and his father before him, have been well known to the public for half a century as the faithful and learned guardians of this class of records; he writes as follows to the editor of the 'Athenæum':

'The petition of the players of the Blackfriars Theatre, alluded to in your note, *was well known to my father and myself, before Mr. Payne Collier began his researches in the office.* I am pretty confident that my father first brought it under the notice of Mr. Collier.'

Mr. Lemon's recollection and evidence being perfectly clear and positive on this point, we hold that Mr. Collier is wholly freed from the charge of forging *this* document; and, if so, Mr. Hamilton is bound to admit him innocent of every other charge also. For that gentleman has no doubt that *all* the alleged forgeries (those of the Perkins Folio inclusive) are by the same hand! But what then becomes of the authority of Sir F. Madden and Mr. Hamilton, who pledge themselves that

the document is spurious? Tried by this test, of their own selection, their evidence on the whole case is utterly worthless.

Lastly: Mr. Collier published in 1839, as an extract from an alleged manuscript volume in his possession, a trashy ballad called 'The Inchanted Island,' the plot of which is similar to that of 'The Tempest.' Mr. Douce, he says, shook his venerable head, and called it 'one of the most beautiful ballads he 'had ever read;' which must have been in some strange fit of after-dinner enthusiasm. Mr. Collier 'conjectures' that it was written between 1642 and 1660. It has been fac-similed for Mr. Halliwell. Mr. Hamilton says that the writing is 'sus-'picious;' of which we say nothing. But we fully agree with him that the 'intrinsic character of the verses themselves by no 'means serves to allay these suspicions.' It would take a good deal to persuade us that lines, in which it is said of a magician, that —

> 'Sooth to say, in dangerous hour,
> He had some more than human power,'

in which a lady's hair is described as 'like to sunlit gold,' and in which it is said of a father 'that his little Ida's morning 'smile made him forget his woe,' were by any very ancient ballad-monger. But we know not whether Mr. Collier in this particular instance is either deceived or deceiver.

We must leave to our readers the further consideration of this most remarkable and as yet unfinished case. We have no hesitation in stating our own opinions concerning it, nor in admitting at the same time that those opinions have not been formed without much hesitation, and that we hold some of them liable to future changes. We do not see any external (that is, palæographical) evidence brought home by Mr. Hamilton or his allies, to show that the *mass* of the corrections in the Perkins Shakspeare are of modern date. We think the internal (or critical) evidence extremely strong against any such supposition. We consider the charge of forgery, if forgery there be, not established, nor rendered probable, as against Mr. Collier. And if Mr. Collier did not forge the Corrections, it is certainly all but inexplicable how they can be forged at all. As to the charges of forgeries and misprisions respecting other documents, we have said, we think, enough to explain the views which we ourselves entertain. But no reasonable and fair inquirer would pronounce upon them without a far less superficial examination than they have as yet received.

Of the tone and temper with which these accusations are preferred, there cannot be two opinions. Long before any charge

of forgery had been brought against Mr. Collier, and when his only alleged crime was that of bad judgment, he was assailed by the late Mr. Singer and by many others in language which utterly disgraces all literary controversy. His replies to all these ferocious onslaughts, if often inconclusive, were always those of a gentleman. It is very strange that his assailants should not have perceived, that when these trifling charges deepened into accusations ruinous to the reputation of the accused, or very damaging to that of the accusers — accusations more serious than almost any that can be made out of the precincts of a court of justice, and of a nature as highly criminal as many which are investigated there — then their violence of language, which before had been an error, became a misdemeanour. When the endeavour is to drag a culprit to trial, to insult him beforehand is as ill-advised as it is wrong. Taunts, gibes, collateral charges hastily made and hastily withdrawn, the constant endeavour to catch a judgment by omitting known facts for the defence, the mixing together of imputations the most serious and most trifling, the perpetual reiteration of a belief that the defendant is at once the greatest of knaves and the greatest of fools — and all this, scattered weekly to the ends of the world through the newspaper press—these are really not the weapons with which English justice allows even criminals to be hunted down. And it is not to be endured that the Master of the Rolls, the Record Office, and the British Museum, should have been made to appear to lend their authority to such proceedings, which they no doubt condemn, as strongly as we do.

It is very much to be lamented that questions of such high interest are not likely to receive any complete solution. Many of those more or less implicated, are dead; others are old, and their testimony becoming day by day more liable to the charge of decay, as well as that of bias, and the animosity which has been aroused is adverse to all fair trial. The ruling of a Court — the verdict of a jury — nay, much better than these, the opinion of unbiassed and capable literary men — even these would probably but strengthen partisanship on one side or other, and not decide these questions authoritatively and finally. The theory which would dispose of the whole question by a charge of wholesale forgery against any individual, requires a far greater amount of evidence before it can be accepted by fair and reasonable men; but at the same time there is a mystery and an obscurity hanging over the Corrected Folio, and some of the Shakspeare documents, which we cannot pretend to remove.

ART. VIII.—1. *On the Origin of Species by means of Natural Selection, or the Preservation of Favoured Races in the Struggle for Life.* By CHARLES DARWIN, M.A. 8vo. 1859.

2. *On the Tendency of Varieties to Depart Indefinitely from the Original Type.* By ALFRED RUSSEL WALLACE. (February, 1858.) Proceedings of the Linnæan Society, August, 1858.

3. BUFFON, *Histoire de ses Travaux et de ses Idées.* Par P. FLOURENS, Sec. Perp. de l'Académie des Sciences. 12mo. 1846.

4. *Contributions to the Natural History of the United States.* By M. AGASSIZ. 4to. Vol. I. (I. Essay on Classification.) 1857.

5. *On the Flora of Australia, &c.* By Dr. JOSEPH D. HOOKER, F.R.S. (Introductory Essay.) 4to. 1859.

6. *Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy and the Philosophy of Creation.* By the Rev. BADEN POWELL. 12mo. 1855.

7. *Hétérogénie, ou Traité de la Génération Spontanée.* By Professor V. A. POUCHET. 8vo. Paris, 1859.

8. *Recherches sur l'Archetype et les Homologies du Squelette Vertebré.* Par Professor R. OWEN. 8vo. Paris: 1855.

9. *Address to the British Association, Leeds.* By Professor R. OWEN. 8vo. 1858.

10. *Palæontology; or a Systematic Summary of Extinct Animals, &c.* By Professor R. OWEN. 8vo. 1860.

IN the works above cited the question of the origin, succession, and extinction of species is more or less treated of, but most fully and systematically by the accomplished Naturalist who heads the list. Mr. Charles Darwin has long been favourably known, not merely to the Zoological but to the Literary World, by the charming style in which his original observations on a variety of natural phenomena are recorded in the volume assigned to him in the narrative of the circumnavigatory voyage of H.M.S. Beagle, by Capt. (now Admiral) Fitz Roy, F.R.S. Mr. Darwin earned the good opinion of geologists by the happy application of his observations on coral reefs*, made during that voyage, to the explanation of some of the phenomena of the changes of level

* On the Structure and Distribution of Coral Reefs, 8vo. 1842.

of the earth's crust. He took high rank amongst the original explorers of the minute organisation of the invertebrate animals, upon the appearance of his monographs, in the publications by the Ray Society, on the Cirripedia, Sub-classes Lepadidæ (1851), and Balanidæ (1854). Of independent means, he has full command of his time for the prosecution of original research: his tastes have led him to devote himself to Natural History; and those who enjoy his friendship and confidence are aware that the favourite subject of his observations and experiments for some years past has been the nature and origin of the so-called *species* of plants and animals. The octavo volume, of upwards of 500 pages, which made its appearance towards the end of last year, has been received and perused with avidity, not only by the professed naturalist, but by that far wider intellectual class which now takes interest in the higher generalisations of all the sciences. The same pleasing style which marked Mr. Darwin's earliest work, and a certain artistic disposition and sequence of his principal arguments, have more closely recalled the attention of thinking men to the hypothesis of the inconstancy and transmutation of species, than had been done by the writings of previous advocates of similar views. Thus several, and perhaps the majority, of our younger naturalists have been seduced into the acceptance of the homœopathic form of the transmutative hypothesis now presented to them by Mr. Darwin, under the phrase of 'natural selection.'

Dr. Joseph Hooker, in his latest work, above cited, writes:—

'In the Introductory Essay to the New Zealand Flora, I advanced certain general propositions as to the origin of species, which I refrained from endorsing as articles of my own creed; amongst others was the still prevalent doctrine that these are, in the ordinary acceptation of the term, created as such, and are immutable. In the present essay I shall advance the opposite hypothesis, that species are derivative and mutable, and this chiefly because, whatever opinions a naturalist may have adopted with regard to the origin and variation of species, every candid mind must admit that the facts and arguments upon which he has grounded his convictions require revision, since the recent publication by the Linnæan Society of the ingenious and original reasonings and theories of Mr. Darwin and Mr. Wallace.' (P. ii.)

Mr. Darwin claims another convert in an older name of scientific note: in reference to the immutability of species, he tells us, 'I have reason to believe that one great authority, Sir Charles 'Lyell, from further reflection, entertains grave doubts on this 'subject.' For our own part, governed by the motto of the parent society for the promotion of natural knowledge, 'nullius in verba,'

our attention was principally directed, in the first perusal of Mr. Darwin's work, to the direct observations of nature which seemed to be novel and original, and to the additional grounds, based on fact, on which a more lasting superstructure of the theory of the mutability of species might be raised. These observations, therefore, claim our notice before we proceed to discuss the general theory of the work.

No naturalist has devoted more painstaking attention to the structure of the barnacles than Mr. Darwin. In reference to the transitions of organs, and the probability of their conversion from one function to another, he states:—

'Pedunculated cirripedes have two minute folds of skin, called by me the ovigerous frena, which serve, through the means of a sticky secretion, to retain the eggs until they are hatched within the sack. These cirripedes have no branchiæ, the whole surface of the body and sack, including the small frena, serving for respiration. The Balanidæ or sessile cirripedes, on the other hand, have no ovigerous frena, the eggs lying loose at the bottom of the sack, in the well-enclosed shell; but they have large folded branchiæ. Now I think no one will dispute that the ovigerous frena in the one family are strictly homologous with the branchiæ of the other family; indeed, they graduate into each other.' (P. 191.)

That is, a series of modifications are affirmed to have been met with in different species, changing a respiratory into an ovigerous organ. Should this graduation of parts be confirmed, and the respiratory function of the folded membranes in Balanidæ be determined, Mr. Darwin will have contributed both an interesting observation, and a valuable discovery. But neither in the present work, nor in the two volumes published and illustrated at the cost of the Ray Society, are those relations of the folded membranes in the Balanidæ with the heart or vascular system demonstrated, which could alone prove the respiratory function of such membranes.

Mr. Darwin has by no means limited himself to dissections of dead animals, but has devoted much time to observation of the living. Desirous of testing the truth of the assertions respecting the slave-making ants (*Formica sanguinea*), he opened

fourteen nests of that species and found a few slaves in all. Males and fertile females of the slave species (*Formica fusca*) are found only in their proper communities, and have never been observed in the nests of *F. sanguinea*. The slaves are black, and not above half the size of their red masters, so that the contrast in their appearance is very great. When the nest is slightly disturbed, the slaves occasionally come out, and, like their masters, are much agitated and defend

the nest: when the nest is much disturbed and the larvæ and pupæ are exposed, the slaves work energetically with their masters in carrying them away to a place of safety. Hence, it is clear, that the slaves feel quite at home. During the months of June and July, on three successive years, I have watched for many hours several nests in Surrey and Sussex, and never saw a slave either leave or enter a nest. During the present year, however, in the month of July (1859), I came across a community with an unusually large stock of slaves, and I observed a few slaves mingled with their masters leaving the nest, and marching along the same road to a tall Scotch fir-tree, twenty-five yards distant, which they ascended together, probably in search of aphides or cocci. According to Huber, who had ample opportunities for observation, in Switzerland, the slaves habitually work with their masters in making the nest, and they alone open and close the doors in the morning and evening; and, as Huber expressly states, their principal office is to search for aphides. Another day my attention was struck by about a score of the slave-makers haunting the same spot, and evidently not in search of food; they approached and were vigorously repulsed by an independent community of the slave species (*F. fusca*); sometimes as many as three of these ants clinging to the legs of the slave-making *F. sanguinea*. The latter ruthlessly killed their small opponents, and carried their dead bodies as food to their nest, twenty-nine yards distant; but they were prevented from getting any pupæ to rear as slaves. I then dug up a small parcel of the pupæ of *F. fusca* from another nest, and put them down on a bare spot near the place of combat; they were eagerly seized, and carried off by the tyrants, who perhaps fancied that, after all, they had been victorious in their late combat.' (P. 221.)

Many other direct observations on the *F. sanguinea* of England are recounted, and are contrasted with those first recorded by Huber, relative to the slave-holding *F. rufescens* of Switzerland.

'Such are the facts, though they did not need confirmation by me, in regard to the wonderful instinct of making slaves. Let it be observed what a contrast the instinctive habits of *F. sanguinea* present with those of the *F. rufescens*. The latter does not build its own nest, does not determine its own migrations, does not collect food for itself or its young, and cannot even feed itself: it is absolutely dependent on its numerous slaves. *F. sanguinea*, on the other hand, possesses much fewer slaves, and in the early part of the summer extremely few. The masters determine when and where a new nest shall be formed, and when they migrate the masters carry the slaves. Both in Switzerland and England the slaves seem to have the exclusive care of the larvæ, and the masters alone go on slave-making expeditions. In Switzerland the slaves and masters work together, making and bringing materials for the nest: both, but chiefly the slaves, tend, and milk, as it may be called, their aphides; and thus both collect food for the community. In England the masters alone usually leave the nest to collect building materials and food for them-

selves, their slaves, and larvæ. So that the masters in this country receive much less service from their slaves than they do in Switzerland.' (P. 223.)

The instincts of the Bee have received not less attention from Mr. Darwin than those of the Ant; and he has also enriched this interesting part of Natural History by new and original remarks.* Desirous of testing the mechanical hypothesis of the formation of the hexagonal cell, out of an original cylindrical form, by pressure of surrounding cylinders, Mr. Darwin

'separated two combs, and put between them a long, thick, square, (rectangular?) 'strip of wax; the bees instantly began to excavate minute circular pits in it; and as they deepened these little pits they made them wider and wider until they were converted into shallow basins, appearing to the eye perfectly true or parts of a sphere, and of about the diameter of a cell. It was most interesting to me to observe that wherever several bees had begun to excavate these basins near together, they had begun their work at such a distance from each other, that by the time the basins had acquired the above stated width (*i. e.* about the width of an ordinary cell), and were in depth about one-sixth of the diameter of the sphere of which they formed a part, the rims of the basins intersected or broke into each other. As soon as this occurred, the bees ceased to excavate, and began to build up flat walls of wax on the lines of intersection between the basins, so that each hexagonal prism was built upon the festooned edge of a smooth basin, instead of on the straight edges of a three-sided pyramid as in the case of ordinary cells.' (P. 228.)

With regard to the mechanical origin of the bee's cell, Mr. Darwin proceeds to say:—

'In one well-marked instance I put the comb back into the hive, and allowed the bees to go on working for a short time, and again examined the cell, and I found that the rhombic plate had been completed, and had become *perfectly flat:* it was absolutely impossible, from the extreme thinness of the little rhombic plate, that they could have effected this by gnawing away the convex side; and I suspect that the bees in such cases stand in the opposed cells and push and bend the ductile and warm wax (which, as I have tried, is easily done) into its proper intermediate plane, and thus flatten it.

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* In the remarkable volume recently published by Lord Brougham, entitled 'Tracts, mathematical and physical,' which have been produced by his Lordship at various times from the year 1796 to the year 1858, will be found an excellent paper on the Mathematical Structure of Bees' Cells, read before the National Institute of France, by Lord Brougham, in the French language, in May 1858. It is a scientific and literary curiosity.

'From the experiment of the ridge of vermilion wax, we can clearly see that if the bees were to build for themselves a thin wall of wax, they could make their cells of the proper shape, by standing at the proper distance from each other, by excavating at the same rate, and by endeavouring to make equal spherical hollows, but never allowing the spheres to break into each other.' (P. 230.)

Mr. Darwin, while collecting objects of natural history in the rivers of Brazil, was surprised at the similarity of the fresh-water insects, shells, &c., and at the dissimilarity of the surrounding terrestrial beings, compared with the Fauna of Great Britain, and he was led to ponder on this power, as it seemed, in fresh-water productions of ranging widely. He offers many ingenious suggestions to account for the phenomena, and gives, what is of greater value, the following original observation and experiment:—

'Two facts which I have observed—and no doubt many others remain to be observed—throw some light on this subject. When a duck suddenly emerges from a pond covered with duckweed, I have twice seen these little plants adhering to its back; and it has happened to me, in removing a little duckweed from one aquarium to another, that I have quite unintentionally stocked the one with fresh-water shells from the other. But another agency is perhaps more effectual: I suspended a duck's feet, which might represent those of a bird sleeping in a natural pond, in an aquarium, where many ova of fresh-water shells were hatching; and I found that numbers of the extremely minute and just hatched shells crawled on the feet, and clung to them so firmly that when taken out of the water they could not be jarred off, though at a somewhat more advanced age they would voluntarily drop off. These just-hatched molluscs, though aquatic in their nature, survived on the duck's feet, in damp air, from twelve to twenty hours; and in this length of time a duck or heron might fly at least six or seven hundred miles, and would be sure to alight on a pool or rivulet, if blown across sea to an oceanic island or to any other distant point.' (P. 385.)

The mud adhering to the feet of wading birds may serve to transmit species of aquatic plants far away from their native streams.

'I do not believe (writes Mr. Darwin) that botanists are aware how charged the mud of ponds is with seeds. I have tried several little experiments, but will here give only the most striking case. I took, in February, three table-spoonfuls of mud from three different points, beneath water, on the edge of a little pond. This mud, when dry, weighed only $6\frac{3}{4}$ ounces. I kept it covered up in my study for six months, pulling up and counting each plant as it grew. The plants were of many kinds, and were altogether 537 in number; and yet the viscid mud was all contained in a breakfast cup! Considering these facts, I think it would be an inexplicable circumstance if

water-birds did not transport the seeds of fresh-water plants to vast distances, and if consequently the range of these plants was not very great. The same agency may have come into play with the eggs of some of the smaller fresh-water animals.' (P. 386.)

Facing the difficulty of the transport of fresh-water or land shell-fish across long tracts of ocean, on the supposition of a transporting bird ocasionally resting on, or dipping in, the salt sea, or in the case of such shells adhering to drifted timber, Mr. Darwin made more experiments, and found —

'That several species did in this state withstand uninjured an immersion in sea-water during seven days: one of these shells was the *Helix pomatia*, and after it had again hybernated I put it in sea-water for twenty days, and it perfectly recovered. As this species has a thick calcareous operculum, I removed it, and when it had formed a new membranous one, I immersed it for fourteen days in sea-water, and it recovered and crawled away.' (P. 397.)

Pigeons being monogamous, and proverbial for their constancy, are peculiarly favourable for experiments and practices establishing and propagating varieties. Such varieties consequently have become, under the selective care of man, numerous and extreme. Believing it to be best, in reference to the question of the origin of varieties, to study some special group, Mr. Darwin took up domestic pigeons, associated himself with several eminent pigeon-fanciers, and joined two of the London Pigeon Clubs. He gives descriptions of the leading varieties: and amongst his own observations, the following, perhaps, conveys the newest matter:—

'As the evidence appears to me conclusive, that the several domestic breeds of Pigeon have descended from one wild species,—the Rock-pigeon (*Columba livia*),—I compared young pigeons of various breeds, within twelve hours after being hatched; I carefully measured the proportions (but will not here give details) of the beak, width of mouth, length of nostril and of eyelid, size of feet and length of leg, in the wild stock, in pouters, fantails, runts, barbs, dragons, carriers, and tumblers. Now some of these birds, when mature, differ so extraordinarily in length and form of beak, that they would, I cannot doubt, be ranked in distinct genera, had they been natural productions. But when the nestling birds of these several breeds were placed in a row, though most of them could be distinguished from each other, yet their proportional differences in the above specified several points were incomparably less than in the full-grown birds. Some characteristic points of difference — for instance, that of the width of mouth — could hardly be detected in the young. But there was one remarkable exception to this rule, for the young of the short-faced tumbler differed from the young of the wild rock-pigeon and of the other breeds, in all its proportions, almost exactly as much as in the adult state.' (P. 445.)

These are the most important original observations, recorded in the volume of 1859: they are, in our estimation, its real gems,—few indeed and far apart, and leaving the determination of the origin of species very nearly where the author found it; but a rich mine of such researches is alluded to and promised by Mr. Darwin, in a more voluminous collection of his researches, extending over a period of eighteen years; and to these every naturalist now looks forward with keen interest.

The interdependencies of living beings of different kinds and grades, and the injurious results of their interruption, have long attracted the attention of observant and philosophic naturalists. An undue importance indeed was at one time attached to this principle; it was deemed to be so absolute as that no one species could be permitted to perish without endangering the whole fabric of organisation. So Pope sang:—

> 'From Nature's chain, whatever link you strike,
> Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike.'

Manifold subsequent experience has led to a truer appreciation and a more moderate estimate of the importance of the dependence of one living being upon another. Mr. Darwin contributes some striking and ingenious instances of the way in which the principle partially affects the chain,. or rather network of life, even to the total obliteration of certain meshes. And truly extinction has made wide rents in the reticulation as now represented by the co-affinities of living species!

'From experiments which I have tried, I have found that the visits of bees, if not indispensable, are at least highly beneficial to the fertilisation of our clovers; but humble bees alone visit the common red clover (*Trifolium pratense*), as other bees cannot reach the nectar. Hence I have very little doubt, that if the whole genus of humble bees became extinct or very rare in England, the heartsease and red clover would become very rare, or wholly disappear. The number of humble-bees in any district depends in a great degree on the number of field-mice, which destroy their combs and nests; and Mr. H. Newman, who has long attended to the habits of humble-bees, believes 'that more than two-thirds of them are thus destroyed all over Eng-'land.' Now the number of mice is largely dependent, as every one knows, on the number of cats; and Mr. Newman says, 'Near villages 'and small towns I have found the nests of humble-bees more numerous 'than elsewhere, which I attribute to the number of cats that destroy 'the mice.' Hence it is quite credible that the presence of a feline animal in large numbers in a district might determine, through the intervention first of mice and then of bees, the frequency of certain flowers in that district!' (P. 73.)

This is very characteristic of the ingenious turn of thought of

our author; the more sober, or perhaps duller, naturalist would, no doubt, appreciate more highly a dry statement of investigations, suggested by the actual extinction of red clover, and tracing that extinction inductively, by the ascertained absence of humble-bees and mice, back to the want of cats in the neighbourhood. For the direct observation, however, (if it should be confirmed), of the exclusive relation of *Bombus terrestris*, as the mechanical fecundator of *Trifolium pratense*, natural history may be indebted to Mr. Darwin. We wish we could cite other instances augmenting this debt from the present work: its chief part, however, is devoted to speculations on the origin of species; and its main object is the advocacy of a view, which we find most clearly expressed in the following passage. Mr. Darwin refers to the multitude of the individuals of every species, which, from one cause or another, perish either before, or soon after attaining maturity.

'Owing to this struggle for life, any variation, however slight and from whatever cause proceeding, if it be in any degree profitable to an individual of any species, in its infinitely complex relations to other organic beings and to external nature, will tend to the preservation of that individual, and will generally be inherited by its offspring. The offspring, also, will thus have a better chance of surviving, for, of the many individuals of any species which are periodically born, but a small number can survive. I have called this principle, by which each slight variation, if useful, is preserved, by the term of Natural Selection, in order to mark its relation to man's power of selection. We have seen that man by selection can certainly produce great results, and can adapt organic beings to his own uses, through the accumulation of slight but useful variations, given to him by the hand of Nature. But Natural Selection, as we shall hereafter see, is a power incessantly ready for action, and is as immeasurably superior to man's feeble efforts, as the works of Nature are to those of Art.' (P. 61.)

The scientific world has looked forward with great interest to the facts which Mr. Darwin might finally deem adequate to the support of his theory on this supreme question in biology, and to the course of inductive original research which might issue in throwing light on 'that mystery of mysteries.' But having now cited the chief, if not the whole, of the original observations adduced by its author in the volume now before us, our disappointment may be conceived. Failing the adequacy of such observations, not merely to carry conviction, but to give a colour to the hypothesis, we were then left to confide in the superior grasp of mind, strength of intellect, clearness and precision of thought and expression, which might raise one man so far above his contemporaries, as to enable

him to discern in the common stock of facts, of coincidences, correlations and analogies in Natural History, deeper and truer conclusions than his fellow-labourers had been able to reach.

These expectations, we must confess, received a check on perusing the first sentence in the book.

'When on board H.M.S. "Beagle," as naturalist, I was much struck with certain facts in the distribution of the inhabitants of South America, and in the geological relations of the present to the past inhabitants of that continent. These facts seemed to me to throw some light on the origin of species — that mystery of mysteries, as it has been called by some of our greatest philosophers.' (P. 1.)

What is there, we asked ourselves, as we closed the volume to ponder on this paragraph,—what can there possibly be in the inhabitants, we suppose he means aboriginal inhabitants, of South America, or in their distribution on that continent, to have suggested to any mind that man might be a transmuted ape, or to throw any light on the origin of the human or other species? Mr. Darwin must be aware of what is commonly understood by an 'uninhabited island;' he may, however, mean by the inhabitants of South America, not the human kind only, whether aboriginal or otherwise, but all the lower animals. Yet again, why are the fresh-water polypes or sponges to be called 'inhabitants' more than the plants? Perhaps what was meant might be, that the distribution and geological relations of the organised beings generally in South America, had suggested transmutational views. They have commonly suggested ideas as to the independent origin of such localized kinds of plants and animals. But what the 'certain facts' were, and what may be the nature of the light which they threw upon the mysterious beginning of species, is not mentioned or further alluded to in the present work.

The origin of species is the question of questions in Zoology; the supreme problem which the most untiring of our original labourers, the clearest zoological thinkers, and the most successful generalisers, have never lost sight of, whilst they have approached it with due reverence. We have a right to expect that the mind proposing to treat of, and assuming to have solved, the problem, should show its equality to the task. The signs of such intellectual power we look for in clearness of expression, and in the absence of all ambiguous or unmeaning terms. Now, the present work is occupied by arguments, beliefs, and speculations on the origin of species, in which, as it seems to us, the fundamental mistake is committed, of confounding the questions, of species being the result of a secondary cause or law, and of the nature of that creative law.

Various have been the ideas promulgated respecting its mode of operation; such as the reciprocal action of an impulse from within, and an influence from without, upon the organisation (Demaillet, Lamarck); premature birth of an embryo at a phase of development, so distinct from that of the parent, as, with the power of life and growth, under that abortive phase, to manifest differences equivalent to specific (Vestiges of Creation); the hereditary transmission of what are called 'accidental monstrosities;' the principle of gradual transmutation by 'degeneration' (Buffon) as contrasted with the 'progressional' view.

In reference to the definition of species, Lamarck *, in 1809, cited, as the most exact, that of 'a collection of like (semblables) 'individuals produced by other individuals equally like them '(pareils à eux).' But the progress of discovery, especially, perhaps, in palæontology, led him to affirm that species were not as ancient as Nature herself, nor all of the same antiquity; that this alleged constancy was relative to the circumstances and influences to which every individual was subject, and that as certain individuals, subjected to certain influences, varied so as to constitute races, such variations might and do graduate (s'avancent) towards the assumption of characters which the naturalist would arbitrarily regard, some as varieties, others as species. He comments in almost the words of Mr. Darwin, on the embarrassment and confusion which the different interpretation of the nature and value of such observed differences, in the works of different naturalists, had occasioned.† The true method of surveying the diversities of organisation is from the simple to the compound forms, which course Lamarck affirms to be graduated and regularly progressive, save where local circumstances, and others influencing the mode of life, have occasioned anomalous diversities.

Cuvier had preceded Lamarck in specifying the kinds and degrees of variation, which his own observations and critical judgment of the reports of others led him to admit. 'Although 'organisms produce only bodies similar to themselves, there are 'circumstances which, in the succession of generations, alter to 'a certain point their primitive form.'‡ Here it may be remarked, that the whole question at issue hinges upon the proof of the determination of that limit of variety. Cuvier

* Philosophie Zoologique, 8vo. 1809, vol. i. p. 54.

† Ib. p. 55.

‡ Cuvier, 'Tableau Élémentaire de l'Histoire Naturelle,' 8vo. 1798, p. 9.

gives no proof that the alteration stops 'at a certain 'point.' It merely appears from what follows, that his means of knowing by his own and others' observations had not carried him beyond the point in question, and he was not the man to draw conclusions beyond his premises.

'Less abundant food,' he goes on to say, 'makes the young acquire less size and force. Climate more or less cold, air more or less moist, exposure to light more or less continuous, produce analogous effects; but, above all, the pains bestowed by man on the animal and vegetable productions which he raises for his uses, the consecutive attention with which he restricts them in regard to exercise, or to certain kinds of food, or to influences other than those to which they would be subject in a state of nature, all tend to alter more quickly and sensibly their properties.'

Cuvier admits that the determination by experiment of these variable properties, of the precise causes to which they are due, of the degree of variability and of the powers of the modifying influences, is still very imperfect ('mais ce travail est encore 'très-imparfait.') The most variable properties in organisms are, according to Cuvier, *size* and *colour*.

'The first mainly depends on abundance of food; the second on light and many other causes so obscure that it seems to vary by chance. The length and strength of the hairs are very variable. A villous plant, for example, transported to a moist place, becomes smooth. Beasts lose hair in hot countries, but gain hair in cold. Certain external parts, such as stamens, thorns, digits, teeth, spines, are subject to variations of number both in the more and the less; parts of minor importance, such as barbs of wheat, &c., vary as to their proportions; homologous parts ('des parties de nature analogue') change one into another, *i.e.*, stamens into petals as in double flowers, wings into fins, feet into jaws, and we might add, adhesive into breathing organs [as in the case of the barnacles cited by Mr. Darwin].'

As to the alleged test of the difference between a species and a variety by the infecundity of the hybrid of two parents which may differ in a doubtful degree, Cuvier, in reference to this being the case when the parents are of distinct species, and not mere varieties, emphatically affirms, 'Cette assertion ne repose 'sur aucune preuve' (p. 11.); it is at least constant that individuals of the same species, however different, produce together; 'quelque différens qu'ils soient, peuvent toujours pro-'duire ensemble.' But Cuvier warns us not to conclude, when individuals of two different races produce an intermediate and fecund offspring, that they must be of the same species, and that they have not been originally distinct. (P. 13.)

'"The number of varieties, or amount of variation," says Cuvier, "relates to geographical circumstances." At the present day, many

such varieties appear to have been confined around their primitive centre, either by seas which they could neither traverse by swimming or by flight, or by temperatures which they were not able to support, or by mountains which they could not cross, &c.' *

Daily observation, comparison, and reflection, on recent and extinct organisms, pursued from the date of these remarks (1798) to the close of his career (1832) failed to bring the requisite proof, or to impress the mind of Cuvier with any amount of belief worth mentioning, as to the nature of the cause operative in the production of the species of which he was the first to demonstrate the succession.

Lamarck, without contributing additional results from observation and experience, affirms that the changes defined by Cuvier do not 'stop at a certain point,' but progress with the continued operation of the causes producing them. That, moreover, such changes of form and structure induce corresponding changes in actions, and that a change of actions, growing to a habit, becomes another cause of altered structure; that the more frequent employment of certain parts or organs leads to a proportional increase of development of such parts; and that, as the increased exercise of one part is usually accompanied by a corresponding disuse of another part, this very disuse, by inducing a proportional degree of atrophy, becomes another element in the progressive mutation of organic forms.†

These principles seem entitled to be regarded as of the nature of those called 'veræ causæ' by Bacon, and they are agreeable with known powers and properties of animated beings; only observation has not disclosed more than a very limited extent of their operation,—limited both as to the time in which that operation has been watched, and limited consequently as to the amount of the change produced.

When Cuvier affirms that such capacity to vary proceeds only to a certain point, he may mean that it has not been watched and traced beyond such point. Cuvier admits the tendency to hereditary transmission of characters of variation. Neither he nor any other physiologist has demonstrated the organic condition or principle that should operate so as absolutely to prevent the progress of modification of form and structure

* 'Les variétés de chacune ont dû être d'autant plus fortes et plus nombreuses, que les circonstances des lieux ou de sa nature lui ont permis de s'étendre plus loin; c'est ce qui peut faire croire que les grandes différences que se trouvent parmi les hommes, les chiens, et les autres êtres répandues partout le monde, ne sont que des effets des causes accidentelles, en un mot, des *variétés*.' (P. 14.)

† Philosophie Zoologique, 8vo. 1809, tom. i. chaps. iii. vi. vii.

correlatively with the operation of modifying influences, in successive generations. But those who hastily or prematurely assume an indefinite capacity to deviate from a specific form are as likely to obstruct as to promote the solution of the question.

The principles, based on rigorous and extensive observation, which have been established since the time of Cuvier, and have tended to impress upon the minds of the most exact reasoners in biology the conviction of a constantly operating secondary creational law, are the following:—The law of irrelative or vegetative repetition, referred to at p. 437. of Mr. Darwin's work; the law of unity of plan or relations to an archetype; the analogies of transitory embryonal stages in a higher animal to the matured forms of lower animals; the phenomena of parthenogenesis; a certain parallelism in the laws governing the succession of forms throughout time and space; the progressive departure from type, or from the more generalised to more specialised structures, exemplified in the series of species from their first introduction to the existing forms.* In his last published work † Professor Owen does not hesitate to state 'that perhaps the most important and significant result 'of palæontological research has been the establishment of the 'axiom of *the continuous operation of the ordained becoming of* '*living things.*' The italics are the author's. As to his own opinions regarding the nature or mode of that 'continuous 'creative operation,' the Professor is silent. He gives a brief summary of the hypotheses of others, and as briefly touches upon the defects in their inductive bases.‡ Elsewhere he has restricted himself to testing the idea of progressive transmutation by such subjects of Natural History as he might have specially in hand: as, e. g. the characters of the chimpanzee, gorilla, and some other animals.

All who have brought the transmutative speculations to the test of observed facts and ascertained powers in organic life, and have published the results, usually adverse to such speculations, are set down by Mr. Darwin as 'curiously illustrating the blind-'ness of preconceived opinion;' and whosoever may withhold assent to his own or other transmutationists' views, is described

* The most numerous illustrations of this principle are to be found in Owen's palæontological works and memoirs; but he refrains from announcing it as a general law, probably regarding the induction as being yet incomplete.

† Palæontology, or a Systematic Summary of Extinct Animals, and their Geological Relations, 8vo., 1860, p. 3.; and President's Address to the British Association at Leeds, 1858, p. 3.

‡ Palæontology, p. 404.

as 'really believing that at innumerable periods of the earth's 'history certain elemental atoms suddenly flashed into living 'tissues.' (P. 483.) Which, by the way, is but another notion of the mode of becoming of a species as little in harmony with observation as the hypothesis of natural selection by external influence, or of exceptional birth or development. Nay, Mr. Darwin goes so far as to affirm —

'All the most eminent palæontologists, namely, Cuvier, Owen, Agassiz, Barrande, Falconer, E. Forbes, &c., and all our greatest geologists, as Lyell, Murchison, Sedgwick, &c., have unanimously, often vehemently, maintained the immutability of species.' (P. 310.)

But if by this is meant that they as unanimously reject the evidences of a constantly operative secondary cause or law in the production of the succession of specifically differing organisms, made known by Palæontology, it betrays not only the confusion of ideas as to the fact and the nature of the law, but an ignorance or indifference to the matured thoughts and expressions of some of those eminent authorities on this supreme question in Biology.

One of the disciples would seem to be as short-sighted as the master in regard to this distinction.

'It has been urged,' writes Dr. Hooker, 'against the theory that existing species have arisen through the variation of pre-existing ones and the destruction of intermediate varieties, that it is a hasty inference from a few facts in the life of a few variable plants, and is therefore unworthy of confidence; but it appears to me that the opposite theory, which demands an independent creative act for each species, is an equally hasty inference.' (*Hooker*, p. xxv.)

Here it is assumed, as by Mr. Darwin, that no other mode of operation of a secondary law in the foundation of a form with distinct specific characters, can have been adopted by the Author of all creative laws than the one which the transmutationists have imagined. Any physiologist who may find the Lamarckian, or the more diffused and attenuated Darwinian, exposition of the law inapplicable to a species, such as the gorilla, considered as a step in the transmutative production of man, is forthwith clamoured against as one who swallows up every fact and every phenomenon regarding the origin and continuance of species 'in 'the gigantic conception of a power intermittently exercised in 'the development, out of inorganic elements, of organisms the 'most bulky and complex, as well as the most minute and 'simple.' Significantly characteristic of the partial view of organic phenomena taken by the transmutationists, and of their

inadequacy to grapple with the working out and discovery of a great natural law, is their incompetency to discern the indications of any other origin of one specific form out of another preceding it, save by their way of gradual change through a series of varieties assumed to have become extinct.

But has the free-swimming medusa, which bursts its way out of the ovicapsule of a campanularia, been developed out of inorganic particles? Or have certain elemental atoms suddenly flashed up into acalephal form? Has the polype-parent of the acalephe necessarily become extinct by virtue of such anomalous birth? May it not, and does it not proceed to propagate its own lower species in regard to form and organisation, notwithstanding its occasional production of another very different and higher kind. Is the fact of one animal giving birth to another not merely specifically, but generically and ordinally, distinct, a solitary one? Has not Cuvier, in a score or more of instances, placed the parent in one class, and the fruitful offspring in another class, of animals? Are the entire series of parthenogenetic phenomena to be of no account in the consideration of the supreme problem of the introduction of fresh specific forms into this planet? Are the transmutationists to monopolise the privilege of conceiving the possibility of the occurrence of unknown phenomena, to be the exclusive propounders of beliefs and surmises, to cry down every kindred barren speculation, and to allow no indulgence in any mere hypothesis save their own? Is it to be endured that every observer who points out a case to which transmutation, under whatever term disguised, is inapplicable, is to be set down by the refuted theorist as a believer in a mode of manufacturing a species which he never did believe in, and which may be inconceivable?

We would ask Mr. Darwin and Dr. Hooker to give some thought to these queries, and if they should see the smallest meaning in them, to reconsider their future awards of the alternative which they may be pleased to grant to a fellow-labourer, hesitating to accept the proposition, either that life commenced under other than actually operating laws, or that 'all 'the beings that ever lived on this earth have descended,' by the way of 'natural selection,' from a hypothetical unique instance of a miraculously created primordial form.

We are aware that Professor Owen and others, who have more especially studied the recently discovered astounding phenomena of generation summed up under the terms Parthenogenesis and Alternation of Generations, have pronounced against those phenomena having, as yet, helped us 'to pene-

'trate the mystery of the origin of different species of animals,' and have affirmed, at least so far as observation has yet extended, that 'the cycle of changes is definitely closed;' that is, that when the ciliated 'monad' has given birth to the 'gregarina,' and this to the 'cercaria,' and the 'cercaria' to the 'distoma,'—that the fertilised egg of the fluke-worm again excludes the progeny under the infusorial or monadic form, and the cycle again recommences.* But circumstances are conceivable,—changes of surrounding influences, the operation of some intermittent law at long intervals, like that of the calculating-machine quoted by the author of 'Vestiges,'—under which the monad might go on splitting up into monads, the gregarina might go on breeding gregarinæ, the cercaria cercariæ, &c., and thus four or five not merely different specific, but different generic, and ordinal forms, zoologically viewed, might all diverge from an antecedent quite distinct form. For how many years, and by how many generations, did the captive polype-progeny of the *Medusa aurita* go on breeding polypes of their species (*Hydra tuba*), without resolving themselves into any higher form, in Sir John Dalyell's aquarium!† The natural phenomena already possessed by science are far from being exhausted on which hypotheses, other than transmutative, of the production of species by law might be based, and on a foundation at least as broad as that which Mr. Darwin has exposed in this Essay.

We do not advocate any of these hypotheses in preference to the one of 'natural selection,' we merely affirm that this at present rests on as purely a conjectural basis. The exceptions to that and earlier forms of transmutationism which rise up in the mind of the working naturalist and original observer, are so many and so strong, as to have left the promulgation and advocacy of the hypothesis, under any modification, at all times to individuals of more imaginative temperament; such as Demaillet in the last century, Lamarck in the first half of the present, Darwin in the second half. The great names to which the steady inductive advance of zoology has been due during those periods, have kept aloof from any hypothesis on the origin of species. One only, in connexion with his palæontological discoveries, with his development of the law of irrelative repetition and of homologies, including the relation of the latter to an archetype, has pronounced in favour of the view of the

* President's Address to the British Association at Leeds, p. 27.

† See the beautiful work entitled 'Rare and Remarkable Animals of Scotland,' 4to. vol. i. 1847, by Sir J. G. Dalyell.

origin of species by a continuously operative creational law; but he, at the same time, has set forth some of the strongest objections or exceptions to the hypothesis of the nature of that law as a progressively and gradually transmutational one.

Mr. Darwin rarely refers to the writings of his predecessors, from whom, rather than from the phenomena of the distribution of the inhabitants of South America, he might be supposed to have derived his ideas as to the origin of species. When he does allude to them, their expositions on the subject are inadequately represented. Every one studying the pages of Lamarck's original chapters (iii. vi. vii., vol. i., and the supplemental chapter of 'additions' to vol. ii. of the 'Philosophie Zoologique'), will see how much weight he gives to inherent constitutional adaptability, to hereditary influences, and to the operation of long lapses of time on successive generations, in the course of transmuting a species. The common notion of Lamarck's philosophy, drawn from the tirades which a too figurative style of illustrating the reciprocal influence of innate tendencies and outward influences have drawn upon the blind philosopher, is incorrect and unjust. Darwin writes:—

'Naturalists continually refer to external conditions, such as climate, food, &c., as the only possible cause of variation. In one very limited sense, as we shall hereafter see, this may be true; but it is preposterous to attribute to mere external conditions, the structure, for instance, of the woodpecker, with its feet, tail, beak, and tongue, so admirably adapted to catch insects under the bark of trees. In the case of the misseltoe, which draws its nourishment from certain trees, which has seeds that must be transported by certain birds, and which has flowers with separate sexes absolutely requiring the agency of certain insects to bring pollen from one flower to the other; it is equally preposterous to account for the structure of this parasite, with its relations to several distinct organic beings, by the effects of external conditions, or of habit, or of the volition of the plant itself.

'The author of the "Vestiges of Creation" would, I presume, say that, after a certain unknown number of generations, some bird had given birth to a woodpecker, and some plant to the misseltoe, and that these had been produced perfect as we now see them; but this assumption seems to me to be no explanation, for it leaves the case of the coadaptations of organic beings to each other and to their physical conditions of life untouched and unexplained.' (P. 3.)

The last cited ingenious writer came to the task of attempting to unravel the 'mystery of mysteries,' when a grand series of embryological researches had brought to light the extreme phases of form that the higher animals passed through in the course of fœtal development, and the striking analogies which transitory embryonal phases of a higher species presented to

series of lower species in their permanent or completely developed state. He also instances the abrupt departure from the specific type manifested by a malformed or monstrous offspring, and called to mind the cases in which such malformations had lived and propagated the deviating structure. The author of 'Vestiges,' therefore, speculates—and we think not more rashly or unlawfully than his critic has done—on other possibilities, other conditions of change, than the Lamarckian ones; as, for example, on the influence of premature birth and of prolonged fœtation in establishing the beginning of a specific form different from that of the parent. And does not the known history of certain varieties, such as that of M. Graux's cachemir-wooled sheep, which began suddenly by malformation, show the feasibility of this view?* 'The whole train of animated beings,' writes the author of 'Vestiges of Creation,' 'are the results *first*, of an 'inherent impulse in the forms of life to advance, in definite times, 'through grades of organisation terminating in the highest 'dicotyledons and mammals; *second*, of external physical circumstances, operating reactively upon the central impulse to 'produce the requisite peculiarities of exterior organisation,—'the adaptation of the natural theologian.' But he, likewise, requires the same additional element which Mr. Darwin so freely invokes. 'The gestation of a single organism is the 'work of but a few days, weeks, or months; but the gestation '(so to speak) of a whole creation is a matter involving enormous 'spaces of time.' . . . . 'Though distinctions admitted as specific are not now, to ordinary observation, superable, time may 'have a power over these.' . . . . 'Geology shows successions 'of forms, and grants enormous spaces of time within which we 'may believe them to have changed from each other by the means 'which we see producing varieties. Brief spaces of time 'admittedly sufficing to produce these so-called varieties, is 'it unreasonable to suppose that large spaces of time would 'effect mutations somewhat more decided, but of the same 'character?'†

Unquestionably not, replies Mr. Darwin:—

'To give an imaginary example from changes in progress on an island: let the organisation of a canine animal which preyed chiefly on rabbits, but sometimes on hares, become slightly plastic; let these same changes cause the number of rabbits very slowly to decrease, and the number of hares to increase; the effect of this would be that

* Reports of the Juries Exhibition of the Works of All Nations, 8vo., 1852, p. 70.

† Vestiges of Creation, 8vo., 1846, p. 231.

the fox or dog would be driven to try to catch more hares; his organisation, however, being slightly plastic, those individuals with the lightest forms, longest limbs, and best eyesight, let the difference be ever so small, would be slightly favoured, and would tend to live longer, and to survive during that time of the year when food was scarcest; they would also rear more young, which would tend to inherit these slight peculiarities. The less fleet ones would be rigidly destroyed. I can see no more reason to doubt that these causes in a thousand generations would produce a marked effect, and adapt the form of the fox or dog to the catching of hares instead of rabbits, than that greyhounds can be improved by selection and careful breeding.' *

Of course, prosaic minds are apt to bore one by asking for our proofs, and one feels almost provoked, when seduced to the brink of such a draught of forbidden knowledge as the transmutationists offer, to have the Circean cup dashed away by the dry remark of a President of the British Association :—

'Observation of animals in a state of nature is required to show their degree of plasticity, or the extent to which varieties do arise: whereby grounds may be had for judging of the probability of the elastic ligaments and joint-structures of a feline foot, for example, being superinduced upon the more simple structure of the toe with the non-retractile claw, according to the principle of a succession of varieties in time.' †

This very writer has, however, himself suggested an operative cause in the development of organised beings of a different and opposite character to that conceived by 'Vestiges,' to produce the teleological adaptations. Professor Owen has pointed out the numerous instances in the animal kingdom of a principle of structure prevalent throughout the vegetable kingdom, exemplified by the multiplication of organs in one animal performing the same function, and not related to each other by combination of powers for the performance of a higher function. The Invertebrate animals, according to the Professor, afford the most numerous and striking illustrations of the principles which he has generalised as the 'Law of Irrelative Repetition.'

'We perceive,' says he, 'in the fact of the endoskeleton consisting of a succession of segments similarly composed — in the very power of enunciating special, general, and serial homologies — an illustration of that law of vegetative or irrelative

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* 'On the Tendency of Species to form Varieties,' &c., in 'Proceedings of the Linnæan Society,' 1858, p. 49.

† Address, p. 44.

repetition, which is so much more conspicuously manifested by the segments of the exoskeleton of the Invertebrata: as, for example, in the rings of the centipede and worm, and in the more multiplied parts of the skeleton of the Echinoderms. The repetition of similar segments in the spinal column, and of similar elements in a vertebral segment, is analogous to the repetition of similar crystals, as the result of the polarising force in the growth of an inorganic body. Not only does the principle of vegetative repetition prevail more and more as we descend in the scale of animal life, but the forms of the repeated parts of the skeleton approach more and more to geometrical figures; as we see, for example, in the external skeletons of the echini and star-fishes: nay, the calcifying salt assumes the same crystalline figures which characterise it, when deposited and subject to the general polarising force out of the organised body. Here, therefore, we have direct proof of the concurrence of such general all-pervading polarising force, with the adaptive or special organising force, in the development of an animal body.'

In addition, therefore, to the organising principle, however explained, producing the special 'adaptations,' and admitted as the 'second' power in the production of species by 'Vestiges,' Professor Owen states —

'There appears also to be in counter-operation during the building up of such bodies, a general polarising force, to the operation of which the similarity of forms, the repetition of parts, the signs of the unity of organisation may be mainly ascribed; the platonic ἰδέα or specific organising principle would seem,' he adds, 'to be in antagonism with the general polarising force, and to subdue and mould it in subserviency to the exigencies of the resulting specific form.' *

An index of the degree in which the polaric or irrelative repetitive force has operated is given by that character of the animal's organisation which is expressed by the term of 'a more 'generalised structure.' V. Baer pointed out that the structure was 'more generalised,' in the ratio of the proximity of the individual to the starting point of its existence. In proportion as the individual is subject to the action and reaction of surrounding influences, in other words, as it advances in life, does it acquire a more specialised structure — more decided specific and individual characters.† Owen has shown that the more generalised structure is, in a very significant degree, a characteristic of many extinct as compared with recent animals; and it may be readily conceived that specialisation of structure

* Archetype of the Vertebrate Skeleton, 8vo, 1840, p. 171.

† 'The extent to which the resemblance, expressed by the term, "Unity of Organisation," may be traced between the higher and lower organised animals, bears an inverse ratio to their approximation to maturity.' (*Owen, Lectures on Invertebrata,* p. 645.)

would be the result of the progressive modification of any organ applied to a special purpose in the animal economy.

We have cited these attempts to elucidate the nature of the organising forces, to show the prevalent condition of the most advanced physiological minds in regard to the cause of the successive introduction of distinct species of plants and animals. Demaillet invoked the operation of the external influences or conditions of life, with consentaneous volitional efforts, in order to raise species in the scale, as the fish, e. g., into the bird.* Buffon called in the same agency to lower the species, by way of degeneration, as the bear, e. g., into the seal, and this into the whale.† Lamarck added to these outward influences the effects of increased or decreased use or action of parts. The Author of 'Vestiges,' availing himself of the ingenious illustration of a pre-ordained exception, occurring at remote intervals, to the ordinary course, derived by Babbage from the working of his Calculating Engine, threw out the suggestion of a like rare exception in the character of the offspring of a known species, and he cites the results of embryological studies, to show how such 'monster,' either by excess or defect, by arrest or prolongation of development, might be no monster in fact, but one of the preordained exceptions in the long series of natural operations, giving rise to the introduction of a new species. Owen has not failed to apply the more recent discoveries of Parthenogenesis to the same mysterious problem. A polype, e. g., breaks up into a pile of medusæ; 'the indirect or direct 'action of the conditions of life' might tend to harden the integument and change the medusa into a star-fish. But he resists the seduction of possibilities, and governed by the extent of actual observation, says:—'The first acquaintance with these 'marvels excited the hope that we were about to penetrate the 'mystery of the origin of species; but, as far as observation has 'yet extended, the cycle of changes is definitely closed.' ‡

Mr. Wallace calls attention to the 'tremendous rate of in-'crease in a few years from a single pair of birds producing two 'young ones each year, and this only four times in their life; 'in fifteen years such pair would have increased to nearly ten 'millions!' § The passenger-pigeon of the United States exemplifies such rate of increase, where congenial food abounds.

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* Telliamed, ou Entretiens d'un Philosophe Indien avec un Missionaire François, Amsterdam, 8vo., 1748.

† Histoire Naturelle, &c., 4to., tom. xiv. 1766.

‡ Address to the British Association at Leeds, 1858, p. 27.

§ Proceedings of the Linnæan Society, 1858, p. 55.

But, as a general rule, the animal population of a country is stationary, being kept down by a periodical deficiency of food and other checks. Hence the struggle for existence; and the successful result of adapted organisation and powers in a well developed variety, which Mr. Darwin generalises as 'Natural Selection,' and which Mr. Wallace * illustrates as follows:—

'An antelope with shorter or weaker legs must necessarily suffer more from the attacks of the feline carnivora; the passenger-pigeon with less powerful wings, would sooner or later be affected in its powers of procuring a regular supply of food.' † If, on the other hand, 'any species should produce a variety having slightly increased powers of preserving existence, that variety must inevitably in time acquire a superiority in numbers.' 'During any change tending to render existence more difficult to a species, tasking its utmost powers to avoid complete extermination, those individuals forming the most feebly organised variety would suffer first; the same causes continuing, the parent species would next suffer, would gradually diminish in numbers, and with a recurrence of similar unfavourable conditions, must soon become extinct. The superior variety would then alone remain, and on a return to favourable circumstances would rapidly increase in numbers and occupy the place of the extinct species and variety. The *variety* would now have replaced the *species*, of which it would be a more perfectly developed and a more highly organised form.' ‡

Buffon regarded varieties as particular alterations of species, as supporting and illustrating a most important principle — the mutability of species themselves. The so-called varieties of a species, species of a genus, genera of a family, &c., were, with him, so many evidences of the progressive amount or degrees of change which had been superinduced by time and generations upon a primordial type of animal. Applying this principle to the two hundred mammalian species of which he had given a history in his great work, he believed himself able to reduce them to a very small number of primitive stocks or families. § Of these he enumerates fifteen: besides which, Buffon specifies certain isolated forms, which represent, as he forcibly and truly expresses it, both species and genus ‖: such are the elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, giraffe, camel, lion, bear, and mole.¶

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* Proceedings of the Linnæan Society (dated from 'Ternate,' February 1858), vol. iii. p. 58.

† Wallace, loc. cit. p. 85.

‡ Ib., p. 58.

§ Histoire Naturelle tom. xiv. p. 338.

‖ 'Quelques espèces isolées, qui, comme celle de l'homme, fassent en même temps espèce et genre.' (Tom. cit., p. 335.)

¶ Ib., p. 360.

Palæontology has since revealed the evidences of the true nature and causes of the present seeming isolation of some of these forms.

Such evidences have been mainly operative with the later adopters and diffusers of Buffon's principle in the reduction of the number of primitive sources of existing species, and the contraction of the sphere of direct creative acts. Thus Lamarck* reduces the primordial forms or prototypes of animals to two, viz. the worm (*vers*), and the monad (*infusoires*); the principles which in the course of illimited time operated, on his hypothesis, to produce the present groups of animals led from the vibrio, through the annelids, cirripeds, and molluscs to fishes, and there met the other developmental route by way of rotifers, polypes, radiaries, insects, arachnides, and crustacea. The class of fishes, deriving its several forms from combinations of transmuted squids and crabs, then proceeded through the well-defined vertebrate pattern up to man. With a philosophic consistency, wanting in his latest follower, Lamarck sums up: 'Cette série 'd'animaux commençant par deux branches où se trouvent les 'plus imparfaits, les premiers de chacune de ces branches ne re-'çoivent l'existence que par génération directe ou spontanée.' †

Mr. Darwin, availing himself of the more exact ideas of the affinities and relationships of animal groups obtained by subsequent induction, says: 'I believe that animals have descended 'from at most only four or five progenitors,' [evidently meaning, or answering to, the type-forms of the four or five 'sub-kingdoms' in modern zoology], 'and plants from an equal or lesser 'number.'

But if the means which produce varieties have operated 'through the enormous species of time, within which species 'are changed,' ‡ the minor modifications which produce, under our brief scope of observation, so-called varieties, might well amount to differences equivalent to those now separating sub-kingdoms; and, accordingly, 'analogy,' Mr. Darwin logically admits, 'would lead us one step further, namely, to the belief 'that all animals and plants have descended from some one 'prototype;' § and, summing up the conditions which all living things have in common, this writer infers from that analogy, 'that probably all the organic beings which have ever lived on 'this earth, have descended from some one primordial form, into 'which life was first breathed.' ‖

By the latter scriptural phrase, it may be inferred that Mr.

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* Philosophie Zoologique, vol. ii. p. 463. † Ib., p. 463.
‡ Vestiges of Creation, p. 231. § Op. cit., p. 484. ‖ Ib.

Darwin formally recognises, in the so-limited beginning, a direct creative act, something like that supernatural or miraculous one which, in the preceding page, he defines, as 'certain elemental 'atoms which have been commanded suddenly to flash into 'living tissues.' He has, doubtless, framed in his imagination some idea of the common organic prototype; but he refrains from submitting it to criticism. He leaves us to imagine our globe, void, but so advanced as to be under the conditions which render life possible; and he then restricts the Divine power of breathing life into organic form to its minimum of direct operation. All subsequent organisms henceforward result from properties imparted to the organic elements at the moment of their creation, pre-adapting them to the infinity of complications and their morphological results, which now try to the utmost the naturalist's faculties to comprehend and classify. And we admit, with Buckland, that such an aboriginal constitution, 'far from superseding an intelligent agent, would only 'exalt our conceptions of the consummate skill and power, 'that could comprehend such an infinity of future uses, under 'future systems, in the original groundwork of his creation.' We would accordingly assure Professor Owen that he 'may 'conceive the existence of such ministers, personified as Nature, 'without derogation of the Divine power;' and that he, with other inductive naturalists, may confidently advance in the investigation of those 'natural laws or secondary causes, to 'which the orderly succession and progression of organic phe-'nomena have been committed.'* We have no sympathy whatever with Biblical objectors to creation by law, or with the sacerdotal revilers of those who would explain such law. Literal scripturalism in the time of Lactantius, opposed and reviled the demonstrations of the shape of the earth; in the time of Galileo it reviled and persecuted the demonstrations of the movements of the earth; in the time of Dean Cockburn of York, it anathematised the demonstrations of the antiquity of the earth; and the eminent geologist who then personified the alleged anti-scriptural heresy, has been hardly less emphatic than his theological assailant, in his denunciations of some of the upholders of the 'becoming and succession of species by natural law,' or by 'a continuously operating creative force.' What we have here to do, is to express our views of the hypothesis as to the nature and mode of operation of the creative law, which has been promulgated by Messrs. Wallace and Darwin.

The author of the volume 'On the Origin of Species,' starts

* On the Nature of Limbs, p. 86.

from a single supernaturally created form. He does not define it; it may have been beyond his power of conception. It is, however, eminently plastic, is modified by the influence of external circumstances, and propagates such modifications by generation. Where such modified descendants find favourable conditions of existence, there they thrive; where otherwise they perish. In the first state of things, the result is so analogous to that which man brings about, in establishing a breed of domestic animals from a selected stock, that it suggested the phrase of 'Natural 'Selection;' and we are appealed to, or at least 'the young and 'rising naturalists with plastic minds *, are adjured, to believe that the reciprocal influences so defined have operated, through divergence of character and extinction, on the descendants of a common parent, so as to produce all the organic beings that live, or have ever lived, on our planet.

Now we may suppose that the primeval prototype began by producing, in the legal generative way, creatures like itself, or so slightly affected by external influences, as at first to be scarcely distinguishable from their parent. When, as the progeny multiplied and diverged, they came more and more under the influence of 'Natural Selection,' so, through countless ages of this law's operation, they finally rose to man. But, we may ask, could any of the prototype's descendants utterly escape the surrounding influences? To us such immunity, in the illimitable period during which the hypothesis of Natural Selection requires it to have operated, is inconceivable. No living being, therefore, can now manifest the mysterious primeval form to which Darwin restricts the direct creative act; and we may presume that this inevitable consequence of his hypothesis, became to him an insuperable bar to the definition of that form.

But do the facts of actual organic nature square with the Darwinian hypothesis? Are all the recognised organic forms of the present date, so differentiated, so complex, so superior to conceivable primordial simplicity of form and structure, as to testify to the effects of Natural Selection continuously operating through untold time? Unquestionably not. The most numerous living beings now on the globe are precisely those which offer such a simplicity of form and structure, as best agrees, and we take leave to affirm can only agree, with that ideal prototype from which, by any hypothesis of natural law, the series of vegetable and animal life might have diverged.

If by the patient and honest study and comparison of plants

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* On the Nature of the Limbs, p. 482.

and animals, under their manifold diversities of matured form, and under every step of development by which such form is attained, any idea may be gained of a hypothetical primitive organism,—if its nature is not to be left wholly to the unregulated fancies of dreamy speculation—we should say that the form and condition of life which are common, at one period of existence, to every known kind and grade of organism, would be the only conceivable form and condition of the one primordial being from which 'Natural Selection' infers that all the organisms which have ever lived on this earth have descended.

Now the form in question is the nucleated cell, having the powers of receiving nutritive matter from without, of assimilating such nutriment, and of propagating its kind by spontaneous fission. These powers are called 'vital,' because as long as they are continued the organism is said to live. The most numerous and most widely diffused of living beings present this primitive grade of structure and vital force, which grade is inferior to that of the truly definable 'plant' or 'animal,' but is a grade represented and passed through by the germ of every, even the highest, class of animals, in the course of embryonic development. The next stages of differentiated or advanced organisation are defined as follows in Professor Owen's last publication:—

'When the organism is rooted, has neither mouth nor stomach, exhales oxygen, and has tissues composed of "cellulose" or of binary or ternary compounds, it is called a "plant." When the organism can move, when it receives the nutritive matter by a mouth, inhales oxygen, and exhales carbonic acid, and developes tissues, the proximate principles of which are quaternary compounds of carbon, hydrogen, oxygen, and nitrogen, it is called an "animal." But the two divisions of organisms called "plants" and "animals" are specialised members of the great natural groups of living things; and there are numerous organisms, mostly of minute size and retaining the form of nucleated cells, which manifest the common organic characters, but without the distinctive superadditions of true plants or animals. Such organisms are called "Protozoa," and include the sponges or *Amorphozoa*, the *Foraminifera* or Rhizopods, the *Polycystineæ*, the *Diatomaceæ*, *Desmidiæ*, *Gregarinæ*, and most of the so-called *Polygastria* of Ehrenberg, or infusorial animalcules of older authors.'*

All these would be interpreted as the earliest evidences of the modifying and species-changing influences, according to the hypothesis of Lamarck. They are the organisms respecting which the first living physiologists hesitate to apply the Harveian axiom *omne vivum ab ovo*, believing the possibility of

* Owen's Palæontology, p. 4.

their spontaneous origin to be by no means experimentally disproved. The prevalence of the essential first step in the production of all higher organisms, viz. through the combined matter of the 'germ-cell' and 'sperm-cell,' has no doubt strongly inclined physiologists to believe impregnation to be an absolute condition of the beginning of all existing organisms. But, as the President of the British Association stated, in his 'Address' at Leeds:—

'In regard to lower living things, analogy is but hazardous ground for conclusions. The single-celled organisms, such as many of the so-called animalcules of infusions, which are at a stage of organisation too low for a definite transfer to either the vegetable or animal kingdoms, offer a field of observation and experiment which may yet issue in giving us a clearer insight into the development of the organic living cell.'—'Whether an independent free-moving and assimilating organism, of a grade of structure similar to, and scarcely higher than, the "germ-cell," may not arise by a collocation of particles, through the operation of a force analogous to that which originally formed the germ-cell in the ovarian stroma, is a question which cannot be answered until every possible care and pains have been applied to its solution.' (P. 28.)

Professor Pouchet believes that he is authorised by the results of his experiments to answer that question in the affirmative. It is one of supreme importance, and which has, hitherto, never received such an amount of painstaking experimental research as it merits; and the best observations, the most carefully conducted and ingeniously devised arrangements for insuring success, are undoubtedly those of the patiently observant Professor of Zoology in the 'Ecole de Médecine,' and 'Ecole 'supérieure des Sciences,' at Rouen.* This, at least, may be affirmed, that the inductive groundwork of his opponents is by no means such as can justify any dogmatic negation of Heterogeny as applicable to the simplest Protozoa.

On the basis, therefore, of analogical probability, it may be inferred:—that the primordial as well as all other forms of organic beings, originate, and have ever originated, from the operation of secondary and continuously operating creative laws: and that the various grades of organisms now in being, from the microscopic monad upwards, indicate the various periods in time at which the first step of the series they respectively terminate began. The monad that by 'natural selection' has ultimately become man, dates from the farthest point in the remote past, upon which our feigners of developmental hypotheses can draw with unlimited

* Pouchet, 'Hétérogénie, ou Traité de la Génération spontanée, 'basé sur des nouvelles Expériences,' 8vo., 1859.

credit: the monad which by its superficial vibratile cilia darted across the field of the microscope we were looking through this morning, is the result of the collocation of particles which, without 'sudden flash,' took place under the operation of the heterogeneous organising force of yesterday.

Accordingly we find that every grade of structure, from the lowest to the highest, from the most simple to the most complex, is now in being,—a result which it is impossible to reconcile with the Darwinian hypothesis of the one and once only created primordial form, the parent of all subsequent living things. The changes which our planet has undergone in the course of geological time have been accompanied by the loss of many minor links which connected together the existing evidences of gradational structure; but the general laws regulating the progress and diversity of organic forms, having been the same throughout all time, so it happens, according to the testimony of the most experienced palæontologists, that—

'Every known fossil belongs to some one or other of the existing classes, and that the organic remains of the most ancient fossiliferous strata do not indicate or suggest that any earlier and different group of beings remains to be discovered, or has been irretrievably lost in the universal metamorphism of the oldest rocks.'*

That forms, recognised as species by their distinctive characters and the power of propagating them, have ceased to exist, and have successively passed away, is a fact now unquestioned; that they have been exterminated by exceptional cataclysmal changes of the earth's surface, as was surmised at the first acceptance of the fact of extinction, has not been proved; that their limitation in time may, in some instances, or in some degree, be due to constitutional changes, accumulating by slow degrees in the long course of generations, is possible: but all the traceable and observed causes of extirpation point either to continuous slowly operating geological changes, or to no greater sudden cause than the apparition of mankind on a limited tract of land not before inhabited. It is now, therefore, generally inferred that the extinction of species, prior to man's existence, has been due to ordinary causes—ordinary in the sense of agreement with the great laws of never-ending mutation of geographical and climatal conditions on the earth's surface. The individuals of species least adapted to bear such influences and incapable of modifying their organisation in harmony therewith, have perished. Extinction, therefore, on this hypothesis, is due to the want of

* Owen's Palæontology, p. 18.

self-adjusting, self-modifying power in the individuals of the species.

In the joint paper on the tendency of varieties to form species by natural means of selection*, one of the authors writes:—

'Any minute variation in structure, habits, or instincts, adapting the individual better to the new conditions, would tell upon its vigour and health. In the struggle it would have a better chance of surviving, and those of its offspring which inherited the variation would also have a better chance. Let this work go on for a thousand generations, and who will pretend to affirm,' asks Mr. Darwin, 'that a new species might not be the result?'

Thereupon is adduced the imaginary example of dogs and rabbits on an island, which we have already cited.

Now this, we take leave to say, is no very profound or recondite surmise; it is just one of those obvious possibilities that might float through the imagination of any speculative naturalist; only, the sober searcher after truth would prefer a blameless silence to sending the proposition forth as explanatory of the origin of species, without its inductive foundation.

In the degeneration-theory of Buffon, man is one of the primitive types,—the created apes and monkeys are derivatives. He might have illustrated it as follows:—

To give an imaginary example from changes in progress on an island: let the organisation of a wild man feeding chiefly on fruits become slightly plastic; let corresponding changes cause the sources of food on the ground very slowly to decrease, and those on the trees to increase: the effect of this would be that the man would try to climb more for food. Suppose also that a tiger or like destructive carnivore should swim over and settle in the island, which happened to be destitute of flints for weapons. The human organisation being slightly plastic, those individuals with the longest and strongest arms, and with the most prehensile use of the great toe, let the difference be ever so small, would be slightly favoured, would survive during that time of the year when food was scarcest on the ground, but ripe and ready on certain trees; they would also rear more young which would tend to inherit these slight peculiarities. The best climbers would escape the tigers, the worst would be rigidly destroyed.

Buffon would have seen no more reason to doubt that these causes, in a thousand generations, would produce a marked effect, and adapt the form of the wild man to obtain fruits rather

* By Darwin and Wallace, 'Proceedings of the Linnæan Society,' August, 1858, p. 45.

than grains, than Darwin now believes that man can be improved by selection and careful interbreeding into a higher, more heroic, more angelic form! The advocate of Buffon's hypothesis might point out that it is on islands, as Borneo and Sumatra, for example, where the orang-utan — the obvious result of such 'degradation by natural selection'—is exclusively found. And is it not there also, and in some other islands of the Malayan Archipelago, where the next step in the scale of 'degeneration' is exhibited in the still longer-armed Ungkas and other tail-less *Hylobates?* And though we call them 'tail-less' yet they have the 'os coccygis;' and this being a terminal appendage of stunted vertebræ, offers the very condition for the manifestation of an occasional developmental variety. If cats, after accidental mutilation or malformation, can propagate a tail-less breed, why may not apes produce a tailed variety, and by natural selection in a long course of ages, degenerate into endless incipient species of 'baboons and 'monkeys'?

But Mr. Darwin, it may be said, repudiates the coarse transmutational conditions and operations of Buffon and Lamarck; or, if there be any parallel between his and Buffon's illustration of the changing of species, at all events such parallels must run in opposite directions. Mr. Darwin starts from a single created prototype, from which it is difficult to conceive he can mean any other course of organic progress than an ascensive one. But of this, in the absence of a definition of the starting point, we cannot be perfectly sure. 'Natural selection' may operate in both directions. The following, for example, would have been cordially welcomed by Buffon as a testimony in favour of his 'dégénération' hypothesis:—

'In North America the black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with widely open mouth, thus catching, like a whale, insects in the water. Even in so extreme a case as this, if the supply of insects were constant, and if better adapted competitors did not already exist in the country, I can see no difficulty in a race of bears being rendered, by natural selection, more and more aquatic in their structure and habits, with larger and larger mouths, till a creature was produced as monstrous as a whale.'*

If the ursine species had not been restricted to northern latitudes, we might have surmised this to have been one of the facts connected with 'the distribution of the inhabitants of South 'America,' which seemed to Mr. Darwin, when naturalist on board H.M.S. Beagle, 'to throw some light on the origin of

* Darwin, p. 184. (1st edition.)

species.'* But the close resemblance of the style, and of the tone and frame of mind which could see no difficulty in the adequacy of the above-cited circumstances of 'external con-'ditions, of habit, of volition,' to change a bear into a whale, to those exemplified in the 'Philosophie Zoologique,' point strongly to the writings of Lamarck as the true suggestor of Mr. Darwin's views of animated nature. We look, however, in vain for any instance of hypothetical transmutation in Lamarck so gross as the one above cited; we must descend to older illustrators of the favourite idea, to find an equivalent case of the bear in pursuit of water-insects, and we find one in the following:—

'Car il peut arriver, comme nous sçavons qu'en effet il arrive assez souvent, que les poissons aîlés et volans chassant ou étant chassés dans la mer, emportés du desir de la proie ou de la crainte de la mort, ou bien poussés peut-être à quelques pas du rivage par des vagues qu'excitoit une tempête, soient tombés dans des roseaux ou dans des herbages, d'où ensuite il ne leur fut pas possible de reprendre vers la mer l'essor qui les en avoit tirés, et qu'en cet état ils ayent contracté une plus grande faculté de voler. Alors leurs nageoires n'étant plus baignées des eaux de la mer, se fendirent et se déjettèrent par la sécheresse. Tandis qu'ils trouvèrent dans les roseaux et les herbages dans lesquels ils étoient tombés, quelques alimens pour se soutenir, les tuyaux de leurs nageoires, séparés les uns des autres, se prolongèrent et se revêtirent de barbes; ou, pour parler plus juste, les membranes qui auparavant les avoient tenus collés les uns aux autres se métamorphosèrent. La barbe formée de ces pellicules déjetées s'allongea elle-même; la peau de ces animaux se revêtit insensiblement d'un duvet de la même couleur dont elle étoit peinte, et ce duvet grandit. Les petits aîlerons qu'ils avoient sous le ventre, et qui comme leurs nageoires, leur avoient aidé à se promener dans la mer, devinrent des pieds, et leur servirent à marcher sur la terre. Il se fit encore d'autres petits changemens dans leur figure. Le bec et le col des uns s'allongèrent; ceux des autres se racourçirent: il en fut de même du reste du corps. Cependant la conformité de la première figure subsiste dans le total; et elle est et sera toujours aisée à reconnoître.

'Examinez en effet toutes les espèces de poules, grosses et petites, même celles des Indes, celles qui sont huppées, ou celles qui ne le sont pas; celles dont les plumes sont à rebours telles qu'on en voit à Damiette, c'est-à-dire, dont le plumage est couché de la queue à la tête; vous trouverez dans la mer des espèces toutes semblables, écailleuses ou sans écailles. Toutes les espèces de perroquets dont les plumages sont si divers, les oiseaux les plus rares et les plus singulièrement marquetés sont conformes à des poissons peints, comme eux, de noir, de brun, de gris, de jaune, de verd, de rouge, de violet, de couleur

* Darwin, p. 1. (1st edition.)

d'or et d'azur; et cela précisément dans les mêmes parties où les plumages de ces mêmes oiseaux sont diversifiés d'une manière si bizarre.'*

Demaillet, it must be admitted, enters more fully into the details of the operation of 'natural selection,' in changing the fish into the bird; and it is, perhaps, from this very 'naiveté' in the exposition of his theory, that its weakness has been made so obvious to later zoologists and comparative anatomists. Mr. Darwin rarely shows a fair front to these searching tests; the facts of the manner of transmutation, as they might have presented themselves to his fancy, are not stated with the 'abandon' of the old French philosopher. Vague and general as is the illustration based upon Hearne's remark, it is made still more vague in a later reprint of the volume 'On the Origin of Species.' It now reads, 'In North America the 'black bear was seen by Hearne swimming for hours with 'widely opened mouth, thus catching, almost like a whale, 'insects in the water.' (Ed. 1860, p. 184.)

'Individuals, it is said, of every species, in a state of nature 'annually perish,' and 'the survivors will be, for the most part, 'those of the strongest constitutions and the best adapted to 'provide for themselves and offspring, under the circumstances 'in which they exist.' Now, let us test the applicability of this postulate to the gradual mutation of a specific form by some instance in Natural History eminently favourable for the assumed results. In many species nature has superadded to general health and strength particular weapons and combative instincts, which, as, e. g., in the deer-tribe, insure to the strongest, to the longest-winded, the largest-antlered, and the sharpest-snagged stags, the choice of the hinds and the chief share in the propagation of the next generation. In such peculiarly gifted species we have the most favourable conditions for testing one of the conclusions drawn by Messrs. Darwin and Wallace from this universally recognised 'struggle for 'the preservation of life and kind.' If the offspring inheriting the advantages of their parents, did in their turn, however slightly and gradually, increase those advantages and give birth to a still more favoured progeny, with repetition of the result to

* 'Telliamed, ou Entretiens d'un Philosophe Indien avec un Mis-'sionaire François, sur la Diminution de la Mer,' &c., 8vo. Amsterdam, 1768. (An edition in two volumes of this original and suggestive work, was printed, with the life of the author (Demaillet), at the Hague, in 1755. The passage quoted will be found at p. 166, tom. ii. of this edition.)

the degree required by 'natural selection,'—then, according to the rate of modification experimentally proved in pigeons, we ought to find evidence of progressive increase in the combative qualities of antlers in those deer that for centuries have been under observation in our parks, and still more so in those that have fought and bred from the earliest historical times in the mountain wilds of Scotland. The element of 'natural selection' above illustrated, either is, or is not, a law of nature. If it be one, the results should be forthcoming; more especially in those exceptional cases in which nature herself has superadded structures, as it were expressly to illustrate the consequences of such 'general struggle for the life of the individual and the con-'tinuance of the race.'* The antlers of deer are expressly given to the male, and permitted to him, in fighting trim, only at the combative sexual season; they fall and are renewed annually; they belong moreover to the most plastic and variable parts or appendages of the quadruped. Is it then a fact that the fallow-deer propagated under these influences in Windsor Forest, since the reign of William Rufus, now manifest in the superior condition of the antlers, as weapons, that amount and kind of change which the successions of generations under the influence of 'natural selection' ought to have produced? Do the crowned antlers of the red deer of the nineteenth century surpass those of the turbaries and submerged forest-lands which date back long before the beginning of our English History? Does the variability of the artificially bred pigeon or of the cultivated cabbage outweigh, in a philosophical consideration of the origin of species, those obstinate evidences of persistence of specific types and of inherent limitation of change of character, however closely the seat of such characters may be connected with the 'best chance of taking care of self and of begetting offspring?' If certain bounds to the variability of specific characters be a law in nature, we then can see why the successive progeny of the best antlered deer, proved to be best by wager of battle, should never have exceeded the specific limit assigned to such best possible antlers under that law of limitation. If unlimited variability by 'natural selection' be a law, we ought to see some degree of its operation in the peculiarly favourable test-instance just quoted.

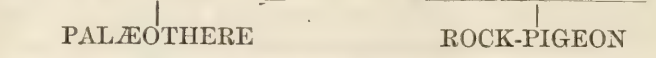
That the variability of an organism to a certain extent is a constant and certain condition of life we admit, otherwise there

* 'Individual males have had, in successive generations, some slight advantage over other males in their weapons, and have transmitted these advantages to their male offspring.' (*Darwin*, p. 89.)

would be no distinguishable individuals of a species. The forester, by the operation of this law of variability, is able to distinguish his individual oaks, the shepherd his particular sheep, the teacher his several scholars. This true and proved law of variability is, in fact, the essential condition of individuality itself. We have searched in vain, from Demaillet to Darwin, for the evidence or the proof, that it is only necessary for one individual to vary, be it ever so little, in order to the conclusion that the variability is progressive and unlimited, so as, in the course of generations, to change the species, the genus, the order, or the class. We have no objection to this result of 'natural selection' in the abstract; but we desire to have reason for our faith. What we do object to is, that science should be compromised through the assumption of its true character by mere hypotheses, the logical consequences of which are of such deep importance.

The powers, aspirations, and missions of man are such as to raise the study of his origin and nature, inevitably and by the very necessity of the case, from the mere physiological to the psychological stage of scientific operations. Every step in the progress of this study has tended to obliterate the technical barriers by which logicians have sought to separate the inquiries relating to the several parts of man's nature. The considerations involved in the attempt to disclose the origin of the worm are inadequate to the requirements of the higher problem of the origin of man; and it may be that the conditions of that problem are beyond our present powers of acquiring certain knowledge.

To him, indeed, who may deem himself devoid of soul and as the brute that perisheth, any speculation, pointing, with the smallest feasibility, to an intelligible notion of the way of coming in of a lower organised species, may be sufficient, and he need concern himself no further about his own relations to a Creator. But when the members of the Royal Institution of Great Britain are taught by their evening lecturer that such a limited or inadequate view and treatment of the great problem exemplifies that application of science to which England owes her greatness, we take leave to remind the managers that it more truly parallels the abuse of science to which a neighbouring nation, some seventy years since, owed its temporary degradation. By their fruits may the promoters of true and false philosophy be known. We gazed with amazement at the audacity of the dispenser of the hour's intellectual amusement, who, availing himself of the technical ignorance of the majority of his auditors, sought to blind them as to the frail foundations of 'natural selection' by such illustrations as the subjoined:—



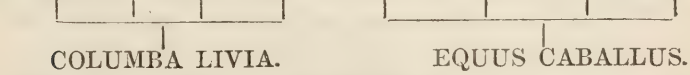
The above diagrams were set before an intelligent audience by a professor, in whom they naturally repose confidence as to facts specially belonging to his science, as parallel instances of departure from type: the one illustrating the extent and directions in which varieties diverge from a type form, in long course of time, by 'natural selection;' the other showing the correlative examples of such divergence, in a short course of time, through human selection. He told them that, in the latter series, the skeleton varied in regard to the number of vertebræ; but did not remark that it was in the variable region of the tail, on which no ornithologist ever depended for a specific character, neither did he state that the alleged difference in the number of dorsal vertebræ* was one that is merely simulated by a greater or less extent of the process of anchylosis over a region of the spinal column in which every vertebra was originally distinct. With regard to the parallel diagram, no allusion was made to such differences in the relative position of the cranial bones as the following:—viz., that in the palæotherium, as in the tapir, the maxillary bones intervene between and separate the nasal bones from the intermaxillary bones; whilst in the horse, as in the hyrax, the nasal and intermaxillary bones are united as far as their extremities; that, consequently, the external nostril is bounded by four bones in the horse, but by six in its implied progenitor; that there is as marked a difference in the conformation of the orbit, which is encircled by the union of the malar with the frontal bone in the horse, but is left widely open or incomplete, by the want of such union in the same two cranial bones of the palæothere. The advocate of the 'natural selection' view exaggerated resemblances and glossed over discrepancies of structure. The resemblance of the Palæothere to its four hypothetical descendants, in respect of their more generalised or more specialised structures, was flippantly affirmed to be as that of a father to his four sons!† Nothing was said to give his hearers a notion of the important difference between the horse and palæothere in the structure and implantation of the whole dental system. Yet the horse resembles

* Darwin, p. 22.

† Professor Huxley's Lecture 'On Species and Races and their 'Origin,' Friday, February 10th, 1860, Journal of the Royal Institution of Great Britain.

the elephant in having a long mass of complexly interblended dental substances deeply implanted in a large simple socket; whilst the palæothere differs from both in having a short mass or crown of differently disposed dental substances implanted by several long fangs in a correspondingly complex socket. To the competent anatomist a score of such anatomical differences would be present to the memory in contrasting the two alleged parallel series of differences from selection natural and human; to which differences in the palæontological series nothing comparable in essential value has been pointed out in the varieties of *Columba livia.* The competent palæontologist, moreover, would detect the superficial character of the knowledge that would interpose the tapir in any series leading from palæotherium: he would point to the eocene lophiodon as the true ancestor of the tapir on the derivative hypothesis.

Neither zoology nor physiology as yet, however, possesses a single fact to support the idea that six incisor and two canine teeth, as in the palæothere, could be blended or changed, by progressive transmutation, into the pair of large scalpriform teeth that projects from the fore part of the lower jaw in the hyrax or scriptural coney. The genuine cultivator of science and true representative of the minds on which the glory and greatness of nations depend, would feel bound to illustrate any series of observed varieties of a species by a true parallel. The hoofed mammals which afford this parallel with the diverging series of pigeons, are the following: —



Here the differences in regard to size, colour, development of tegumentary appendages, number of caudal vertebræ, length or stuntedness of muzzle, relative length of limb to body, &c., are closely analogous with the diversities which Mr. Darwin has dwelt upon in the first chapter of his work. And not only are the subjects of the above diagrams morphologically but physiologically alike; not merely are the differences of form and structure similar and equivalent, but the powers of procreation are the same. 'The hybrids or mongrels from between all the 'domestic breeds of pigeons are perfectly fertile;'* so, likewise, are the hybrids or mongrels from between all the domestic breeds of the horse. Now, as this is not the case with the hy-

* Darwin, p. 26.

brid between any variety of the horse and of the ass, it may be inferred that the physiological distinction would be, at least, as great, or more insuperable, between the horse and the tapir, or the rhinoceros, or the palæotherium. The infertility, or very rare fertility, of the solipedous mule, even when paired with a true horse or ass, and the absolute infertility of such hybrids *inter se*, are facts so notorious, that the professorial advocate of 'natural selection' was compelled to admit that his alleged parallel broke down at the physiological test,—the most important element of the comparison.

It is assumed by Mr. Darwin that variations, useful in some way to each being, occur naturally in the course of thousands of generations (p. 80.), that such variations are reproduced in the offspring, and, if in harmony with external circumstances, may be heightened in still further modified descendants of the species. The transmission and exaggeration of a variety, step by step, in the generative series, essential to the theory of 'natural selection,' implies the fertility of the individuals constituting the several steps of the series of transmutation. But numerous instances, familiar to every zoologist, suggest an objection which seems fatal to the theory, since they show extreme peculiarities of structure and instinct in individuals that cannot transmit them, because they are doomed to perpetual sterility.

The most numerous and important members of the hive, which collect the pollen on their peculiarly expanded thighs, and the honey in their peculiarly valvular crop or 'honey-bag,' and which, in the construction of cells of a shape adapted to contain the greatest possible quantity of honey with least possible consumption of wax, have practically solved a recondite mathematical problem, are the neuters, or females with abortive sexual organs,—'non-breeding females' of our great physiologist Hunter. From the hypothetical protoplastic progenitor of all animal species, what an enormous series of 'slight modifications of 'structure and instinct' must have rolled, snow-ball like, along the articulate line of departure, to have accumulated, according to 'natural selection,' in the *Apis mellifica*, which in the days of Moses exercised as now their structures and instincts in the 'land flowing with milk and honey!'

So also in the family of ants, the neuters or sterile females form, in certain species, two, or even three castes,—soldiers, workers, nurses. In *Cryptocerus* the workers of one caste 'carry 'a wonderful sort of shield on their heads;' in the Mexican genus, *Myrmecocystus*, the workers of one caste are fed by the workers of another caste, and have an enormously expanded ab-

domen where a sort of honey is secreted and stored, which, like domestic cattle, they supply to the rest of the community. Mr. Darwin, with one of his usual happy illustrations, compares the workers of the 'driver ant' (*Anomma*), to a 'set of workmen building a house, of whom many were five feet four inches high, and many sixteen feet high; but we must suppose that the larger workmen had heads four instead of three times as big as those of the smaller men, and jaws nearly five times as big;' in short, the most grotesque and extravagant scene in a pantomime is realised in the industrial community of a West African ant.

Yet all these instances of exaggerated peculiarities of structure and instinct are manifested in individuals which never could have transmitted them.

No zoologist, perhaps, is better acquainted with these fatal exceptions to his principle of the organisation of species by hereditary transmission of variation-characters, than Mr. Darwin. He could not, with any pretension to free and candid discussion, pass over the chief instances which have checked the natural disposition of all zoologists to obtain inductively an intelligible idea of the most mysterious phenomena of their science. But the barrier at which Cuvier hesitated, Mr. Darwin rushes through, and thus he disposes of the difficulty:—

'We have even slight differences in the horns of different breeds of cattle in relation to an artificially imperfect state of the male sex; for oxen of certain breeds have longer horns than in other breeds, in comparison with the horns of the bulls or cows of the same breeds. Hence I can see no real difficulty in any character having become correlated with the sterile condition of certain members of insect-communities: the difficulty lies in understanding how such correlated modifications of structure could have been slowly accumulated by natural selection.

'I have such faith in the powers of selection, that I do not doubt that a breed of cattle, always yielding oxen with extraordinarily long horns, could be slowly formed by carefully watching which individual bulls and cows, when matched, produce oxen with the longest horns; and yet no one ox could ever have propagated its kind. Thus I believe it has been with social insects: a slight modification of structure, or instinct, correlated with the sterile condition of certain members of the community, has been advantageous to the community: consequently the fertile males and females of the same community flourished, and transmitted to their fertile offspring a tendency to produce sterile members having the same modification.' (P. 238.)

It is a notorious and constant fact, that the castrate bovine has longer horns than either the perfect male or female. The progressively elongating result in the case of the oxen, about

which our theorist does not doubt, has not been proved experimentally. It is capable of proof or disproof. In scientific questions of far less import than the origin of animal species, involving our own, small value, if any, is attached to suppositious cases.

It is, doubtless, by no means necessary that we should sow a seed of the very cauliflower we eat in order to get more cauliflowers; seed of other individuals of the same stock will suffice. So the bee-keeper feels satisfied that the progeny of the impregnated young queen will exercise all the wonderful instincts which result in the production of wax and honey, as effectively as the virgin-sisters of the queen-mother, who were destroyed in the preceding winter. And our readers may well wonder what all this has to do with the explanation of the acquisition of the adaptive structures and instincts of neuter bees, by homœopathic doses of Lamarckian transmutation, accumulating through a long series of hereditary transmissions? We cannot reply; we can only quote, with no less amazement, our author: —

'This difficulty, though appearing insuperable, is lessened, or, as I believe, disappears, when it is remembered that selection may be applied to the family, as well as to the individual, and may thus gain the desired end. Thus, a well-flavoured vegetable is cooked, and the individual is destroyed; but the horticulturist sows seed of the same stock, and confidently expects to get nearly the same variety; breeders of cattle wish the flesh and fat to be well marbled together; the animal has been slaughtered, but the breeder goes with confidence to the same family.' (P. 237.)

Now every step in the production of the breed or family of cattle may have been observed and recorded; and many of the incidents of the transmutative journey of the edible variety of cabbage from the wild stock may be similarly known; but this is just the knowledge that we desiderate in regard to the creation of the honey-bee by the way of 'natural selection;' and, instead of satisfying our craving with the mature fruit of inductive research, Mr. Darwin offers us the intellectual husks above quoted, endorsed by his firm belief in their nutritive sufficiency!

To more intelligible propositions in support of his hypothesis, we marginally noted, as we perused them, the difficulties or exceptions which rose in our mind. We have still room for a few of these illustrations of the groundwork of 'natural 'selection.'

'From looking at species as only strongly-marked and well-defined varieties, I was led to anticipate that the species of the larger genera in each country would oftener present varieties, than the species of the smaller genera. To test the truth of this anticipation I have arranged the plants of twelve countries, and the coleopterous insects of two

districts, into two nearly equal masses, the species of the larger genera on one side, and those of the smaller genera on the other side, and it has invariably proved to be the case that a larger proportion of the species on the side of the larger genera present varieties, than on the side of the smaller genera.' (P. 55.)

The elephant is, however, a small genus, indeed one of the smallest in the sense of the number of species composing it, which are indeed but two, the *Elephas Indicus* and *Elephas Africanus* of Cuvier. But the range of variety in both African and Indian kinds is by no means inconsiderable. Livingstone adds instances in the elephants of the Zambesi, and the terms 'Dauntelah,' 'Mooknah,' &c., applied by the Indian and Singhalese entrappers of the wild proboscidians to the different varieties that are captured, still more exemplify this tendency to vary in individuals of a 'small genus.' Another exception to Mr. Darwin's rule as strongly and quickly suggests itself in the genus *Pithecus*. Naturalists seem unwilling to admit more species than the Bornean Pongo (*Pithecus Wurmbii*, seu *Satyrus* of Wurmb), and the smaller orang (*P. morio*), since established by Owen. But the varieties in regard to the cranial crests, to colour, to relative length of arms, appears by a memoir from the pen of the latter naturalist*, to be both numerous and well marked. On the other hand, the species of the antelope genus have not hitherto presented any notable varieties to the observation of naturalists; and yet the genus, in respect to the number of these species, is one of the largest in the mammalian class. There may be, of course, a difference in different classes of organisms in this respect. Plants and invertebrates may better exemplify Mr. Darwin's proposition than fishes, reptiles, or quadrupeds. But an hypothesis applied to all living things can only be sustained by laws and rules of a like generality of application.

Mr. Darwin's argument for a common origin of all the varieties of dovecot pigeon, leads him to affirm, 'all recent experience shows that it is most difficult to get any wild animal to breed freely under domestication.' (P. 24.) But the recent experience at the Zoological Gardens of London tells a different story. Three young individuals, two males and one female, of those most strange exotic quadrupeds, the giraffe, were transported from their African wilderness to the menagerie in Regent's Park in 1836. No sooner had they attained the proper age in 1838 than they bred; and there has been no other interval in the re-

* 'Characters of the skull of the male *Pithecus morio*, with remarks on the varieties of *Pithecus satyrus*,' by Professor Owen. Zoological Transactions, vol. iv. p. 163. 1856.

petition of the act than that which the phenomena of a fifteen months' gestation and seven months' suckling necessarily interpose. 'Nine fawns have been produced without any casualty.'* A pair of the largest and wildest of antelopes (the Eland, *A. Oreas*) is transported from the boundless sunny plains of South Africa to the confinement of a park in cloudy and rainy Lancashire; they breed freely there, and become the parents of elands now widely distributed over Great Britain, and promising in another century to be as common in our parks as fallow deer.† What conditions might seem more adverse to health and procreative power than such as are exemplified by the contrast of the den and the pond appropriated to the hippopotamus in the Jardin des Plantes, with that noble river where these most uncouth of African wild beasts disported themselves prior to their capture? Before two years elapse after the arrival of the young male and female, they produce a fine offspring.

Such are the signs of defective information which contribute, almost at each chapter, to check our confidence in the teachings and advocacy of the hypothesis of 'Natural Selection.' But, as we have before been led to remark, most of Mr. Darwin's statements elude, by their vagueness and incompleteness, the test of Natural History facts. Thus he says: —

'I think it highly probable that our domestic dogs have 'descended from several wild species.' It may be so; but what are the species here referred to? Are they known, or named, or can they be defined? If so, why are they not indicated, so that the naturalist might have some means of judging of the degree of probability, or value of the surmise, and of its bearing on the hypothesis?

'Isolation, also,' says Mr. Darwin, 'is an important element in 'the process of natural selection.' But how can one select if a thing be 'isolated'? Even using the word in the sense of a confined area, Mr. Darwin admits that the conditions of life 'throughout such area, will tend to modify all the individuals of 'a species in the same manner, in relation to the same conditions.' (P. 104.) No evidence, however, is given of a species having ever been created in that way; but granting the hypothetical influence and transmutation, there is no selection here. The author adds, 'Although I do not doubt that isolation is of con-'siderable importance in the production of new species, on the 'whole, I am inclined to believe, that largeness of area is of 'more importance in the production of species capable of spread-'ing widely.' (P. 105.)

* Edinb. Review, January, 1860, p. 179. † Ib., pp. 167–9.

Now, on such a question as the origin of species, and in an express, formal, scientific treatise on the subject, the expression of a belief, where one looks for a demonstration, is simply provoking. We are not concerned in the author's beliefs or inclinations to believe. Belief is a state of mind short of actual knowledge. It is a state which may govern action, when based upon a tacit admission of the mind's incompetency to prove a proposition, coupled with submissive acceptance of an authoritative dogma, or worship of a favourite idol of the mind. We readily concede, and it needs, indeed, no ghost to reveal the fact, that the wider the area in which a species may be produced, the more widely it will spread. But we fail to discern its import in respect of the great question at issue.

We have read and studied with care most of the monographs conveying the results of close investigations of particular groups of animals, but have not found, what Darwin asserts to be the fact, at least as regards all those investigators of particular groups of animals and plants whose treatises he has read, viz., that their authors 'are one and all firmly convinced that each of 'the well-marked forms or species was at the first independently 'created.' Our experience has been that the monographers referred to have rarely committed themselves to any conjectural hypothesis whatever, upon the origin of the species which they have closely studied.

Darwin appeals from the 'experienced naturalists whose 'minds are stocked with a multitude of facts' which he assumes to have been 'viewed from a point of view opposite to his own,' to the 'few naturalists endowed with much flexibility of mind,' for a favourable reception of his hypothesis. We must confess that the minds to whose conclusions we incline to bow belong to that truth-loving, truth-seeking, truth-imparting class, which Robert Brown*, Bojanus †, Rudolphi, Cuvier ‡, Ehrenberg §, Herold‖, Kölliker ¶, and Siebold, worthily exemplify. The rightly and sagaciously generalising intellect is associated with the power of endurance of continuous and laborious research, exemplarily manifested in such monographs as we have quoted below. Their authors are the men who trouble the intellectual world little with their beliefs, but enrich

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* Prodromus Floræ Novæ Hollandiæ.
† Anatome Testudinis Europææ.
‡ Mémoires pour servir à l'Anatomie des Mollusques.
§ Die Infusionsthierchen, als vollkommene Organismen.
‖ Disquisitiones de Animalium vertebris carentium, &c.
¶ Entwickelungsgeschichte des Cephalopoden.

it greatly with their proofs. If close and long-continued research, sustained by the determination to get accurate results, blunted, as Mr. Darwin seems to imply, the far-seeing discovering faculty, then are we driven to this paradox, viz., that the elucidation of the higher problems, nay the highest, in Biology, is to be sought for or expected in the lucubrations of those naturalists whose minds are not weighted or troubled with more than a discursive and superficial knowledge of nature.

Lasting and fruitful conclusions have, indeed, hitherto been based only on the possession of knowledge; now we are called upon to accept an hypothesis on the plea of want of knowledge. The geological record, it is averred, is so imperfect! But what human record is not? Especially must the record of past organisms be much less perfect than of present ones. We freely admit it. But when Mr. Darwin, in reference to the absence of the intermediate fossil forms required by his hypothesis — and only the zootomical zoologist can approximatively appreciate their immense numbers — the countless hosts of transitional links which, on 'natural selection,' must certainly have existed at one period or another of the world's history — when Mr. Darwin exclaims what may be, or what may not be, the forms yet forthcoming out of the graveyards of strata, we would reply, that our only ground for prophesying of what may come, is by the analogy of what has come to light. We may expect, e. g., a chambered-shell from a secondary rock; but not the evidence of a creature linking on the cuttle-fish to the lump-fish.

Mr. Darwin asks, 'How is it that varieties, which I have 'called incipient species, become ultimately good and distinct 'species?' To which we rejoin with the question:—Do they become good and distinct species? Is there any one instance proved by observed facts of such transmutation? We have searched the volume in vain for such. When we see the intervals that divide most species from their nearest congeners, in the recent and especially the fossil series, we either doubt the fact of progressive conversion, or, as Mr. Darwin remarks in his letter to Dr. Asa Gray *, one's 'imagination must fill up very wide 'blanks.'

The last ichthyosaurus, by which the genus disappears in the chalk, is hardly distinguishable specifically from the first ichthyosaurus, which abruptly introduces that strange form of sea-lizard in the lias. The oldest Pterodactyle is as thorough and complete a one as the latest. No contrast can be more remarkable,

* Proceedings of the Linnæan Society, 1858, p. 61.

nor, we believe, more instructive, than the abundance of evidence of the various species of ichthyosaurus throughout the marine strata of the oolitic and cretaceous periods, and the utter blank in reference to any form calculated to enlighten us as to whence the ichthyosaurus came, or what it graduated into, before or after those periods. The Enaliosauria of the secondary seas were superseded by the Cetacea of the tertiary ones.

Professor Agassiz affirms:—

'Between two successive geological periods, changes have taken place among plants and animals. But none of those primordial forms of life which naturalists call species, are known to have changed during any of these periods. It cannot be denied that the species of different successive periods are supposed by some naturalists to derive their distinguishing features from changes which have taken place in those of preceding ages, but this is a mere supposition, supported neither by physiological nor by geological evidence; and the assumption that animals and plants may change in a similar manner during one and the same period is equally gratuitous.'*

Cuvier adduced the evidence of the birds and beasts which had been preserved in the tombs of Egypt, to prove that no change in their specific characters had taken place during the thousands of years—two, three, or five—which had elapsed, according to the monumental evidence, since the individuals of those species were the subjects of the mummifier's skill.

Professor Agassiz adduces evidence to show that there are animals of species now living which have been for a much longer period inhabitants of our globe.

'It has been possible,' he writes, 'to trace the formation and growth of our coral reefs, especially in Florida, with sufficient precision to ascertain that it must take about eight thousand years for one of those coral walls to rise from its foundation to the level of the surface of the ocean. There are around the southernmost extremity of Florida alone, four such reefs, concentric with one another, which can be shown to have grown up one after the other. This gives for the beginning of the first of these reefs an age of over thirty thousand years; and yet the corals by which they were all built up are the same identical species in all of them. These facts, then, furnish as direct evidence as we can obtain in any branch of physical inquiry, that some, at least, of the species of animals now existing, have been in existence over thirty thousand years, and have not undergone the slightest change during the whole of that period.' †

To this, of course, the transmutationists reply that a still

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* Contributions to Natural History: Essay on Classification, p. 51.

† Ibid., p. 53.

longer period of time might do what thirty thousand years have not done.

Professor Baden Powell, for example, affirms :—'Though each 'species may have possessed its peculiarities unchanged for a 'lapse of time, the fact that when long periods are considered, all 'those of our earlier period are replaced by new ones at a later 'period, proves that species change in the end, provided a suffi-'ciently long time is granted.' But here lies the fallacy: it merely proves that species are changed, it gives us no evidence as to the mode of change; transmutation, gradual or abrupt, is in this case mere assumption. We have no objection on any score to the change; we have the greatest desire to know how it is brought about. Owen has long stated his belief that some pre-ordained law or secondary cause is operative in bringing about the change; but our knowledge of such law, if such exists, can only be acquired on the prescribed terms. We, therefore, regard the painstaking and minute comparisons by Cuvier of the osteological and every other character that could be tested in the mummified ibis, cat, or crocodile, with those of the species living in his time; and the equally philosophical investigations of the polypes operating at an interval of 30,000 years in the building up of coral reefs, by the profound palæontologist of Neuchatel, as of far higher value in reference to the inductive determination of the question of the origin of species than the speculations of Demaillet, Buffon, Lamarck, 'Vestiges,' Baden Powell, or Darwin.

The essential element in the complex idea of species, as it has been variously framed and defined by naturalists, viz., the blood-relationship between all the individuals of such species, is annihilated on the hypothesis of 'natural selection.' According to this view a genus, a family, an order, a class, a sub-kingdom,—the individuals severally representing these grades of difference or relationship, — now differ from individuals of the same species only in degree: the species, like every other group, is a mere creature of the brain; it is no longer from nature. With the present evidence from form, structure, and procreative phenomena, of the truth of the opposite proposition, that 'classifica-'tion is the task of science, but species the work of nature,' we believe that this aphorism will endure; we are certain that it has not yet been refuted; and we repeat in the words of Linnæus, '*Classis et Ordo* est sapientiæ, *Species* naturæ opus.'

ART. IX.—1. *La Suisse dans la Question de Savoie.* Lausanne: 1860.

2. *Mémoire sur les Rapports entre la Suisse et la Savoie neutralisée.* Berne: 1859.

THE events which have occurred during the past year in Northern and Central Italy are of a nature to produce not only varied, but conflicting, impressions on the minds of Englishmen. If the opinion we form of them rested entirely on their present and apparent results, there is much to rejoice at, and little to regret, in the consequences of a war which was begun and terminated without our participation and without our approval. We have seen with general satisfaction that Austria has relinquished her hold on a province in which her authority rested entirely on military force, in constant opposition to the feelings of her subjects. No one in this country, any more than in Italy, can regret that the sovereignty of the collateral branches of the House of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and its own reversionary interests in Central Italy, have lapsed by the desertion and evasion of those Princes whose whole art of government seemed to consist in absolute dependence on their northern ally, and who justly perished in her defeat. With still greater pleasure we have viewed the liberation of the Æmilian provinces from the bondage of sacerdotal despotism; and the restoration of the inhabitants of the Romagna to that civil independence which no people in Europe is better able to exercise and to enjoy. But above all these local triumphs we hail with the highest gratification the moderation, the conduct, and the union shown by the Italians themselves during a protracted period of uncertainty, which might at any moment have degenerated into anarchy. Rulers such as Farini and Ricasoli have shown that they are capable of guiding the destinies of a liberated people; and the people of Central Italy have shown that they are willing, obedient, and loyal subjects to governments which deserve their confidence. The principle proclaimed throughout this momentous crisis by the British Government—that all the Italians require is to be left to settle their own affairs—has been eminently successful, wherever it has been fairly applied: and the people of Italy have not only refuted the predictions of their enemies, but surpassed the hopes of their friends. Thus far the outward aspect of affairs is extremely satisfactory and promising; nor has Italy anything left to desire

but that she may be able to pursue the course she has herself adopted.

If this were the end, and if this end were certainly attainable, we should content ourselves with repeating the hope which has been expressed by Lord John Russell on behalf of this country, that the affairs of Italy may speedily settle down on this basis, and that the pacification of the Peninsula may be completed under the ægis of the constitutional monarchy of Victor Emmanuel. But upon a closer inspection it must be confessed that these promising results have not reached that point of maturity at which we can rely with entire confidence on their ultimate success; they have not yet received the sanction of international law, by the recognition of the other Powers of Europe; they have been frequently thwarted, and are still affected, by that foreign interference which continues to make itself felt in Italian affairs; and there is an under-current of policy, occult in its designs and variable in its direction, which has more than once threatened to bring about results widely remote from the plain and practical objects of Italian policy.

It is not our intention on the present occasion to offer any remarks upon the purely Italian questions which have not yet received a final determination. We are content to leave them, as we hope they will be left by the great Powers of Europe, to the decision of those who are directly concerned; and provided due freedom and independence be conceded to the Italians, we are persuaded that the precise mode in which these questions may be settled is a matter of comparative indifference to the rest of Europe. Our object is, on the contrary, to confine these observations to a subject of less moment to the Italians than many of those which now engross that people; but of far more direct importance to the public law of Europe, to the Great Powers by which that public law is established and maintained, and more especially to Switzerland, whose neutrality and independence those Great Powers are solemnly pledged to protect. We propose, in short, briefly to discuss the effect of the annexation of Savoy to France on the Helvetic Confederation; and to show, partly from the history of the past and partly from the existing engagements of Europe, that this question, though small in itself, is one of the most essential importance. The affairs of Italy may, from the semi-isolated geographical position of the country, be settled in one way or in another without any sensible effect on the public interests of other nations; but when we cross the Alps and enter upon those disputed territories which have been for ages the subject

of international compacts, because they are, so to speak, the wedges which support the whole international structure, we cannot avoid dealing with principles of universal application. On this ground we do not hesitate to assert that the annexation of Savoy and Nice by France, more especially with reference to the independence and neutrality of Switzerland, is the most serious attempt yet made to wrest the fundamental Treaties of Europe from their true intention, and to substitute the political convenience of two Powers to the general interests and engagements of all. Cracow indeed was a disastrous precedent, and we did not fail to point out its evil consequences in these pages: but it cannot be contended that the principle involved in that transaction was comparable in importance to the neutrality of Switzerland and the independence of Savoy and Nice.

In spite of the repeated and positive declarations of the French Government that no treaty existed between the Emperor and the King of Sardinia previous to the war, and in spite of the no less emphatic disclaimer of M. de Cavour on the part of his Royal Master of any intention 'to cede or 'exchange' any portion of his ancestral dominions to France*, it is now acknowledged that these assurances did not convey the exact truth but rather the reverse of it. On the side of France we may venture to assume, from her own more recent avowals, that in the event of a considerable addition to the territories of the King of Sardinia, she had stipulated for the cession of Savoy and Nice; on the side of the King it is evident that M. de Cavour had not scrupled to purchase the support of France at this price. We believe that the understanding which commenced during M. de Cavour's visit to Plombières in the autumn of 1858 was reduced to a more precise form in January, 1859, when General Niel visited Turin under pretence of inspecting the fortifications of Alexandria. General Niel was the agent employed by the Emperor for the purpose of conducting the more secret part of this negotiation. It was not communicated at the time either to Count Walewski, the French Minister of

* M. de Cavour's official declaration of the 3rd of March was in the following words: 'Le gouvernement de S. M. ne consentirait 'jamais, même en vue de plus grands avantages, à céder ou échanger 'aucune des parties du territoire qui forme depuis tant de siècles 'l'appanage glorieuse de la Maison de Savoie.' On the 20th of March the Savoyard delegates were admitted to tender their allegiance at the Tuileries, and on the 24th March the Treaty of Cession was signed at Turin. Throughout the whole course of this transaction, we regret to say, that it would be easy to point out several inconsistencies equally flagrant and equally dishonourable.

Foreign Affairs, or to Count Villamarina, the Piedmontese Envoy in Paris. If we are correctly informed, it was in fact made known to no one in France, except M. Piétri, a confidential Corsican adherent of the Emperor, then Préfet de Police. The marriage of Prince Napoleon to the Princess Clotilde was the ostensible object of the negotiations; the secret object and stipulation was that Savoy and Nice should be surrendered to France when the provinces of Lombardy and Venetia were annexed, by the military assistance of France, to Piedmont. The abrupt termination of the war at Villafranca left one of the main provisions of the compact unfulfilled; and hence several apparent differences have from time to time arisen between the contracting parties as to the extent of their engagements and the mode of carrying them into effect. Indeed there is reason to believe that at certain times in the interval of six months after the termination of the war the scheme was temporarily abandoned; and that the solemn assurance to that effect which was given by Count Walewski to the British Ambassador on the 8th July was not at that moment without foundation. But subsequent events have unhappily revived the dormant intention; and though the execution of it was postponed, it was because the conditions of the original agreement had been altered by the force of events. It may, indeed, be urged that of the existence of such a compact no positive proof can be produced. We admit it; and this passage of history still rests upon something short of demonstration. But on the other hand, it is confirmed by the best of all proofs, the exact conformity of the course of events to this supposition and belief, though it can hardly be explained by any other. If our information be correct, M. de Cavour took the precaution, before he embarked in this adventurous course of policy, to obtain the sign-manual of the Emperor to the engagements subsisting with the Court of Turin. This direct personal engagement was given at a time when Louis Napoleon had still on his lips assurances of peace, and some weeks before he induced Lord Cowley to proceed to Vienna on a mission of peace.

The party which has now governed the Sardinian monarchy for ten years, has uniformly adopted the cause of Italy as its chief policy, and the Italian advisers of Victor Emmanuel, several of whom were not even Piedmontese, felt no disinclination to get rid of Savoy. On the other hand, the Savoyard Deputies formed a compact minority in the Chambers, whose opposition to the policy of the Cabinet was frequently inconvenient. Savoy, as we took occasion to remark twelve months ago, was decidedly adverse to the war with Austria,

knowing that her best blood would again be shed in a cause not her own, and foreseeing that the province itself would probably be handed over to France after the war, as the price of Italian conquests. We have therefore to deal with a state of things which has never occurred before. In former times, the authority of treaties was loudly invoked by the Crown of Sardinia to preserve, or to recover, its ancient possessions. But the Crown of Sardinia is now (in spite of M. de Cavour's pathetic language) not only a party to the bargain, but the party most eager to secure by this bargain, a wider realm and a more united power in Italy. The Court of Turin is happy to think that by the sacrifice of a few rough mountaineers, it may hope to purchase the consent of France to further annexations. The Savoyards become the citizens of a State infinitely more powerful, and more nearly allied in blood and language to themselves, and the loss of their constitutional rights does not seem to cost them a pang. The tie which has connected them with Italy has never been anything but a source of hardships and sacrifices to them. As between the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia, we confess that we think the importance of the surrender of Savoy has been somewhat overrated. It may be a blot in the escutcheon of the House of Savoy, to abandon the cradle of its race; it certainly is another step towards the establishment of French ascendancy in Northern Italy, to bring France to the Mont Cenis; and it deprives the Piedmontese army of its backbone, the noble brigade of Savoy. But the King of Sardinia was making a bargain; he hoped to obtain considerable territorial acquisitions in Italy; he has obtained more in some respects, though less in others, than France had allowed him to hope for; and in the exercise of his own discretion, he appears to have consented to exchange a poor and mountainous district for a rich and populous one. It is possible, that like the dog in the fable, he is bent on sacrificing a reality for a shadow, or at least an undoubted right for a more precarious tenure: but had the transaction been fairly and openly avowed, we know not who would have either the power or the right to prevent such an arrangement between two contiguous States, *as long as it concerned their own interest only.* The position recently assumed by Sardinia, in strict alliance with, and dependence on, France, has, of course, effectually destroyed the principle of making her a barrier against French aggression in Italy. The radical objection which we entertained against the war and the alliance of last year, was its obvious tendency to convert the Sardinian monarchy into a dependency of France, an evil of far greater magnitude than the cession of a province. The

Italian campaign and the intervention of French armies in Italy was the fertile germ of all that may yet arise out of it, not to Italy alone, but to Europe.

But if this cession was legitimate, why this secrecy, this mystery, these denials, these equivocations? The answer brings us to the root of the question, namely, the interest which Switzerland, and through Switzerland, the rest of Europe, have in the matter. Nobody can doubt that the neutrality of Switzerland was, and is, one of the wisest and most essential conditions established in 1815 for the preservation of peace, and for the protection of each of the limitrophic States. Nobody can doubt, who will examine a map, that the maintenance of Savoy in the hands of a minor Power, and the strict observance of those conditions of neutrality which were extended by several treaties and by the most solemn engagements to the northern districts of Savoy, are essential conditions of the neutrality and inviolability of the Swiss territory. To make these propositions perfectly distinct and intelligible, is the sole object we have now in view.

These questions are not new: on the contrary, they are identically the same questions which have arisen, and been determined by force of arms or by diplomatic engagements, from the reign of Francis I. to the reign of Napoleon. For the last three centuries France has been continually pressing upon Savoy for the acquisition of these provinces. She has repeatedly had the whole country, and something more, in her possession; and when the Emperor of the French talks of 'claiming back' these portions of territory, he means that his demands are the same which have been urged, but urged without permanent success, by Francis I., by Henry III., by Henry IV., by Louis XIV., and by the French Republic of 1792.

A great sculptor, himself a Piedmontese subject, but who does honour to this country by residing in it, has represented, in his master-piece at Turin, the Duke Emmanuel Philibert sheathing his sword after the battle of St. Quentin and the peace of Cateau-Cambrésis; for in both those important events the ruler of Savoy had shown the same spirit and skill which he afterwards devoted to the peaceful government of his own subjects. But when Emmanuel Philibert returned to his dominions in 1559, they had suffered by a prolonged foreign occupation of nearly half a century; and although he married Marguerite de Valois, a daughter of Francis I., the French still retained Turin, Chivasso, Chieri, and Asti, and it was not till after the birth of an heir in 1562, that even these places were restored to the House of Savoy. Great was the outcry throughout

France in those days at the evacuation of the fastnesses which were the keys of Northern Italy, and Brantôme, who relates the transaction, adds in terms not inapplicable to the present state of affairs, 'De grands à grands il n'y a que la main, mais 'non pas de grands à petits; c'est aux grands de faire les parts, 'c'est aux petits de se contenter de celles que veut bien lui as-'signer le plus fort, et celui-ci n'est tenu de se régler que par 'son droit de convenance.' On this principle, at the very time that Turin was evacuated, Pignerol still remained in the hands of France; and the Marquisate of Saluces, which opened the whole country to the French armies, was formally annexed to that kingdom. The first care of Emmanuel Philibert was to fortify Nice, where his youth had been spent, and where he had ever found the most faithful and generous loyalty to his person: his second step was to conclude a closer alliance with the Swiss Cantons, and to establish that identity of interest between them and Savoy, which has ever been the pledge of their common safety. By his treaty with Berne, signed at Lausanne on the 30th October, 1564, he ceded to Switzerland the right bank of the Lake Leman, including the district which now forms the flourishing Canton de Vaud, and he resumed possession of the territories on the left bank of the Lake, the Chablais, and also the Pays de Gex, which had been mortgaged to Berne during the war. It was by this treaty, relied on in the protest of the Helvetic Confederation at the present time, that the Duke of Savoy engaged not to cede at any future period the districts on the left bank of the Lake to any other Power. Berne, on her part, entered into a reciprocal engagement not to surrender the Pays de Vaud to any Power but that from which she had obtained it.

The text of the Treaty is not to be found in any of the published collections, but the town of Morges possessed a copy in the original German, and a French certified translation exists in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris, in a folio volume, entitled '*Traités et alliances entre les Rois de France et les 'Suisses.*' (No. 6654, H. G.) From this repository it was extracted and published in 1805, by Henri Monod, in his Memoirs (vol. ii. p. 169.). The relevancy of this Treaty (which is now disputed by the French Government) is proved by the fact that in 1797, it was made the ground of the armed intervention of the French Directory in Switzerland. M. Thiers expressly says in his History of the Revolution (vol. ix. p. 392.), 'Ce traité avait *été plusieurs fois invoqué et executé par la 'France*,' as one of the guaranteeing Powers. The 14th article of the Treaty is in the following words:—'En quator-

'zième est arrêté que nulle des dites parties fera cession ou 'transport des villes, forteresses, terres, à elle présentement 'attribuées à aucun prince, seigneur, ville et pays ni commu- 'nautés quelconques, soit à titre d'achat, permutation, ou en 'autre sorte et manière, et ce afin que d'un côté et d'autre *ils* '*soient et demeurent déchargés d'incommodité de voisinage étranger* '*et moleste.*' This engagement was solemnly ratified by Duke Emmanuel Philibert, 'en parole *d'équité et honneur de Prince*,' for himself and his successors, promising and assuring to keep this Treaty with all its contents, firm and inviolable, and not to allow anything to be done against it for ever. It was confirmed and acknowledged by the Treaty of Turin in 1816; yet this is the engagement which has now been shamelessly violated by one of the principal parties to it, and its very existence is contested by the Power which guaranteed it!

The part taken by Charles Emmanuel, the son and successor of the great Duke of Savoy, in the wars of the League, again placed him in hostilities with his Calvinistic neighbours, and the country between the Fier and the Arve, which is the most essential portion of the territory neutralised in 1815, became the scene of war. Henry IV. of France nobly defended Geneva, and when peace was re-established by the peace of Vervins in 1598, and by that of Lyons in 1601, the Marquisate of Saluces (which had been submitted to the arbitration of the Pope) was restored to the House of Savoy, but the whole country of Bresse, the citadel of Bourg, the Pays de Gex, on both banks of the Rhone from Geneva to St. Genix, were ceded and annexed to France, which holds the greater part of those districts by that title to this day. It was at about the same time that the last armed attempt of the Savoyards on the independence of Geneva, by nocturnal escalade, was ignominiously defeated, by an act of heroism precisely similar to that which discomfited Cuddie Headrigg in his assault on the nether chambers of the tower of Tillietudlem; and the peace signed at the village of St. Julien on the 21st July, 1603, has since continued to regulate the peaceful relations of the little State of Geneva with the Dukes of Savoy.

We pass over in silence the wars of the seventeenth century and the romantic career of Prince Thomas of Savoy, who found himself, after the manner of his House, alternately tossed from one side to the other, in the incessant conflicts of Austria, Spain, and France. But an incident occurred early in the last century which throws considerable light on the principles which have long been recognised on this question. In the course of the War of Succession, Victor Amadeus, the reigning Duke of

Savoy, allied himself to Austria, and Louis XIV., exasperated at the desertion of his cause by a Prince so nearly connected with his own grandsons, proceeded to the last extremities against the dominions, the troops, and even the person of his enemy. Marshal Vendôme was ordered to occupy Savoy, the Piedmontese forces were surrounded and disarmed by the French army at Mantua, and an attempt was made to seize the Duke himself at Turin. Placed in a position of extreme peril, Victor Amadeus threw himself on the protection of his neighbours and natural allies the Swiss Cantons, who had the same interest as himself in preventing the northern passes of the Alps from falling into the hands of the King of France. A negotiation for this purpose was opened, in 1703, by Count de Mélarede, the Piedmontese envoy at Berne; it was conducted with the greatest vigour and ability; and an attempt was made to induce the Swiss to concur with Savoy in establishing a neutral and inviolable boundary to the aggressions of France. The Cantons inclined to adopt the scheme of neutralisation. The Deputies of Berne and Zurich declared to the Duke de la Feuillade, the French commander in Savoy, and to M. de Puisieux, the ambassador of Louis at Soleure, that—

'After their glorious ancestors had won by force of arms the freedom of their country, they established, by the wisdom of their councils and the light of their foresight, maxims to preserve that precious gift to their latest posterity. Amongst these maxims, the most fundamental consists in the determination to have different sovereigns for their neighbours, and never to permit the country adjacent to their own territory, which is its barrier, to fall under the yoke of a single Power. For this purpose, therefore, provision has been made in all the treaties concluded with kings and princes, by formal reserves, empowering the Cantons to give succour to such countries, without violating their public obligations. These maxims we hold to be sacred and inviolable, and not to be set aside without failing in our duty to God, to our country, to our own honour, and to posterity. As, therefore, they look upon Savoy as a barrier, and as provision was made in the treaty of perpetual peace with King Francis I. of glorious memory, for the maintenance of it, it is not wonderful that the Cantons do now take up the engagements of their forefathers.'

These remonstrances having produced no immediate effect, the Cantons were incited to further resistance by the eloquence and energy of Mélarede, the Piedmontese minister.*

* The whole correspondence is to be found in the third volume of Lamberty's 'Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire du XVIIIme Siècle' p. 162.

'I shall not repeat to you,' said he, in his despatch to the Cantons of the 3rd December, 1703, 'the reasons which ought to induce you to take due measures to prevent France from surrounding you on every side. You perceive more clearly than I can tell you that your safety depends on it altogether. The designs of that Power are sufficiently manifest. She has just thrown aside the mask and shown you of how little account to her are your remonstrances and your claims. She has advanced her troops into the district of Chablais, of Genevois, and a part of Faucigny, as it were to brave your own deputies who are on the spot, and at the very time when the powerful reasons were urged which lead the Helvetic League to desire that its frontiers may be spared, and that Savoy be preserved in complete neutrality; so that it would seem as if the remonstrances of the Helvetic Body, far from producing the results anticipated from them, have only accelerated the invasion of Savoy, in order that you may be surrounded before you have time to be aware of it. But I have had the satisfaction to see this powerful League unanimously agree that the preservation of Savoy is indispensable to the preservation of its own frontiers, and repeat this principle, not once, but twice, successively to the ambassador of France, in terms of increasing vigour; and I have admired the agreement of the laudable Cantons in resolutions so worthy of the valour and constancy of Switzerland.'

This language, so fit for that emergency, and so appropriate to the present time, produced its effect. The Swiss declared that, nothing daunted by the threats of the King of France, they should instantly join their forces to those of Savoy, if they had not a positive assurance that at the general peace the Duchy should not be annexed to France. On the 23rd May, 1704, M. de Puisieux gave them that assurance in the King's name; and thus the long-cherished design for the retention of the province was once more defeated.

At the Peace of Utrecht the Court of Savoy renewed the proposal to entrust the defence of its provinces beyond the Alps to the Swiss Cantons, with a view to the protection of the country from the encroachments of France; but all the Duke of Savoy obtained by the eighth article of that Treaty, was the right to rebuild his dismantled fortresses.

These incidents and negotiations show, we think, in a very remarkable manner, when and where the idea of neutralizing a portion of the dominions of Savoy, partly for the defence of that country, and partly for the protection of the neutrality of Switzerland, took its origin; and this principle was, as we shall presently see, formally incorporated in the public law of Europe by the Treaties of 1815. To complete this rapid historical survey, it only remains to be added that the seizure of Savoy and Nice by General Montesquiou in 1792, without a previous declaration of war, was one of the first outrages and aggressions

of the French Republic. These territories were summarily converted into three Departments,— that of Mont Blanc, that of Leman, and that of the Maritime Alps; to which in due course of time were added the Departments of the Stura, the Dora, and the Po.

Such was the state of affairs with which Europe had to deal, first at the Peace of Paris, subsequently at Vienna, and finally at the second Peace of Paris, in November, 1815.

The first Treaty of Paris, signed on the 30th of May, 1814, made a partition of the Duchy of Savoy. Chambéry and Annecy still formed part of the department of Mont Blanc under a Royal ordinance of the time. Montmélian and the rest of the Duchy were restored to the King of Sardinia, subject to some minute concessions of territory on the side of Geneva. But we are now arrived at a point in this narrative at which we can borrow the language of the official pamphlets we have placed at the head of these observations: —

'One of the first objects of the Allied Powers in 1814, was to secure to Switzerland a strong natural frontier, capable of defence even against superior forces, and thus to make it a neutral land in the midst of conflicting armies; a natural fortress covering the approaches to France, Germany, and Italy; an asylum for the vanquished of every party; and a country devoted to peace, to industry, and to the culture of the sciences and of letters. An intention was at one moment entertained at the first congress of Paris, of extending its frontiers so as to include the whole valley of the Lucerne, from the Alps to the Jura, by the annexation of the districts of Chablais, Faucigny, and Gex. This design, however, was combated by the Sardinian ministers, and coldly received by the Swiss themselves. The chief promoters of it were to be found in the former French department of the Lucerne, comprising these very districts, and they appealed to Count Bubna, then governor of Savoy, in the following terms: "Every time that a war breaks out between France and "Austria, our country becomes the theatre of hostilities. In the last "century, the French, the Germans, and the Spaniards occupied "Savoy for thirty-seven years; in the preceding century for fifty "years; in the sixteenth century for sixty years. How is it pos-"sible then, that we should not desire a happier fate and a more "peaceful existence, especially if we are to be cut off from Geneva, "our natural market? It has, therefore, long been our desire to "form a canton of Switzerland. We expressed that desire at the "congress of Westphalia. We renewed it in 1713; and if King "Victor Amadeus II. had consented, France and Austria would then "have sanctioned the arrangement. We revived it at the congress "of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748, but King Charles Emmanuel demanded "in exchange a larger share of the Milanese. We are still, therefore, "contending for the same principle, which would raise an impassable "barrier between France and Italy."'

These remonstrances were defeated by the address of M. de Talleyrand, and the partition of the Duchy was temporarily adopted. Subsequently the question was revived at Vienna, and an expedient was devised by the Swiss Envoy, M. Pictet de Rochemont, and the Sardinian Plenipotentiary, M. de St. Marsan.

'The valley of the Rhone had acquired, since the passage of the St. Bernard by Buonaparte and the construction of the Simplon road, a high military importance. Three interests were involved in it: that of Europe, that of the House of Savoy, and that of the Swiss Confederation. Europe sought to close an important military passage: the court of Turin to protect an exposed province. And the importance of the territory between Geneva and the Valais to the neutrality of Switzerland, required no demonstration.

'These considerations gave rise, for the first time, to the plan for incorporating this portion of Savoy in the neutrality of Switzerland. It was obvious that in the event of war Sardinia could not defend the left shore of the lake of Geneva; hence it was deemed expedient to confide to Switzerland the defence of the Chablais and the Faucigny, which gave to Switzerland itself a line of defence extending from the Col du Bonhomme to the Rhone, along the chain of the Vuache mountains and the stream of Usses, not exceeding twenty leagues in length and extremely favourable to defensive warfare.'

This arrangement enabled Switzerland to provide effectually for the defence of the Canton of the Valais, by occupying the defile of Meillerie on the southern shore of the Lake of Geneva, the Valley of Chamouni, and the approaches to the valley of the Rhone — spots already familiar to a very large number of our English readers, for they are the most picturesque and frequented portions of the Alps of Savoy. The territory in question is that which lies between the left or southern shore of the Lake of Geneva, and the highest peaks of the range of Mont Blanc visible from the lake. As this region separates the frontier of the Valais from the little territory of Geneva, the possession of it by any military Power would afford the greatest facility for taking in flank both these Cantons: it therefore commands the approach to the Simplon road; and by the occupation of the southern shore of the lake it might place a flotilla upon those inland waters capable of commanding the whole coast of the Pays de Vaud.* The neutralisation of the Chablais and the Faucigny and the eventual occupation of these districts by Switzerland in case of war avoids all these perils.

* By the Treaty of 1564 the frontier between the Cantons and the Duchy of Savoy passed down the middle of the Lake. If this be so now, the cession would give nearly half the Lake to France!

The eastern frontier of this region is covered by the Valais; the southern by the chain of Mont Blanc. There are but three passes in the whole chain extending from Mont Blanc to the Bauges, which are the Alps above Montméliant. One of these passes is the Col du Bonhomme, a severe pass accessible for only three or four months in the year; another is the track from Ugine or Mégève, passable for mules, and accessible for artillery on the side of Savoy, but not on the side of France. The third is a pass crossing the Bauges to Léchéraine by the Chatelard. From the termination of the Bauges the river Chéran flows to join the Fier and the Rhone, and this is the only portion of the line of defence of the neutralised districts which Nature herself has not rendered impregnable. Here then is a natural fortress which covers the south-western cantons of Switzerland and the Lake of Geneva, commands and closes two of the great military roads in the Alps, and presents a neutral barrier to the aggression of any Power.

M. Thouvenel has asserted in one of his recent despatches, with astonishing recklessness of statement, that the Peace of 1815 left these passes in the hands of Savoy to be kept open against France. The exact reverse is the fact, because in the event of war they were *not* left in the hands of Savoy but of Switzerland. In neutralising these districts they were just as much a bulwark and a barrier for the defence of France as for the defence of the adjacent States; the very essence of the contract is that they should be equally respected on both sides. On the other hand, the incorporation in the French Empire of these districts and their important strategical position makes a breach in the whole system on which the defence of the neutrality of Switzerland has been placed by the military Staff of the Confederation — the head of which happens to be General Dufour, one of the oldest and most faithful friends of the Emperor Napoleon III. The return which his Majesty has made for the lesson he received at the Federal Camp of Thun is not a generous one, and he has certainly forgotten that the Emperor of the French was once a Swiss citizen, protected by the independence of his adopted country.

These are the military and political considerations which induced the Congress of Vienna to adopt the following article in its final Act (XCII.):—

'The provinces of Chablais and Faucigny, and the whole of the territory of Savoy to the north of Ugine, belonging to His Majesty the King of Sardinia, shall form a part of the neutrality of Switzerland, as it is recognised and guaranteed by the Powers. Whenever,

therefore, the neighbouring Powers to Switzerland are in a state of open or impending hostility, the troops of His Majesty the King of Sardinia which may be in those provinces shall retire, and may for that purpose pass through the Valais if necessary. No other troops of any other Power shall have the privilege of passing through or remaining in the said territories and provinces, excepting those which the Swiss Confederation shall think proper to place there.'

It deserves remark, that at the time this article was signed the Kingdom of France was still in possession of the western portion of the Duchy of Savoy, which it lost by the Treaty of Paris, of the 20th November, 1815. By this second Treaty, signed after the Hundred Days, it was determined that 'from the frontier of the Canton of Geneva to the Mediter-'ranean, the line of demarcation should be that, which, in 1790, 'separated France from Savoy and the country of Nice.' (Art. I. sect. 4.) By the 3rd article of the same Treaty, which is still in force,

'The neutrality of Switzerland is extended to the territory situated on the north of a line to be drawn from Ugine, including that town, to the south of the Lake of Annecy, by Faverge to Léchéraine, and thence from the Lake of Bourget to the Rhone, in the same manner as it was extended to the provinces of Chablais and Faucigny by the ninety-second article of the final Act of the Congress of Vienna.'

The memoir of the Swiss Government on the question puts us in possession of some topographical details which are necessary to complete our view of the case. The whole population of the three neutralised districts of Savoy, the Chablais, the Faucigny, and the Genevois, is 270,000; their united area, 227 square leagues. The Maurienne, the Tarentaise, and Upper Savoy, have 245,000 souls and 285 square leagues. The neutralised region contains, therefore, rather more than half the population and rather less than half the surface of the country. The frontier of the neutralised district is contiguous for 34 leagues to Switzerland, for 28 leagues to the other dominions of the Sardinian crown, for only 16 leagues to the French territory. The streams and rivers of the northern portion, such as the Dranse and the Arve, fall into the Lake of Geneva or the Rhone, near Geneva; and the habits of the population follow the course of the rivers. Thus all the fertile region lying between the Dranse and the Arve, with a population of 160,000 souls, belongs topographically to the valley of the Leman, and has its true capital in the city of Geneva. The free navigation of the lake places them in constant and easy communication with the adjoining Swiss cantons. Ten thousand Savoyards of this province actually find employment in Geneva, and are con-

nected with Switzerland by the closest domestic and commercial ties. The portion of the country beyond the Arve connects itself more naturally with Annecy and Chambéry. Nothing can be more unfounded than the pretended reluctance of the Emperor to 'dismember' Savoy, at the very moment when he is actually 'dismembering' the dominions of the Sardinian crown. France has been dismembering Savoy for two or three centuries: she has taken La Bresse, she has taken the Pays de Gex, in 1814 she would have taken Chambéry, and the only reason for declining to take a part now, is the firm resolution to take, if possible, the whole. It is well argued by the Swiss Government in their note of the 19th March, that if the question of 'slopes' is to have any weight, 'the geographical 'position itself of Savoy commands a partition, inasmuch as the 'southern provinces of that duchy have their natural slope 'towards France, and those of the north just as naturally 'towards Switzerland.'

It may fairly be admitted, that the line previously described, which was established after the first Peace of Paris, is preferable, for the purpose of the defence of Swiss neutrality, to the line established after the second Peace of Paris. The former line rests, as we have shown, on an admirable natural position; the latter is too extended for the resources of the Confederation, and is of inferior natural strength. There is no doubt that the Swiss would be well satisfied to obtain what is essential, and to relinquish what is superfluous; and on the principle that half a loaf is better than no bread, we believe that it would be sound policy to recognise what has been done, on condition of securing to Switzerland that which is essential to her own existence, and to the maintenance of a very important principle in Europe.

It is hardly necessary to repeat in this place, the very full, solemn, and repeated guarantee of all the Powers, which was given in 1814, and again in 1815, to the neutrality and inviolability of the territory of Switzerland, including these adjacent portions of Savoy. They are referred to in both the Treaties we have just cited, and they were not only made the subject of these general stipulations, but of a separate Act of the highest authority, having direct reference to the territories now under our consideration. The signature of that Act was deferred until the 20th November, 1815, (the same date as the definitive Treaty of Paris) precisely because it was supposed that the events of the war, or the course of negotiation 'might cause 'some modification in the frontiers of Switzerland, or *in her* '*relations to the territory which is to participate in the benefits of*

'*Swiss neutrality.*' The principal clauses of the Declaration of Neutrality were as follows:—

'These changes being now determined by the treaty of Paris signed this day, the Powers which signed the declaration of Vienna of the 20th March, do now acknowledge in a formal and authentic manner by this act, the perpetual neutrality of Switzerland, *and guarantee to her the inviolability of her territory*, as now fixed.

'The Powers *equally* acknowledge *the neutrality of the parts of Savoy* designated in the declaration of the Congress of Vienna on the 20th March, and in the Peace of Paris of this date, *as forming part of the neutrality of Switzerland in the same manner as if they belonged to her.*

'The Powers further declare by this Act that the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland, as well as her independence of all foreign influence, are in conformity with the true interests of the policy of the whole of Europe.'*

It is no exaggeration to state, that this was the most important guarantee ever given by this country at the time when it was made, with the sole exception of our ancient treaties with Portugal. The Treaty of Vienna contains no other similar obligation, except that with reference to the Saxon districts ceded to Prussia; and for obvious reasons this country has always refused to bind itself to the irrevocable maintenance of territorial arrangements. To these engagements, Belgium, Greece, and Turkey have, however, in later years, been added; but in 1815, the neutrality and inviolability of Switzerland and the adjacent parts of Savoy was the one great obligation of the kind which all the Powers assumed. None, certainly, of the stipulations of that time were more absolutely irreproachable. It was intended solely to interpose a perfectly pacific barrier between contiguous military States; to preserve those rights of the Swiss people which had made their country a glorious abode of liberty in the heart of Europe; and to protect France from any aggression on that side, as well as to protect the adjacent countries and states from aggression by France. The whole measure was perfectly clear and right — consistent at once with the true interests of the people and the true policy of the neighbouring Courts. Therefore it was, that the unqualified assent and guarantee of Great Britain and of Continental Europe was given to this Declaration, and that it has retained till now the force and authority of a paramount and sacred law among nations.

If the annexation of Savoy in its entirety to the Empire of

* See Treaties of Guarantee laid before Parliament in 1859, p. 45.

France be consummated, it is certain and obvious that this declaration and agreement will have been set at nought. But even if we were disposed to concede to the King of Sardinia the right of bartering away his subjects, with or without their consent, he unquestionably has no right to set at nought the conditions under which this territory was restored to him — conditions of essential importance to the security of a third party, namely, Switzerland — conditions which are expressly recognised by his own Treaties with Switzerland — and which are essential to the maintenance of a principle solemnly established by the unanimous will of Europe. We hold, therefore, that in assenting to this transfer, which has been made in open defiance of the most positive assurances—without and against the will of the inhabitants of Savoy and Nice, without and against the consent of the other Powers of Europe—the Court of Turin has committed a flagrant violation of public law; and this reproach attaches even more strongly to the Sardinian Government than to the Emperor of the French, because France does not lie under quite the same obligations as Sardinia in this matter both to Switzerland and to Europe, inasmuch as all the general provisions above referred to were formally acceded to by the Crown of Sardinia, and were further confirmed by special treaties between that Crown and the Helvetic Confederation. The validity of these arrangements has also been repeatedly acknowledged by France. It is established beyond all doubt by the Protest of the Federal Government, that the Cabinet of the Tuileries had lulled their apprehensions by assuring the Swiss agent in Paris that the cession of Savoy to France was not on the *tapis*, but that in such a contingency Chablais and Faucigny should be ceded to Switzerland. These assurances were repeated orally by the French Chargé d'Affaires in Berne; and in a despatch communicated to the British Government, M. Thouvenel not only promised to respect the rights of Switzerland, but gave it as the desire of France that these contiguous districts should be added to the Confederation. On the 8th February M. de Cavour repeated to the Swiss agent at Turin that 'Sardinia is not disposed to 'sell, cede, or exchange Savoy to France;' but Sir J. Hudson reported that the Swiss agent 'did not fail to remark that a 'certain pressure is exercised by France upon Sardinia with 'regard to that cession.' Did Sardinia really resist that pressure? Did she appeal to this country to assist her in repelling an unjust demand? Did she even attempt to protect the rights of third parties, which she was bound by treaty and by good faith to recognise? We can find no evidence whatever of this

nature in the papers laid before Parliament, and we think it impossible to arrive at any other conclusion than that the French and Sardinian Cabinets had agreed upon this cession, for their own political purposes, without reference to the wishes of the people of Savoy, the rights of Switzerland, or the consent of Europe.

But can it be contended that France in assuming the government of these provinces, takes them with the peculiar liabilities attached to them, in favour of the neutrality of Switzerland? The argument appears to us utterly untenable. The pamphlet before us says:—

'The treaties of 1815 included the neutralised portion of Savoy, a fact which cannot be reconciled with the annexation of the country to France. Neither the law of France, which is uniformity, nor her dignity as a great military Power, could allow her to submit to conditions of this nature [such as the engagement not to place troops in the district in time of war, but to allow it to be occupied by the Swiss Confederation]. We smile at the idea of maintaining the neutrality of Savoy, after Savoy is become France. If then, in case the annexation be accomplished, it is the will of Europe to cause treaties to be respected, to guarantee the independence of Switzerland, and to keep the passes of the Simplon closed, there seems to us to be no other mode of effecting this object but by uniting to Switzerland the basins of the Dranse and the Arve, with the Salève, Sion, and Vuache mountains, so as to include them within the Helvetic Confederation.'

We know not what may be the course these events will have taken when these pages are before the public: but if the Emperor of the French be really disposed to give to Europe an assurance of his respect for public law and for peace—if he has not forgotten his personal obligations to that country which was once his asylum, and which is an invaluable barrier and ally to France—he will, at least, enter into such engagements as the safety and neutral character of Switzerland require. If he adopt and adhere to the opposite policy, his own declarations and his own promises stamp that policy with condemnation.

He may think that the interest of Europe in this small territory is not sufficiently strong and direct to justify measures of hostility, and that the seizure may probably be effected with temporary impunity. But that impunity will be but temporary. A blow struck, however successfully, at a great principle of international law, equally beneficial to the whole family of nations, is a blow struck at the fundamental conditions of peace. The value of these guarantees is not so much that they entitle foreign Powers to take up arms in defence of them, as that they are intended to avert the necessity of having recourse to arms. They are designed to substitute the humane provisions of public

law and mutual faith, for the brutal operations of military force. Every act, therefore, which weakens the sanctity of these engagements, increases the melancholy probability that the fate of territories and of nations will again be determined, not by law, but by might. The guarantees which have been subsequently given to Belgium and to the Ottoman Empire rest upon the same principle and upon no other; and in exactly the proportion in which one is weakened the others suffer. Whatever, therefore, may be the termination of this affair, it is one of evil augury for the future. Europe has seen, with surprise, the most frivolous pretexts put forth to justify a territorial aggrandisement, and the most solemn assurances dealt with as lightly as these frivolous pretexts. Both in money and in territory, the King of Sardinia has paid the price of the assistance he asked for and obtained from France. Well will it be for him if, even now, the account be closed! Well will it be for Europe, and for no other State in Europe more than for France, if this be the last of these attempts to undermine the territorial distribution of the Continent! But the end is not yet. There never was an age in human history when the civilised nations of the earth might enjoy greater prosperity and repose, if they will respect the rights of their neighbours and cultivate their own resources. The Commercial Treaty, to which we have devoted the first pages of this Number, was conceived in that spirit, and it was nobly and wisely done if it was done with sincerity. But between that spirit of enlightened improvement and the restless designs of political change and territorial aggrandisement, backed by military force, there is eternal hostility; and with both courses before him, we trust, that for the happiness of his country, the duration of his own power, and the welfare of mankind, it is to the former of these schemes of policy, and not to the latter, that the Ruler of France will direct his power. But if it be otherwise, the annexation of Savoy will prove a warning and a lesson not to be forgotten by Europe; and Lord John Russell has already expressed in Parliament, with great dignity, moderation, and firmness, the effect it cannot fail to produce on the policy of Great Britain.

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INDEX.

A

Acclimatisation of Animals, 161—Continental establishments, 162—capacity of adaptation, 164 — Lord Derby's labours at Knowsley, 167–71 — existing Zoological Gardens, 173 — birds, 181 — Gallinaceous birds domesticated, 183—progress in Holland, 187.

Agassiz, M., his Contributions to the Natural History of the United States, reviewed, 487.

Alison, Sir A., his History of Europe, from the Fall of Napoleon in 1815, to the Accession of Louis Napoleon in 1852, reviewed, 119 —statistical cookery, 120—Reform and Famine, 121—Indian and European Campaigns, *ib.*—its pretentious style, 122 — Alison's fallacies on domestic politics, 125-40—History of Continental nations, 141-54—portraiture of public men, 155—fallacies on French and German literature, 157.

Amé, M., Étude Économique sur Tarifs des Douanes, reviewed, 277.

B

British Taxation, three fallacies in regard to, 236 — pressure of taxation diminishing both in proportion to *numbers* and wealth, 237 — comparison with other countries, 239 — real and personal estate of U. Kingdom, 245—cost of collection, 247—Customs' department, 248 — comparison with direct taxation, 252 — income tax and capitation tax, 255 — indirect burden caused by customs' duties, 257 — customs and excise liable to evasion, 261 — taxation of the poor *entirely voluntary*, 262 — taxes paid by Propertied and Working Classes, 265—Summary, 267—Mr. Bright's scheme, 268.

Brockman, Dr., his Metallurgischen Krankheiten des Oberharzes, reviewed, 1.

Broglie, Prince Albert, his L'Eglise et l'Empire Romain au IVme Siècle, reviewed, 422—revolutions of the fourth century, 422 — contemporary histories, 425 — Theodosian code, 427 — Church and State in France, 428—first Christian empire, 433—the secular power, 437—Council of Nicæa, 442—policy of the Emperors from Constantine to Justinian, 449.

C

Campbell, Dr., Note on his Visit to England in 1775, 276.

Chevalier, Michel, his Examen du Système Commerciel connu sous le nom du Système Protecteur, reviewed, 277.

China, Lord Elgin's mission to, 96 — situation of our countrymen in '57, *ib.*—Yeh's memorial, 98 — bombardment of Canton, 100 — expedition to Soochoo, *ib.*—Peiho, 101—treaty of Tientsin, 102—the mission in Japan, 105 — the 'Furious' in the Bay of Nagasaki, 106—China and Japan contrasted, 108 — government control, 112 —feudal princes, 113—negotiation of the treaty, 115—dinner to the Commissioners, 116—social and domestic relations, 117.

Civil Correspondence and Memoranda of the Duke of Wellington, reviewed, 394 — enters Parliament, *ib.* — letter on accepting office, 395 — condition of Ireland in 1807, 395 — Irish corruption, 396 — his administration, 402 — conduct of Protestant clergy, 404 — church patronage, *ib.* — Irish pension list, 407 — military papers, 409 — inquiry into the conduct of the Duke of York, *ib.* — the duke's resignation, 419.

Coal-Fields of North America and Great Britain, Mr. Rogers's work on, 68 — value of English coal-fields, *ib.* — 'Coal measures,' 70 — formation of coal, 71 — 'drift' and 'peat-bog' theories, 77 — earthquakes, 79 — distribution of our coal-fields, 81 — contents, 82 — duration, 83 — American and European coal-fields, 88 — Anthracite used in America, 91 — South Wales coal-field, *ib.* — American surveys, 93 — Continental coal-fields, 94.

Collier, J. P., his Reply to Mr. Hamilton's Enquiry reviewed, 452.

Commercial Relations of England and France, 277 — Chevalier on the protective system, *ib.* — Treaty of Commerce, 278 — Cobden's triumph, 279 — objections to the treaty, *ib.* — history and condition of French tariff, 281 — England's prohibitive policy provoked retaliation, 285 — policy of Constituent Assembly, 287 — of the Restoration, 288 — the Republic of '48, 289 — the Empire, *ib.* — prohibitions existing in France, 289 — change effected by the Emperor, 292 — commerce of France, 293 — of Switzerland, 295 — Pitt and Gladstone, 299 — French manufactures, 300 — results of the Treaty, 302 — wine duty, 304 — basis of the Treaty, 311.

D

Darwin, Charles, his work on the Origin of Species, reviewed, 487 — inconstancy and transmutation, 488 — series of modifications, 489 — transmission of fresh-water productions, 492 — natural selection, 495, 509 — definition of species, 497 — transmutative speculations, 500 — Parthenogenesis and alternation of generations, 502 — 'law of irrelative repetition,' 506 — mutability of species, 509 — Darwinian hypothesis, 512 — Buffon's degeneration theory, 516 — hereditary transmission of variation characters, 525 — illustrations of the groundwork of 'natural selection,' 526 — Agassiz and the transmutationists, 531.

E

Eardley-Wilmot, Sir J., his work on Lord Brougham's Acts and Bills, reviewed, 189.

English Local Nomenclature, 356 — the Albion of Celtic Times, 357 — of the Augustan era, 361-6 — Saxon element, 368 — local names, 372 — family names, 373 — names derived from metals, 377 — from the animal kingdom, 378 — from sports, 380 — from Pagan mythology, *ib.* — Danish nomenclature, 382 — Norman Conquest, 388.

Expense of Public Education in England, 348 — expenditure in 1858, 351 — capitation grants, 352 — efficiency of inspection, 353 — Arnold's Report on British and Foreign Training School, 354.

F

Faucher, M. Léon, his Mélanges de Economie Politique et de Finances, reviewed, 277.
Financial Reform Tracts, reviewed, 236.
Flourens, P., his Buffon, Histoire de ses Travaux et de ses Idées, reviewed, 487.

G

Gleanings from Knowsley Menagerie, reviewed, 161.
Greenhow, E. H., Sanitary State of England, reviewed, 1.
Guy, W. A., his works on Health of Scavengers; Duration of Life in Professions, and the Peerage, reviewed, 1.

H

Hamilton, N. E. S. A., his Inquiry into the Genuineness of the Manuscript Corrections in Mr. Collier's Annotated Shakspeare, reviewed, 452.
Hamilton, W. Douglas, his Original Papers illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Milton, reviewed, 312.
Herodotus, History of, Littlebury and Beloe's edition, 32—Rawlinson's, *ib.*—Larcher and Bähr, 33—Cuneiform writing—inscription at Behistun, 34—credit of Herodotus, 36—Persian war, 39—Cyrus, 41—Darius, 43—revolt of the Medes, 44—Berosus and Manetho, 45—description of Babylon, 47-59—of Egypt, 48—Lake Mœris, 49—nature of the history, 51—lists of Manetho, 52—Sesostris, 53—conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos, 54—'Assyrian History,' 56—Rawlinson's conjectures, 58—results of cuneiform research, 65.
Hooker, Dr. Joseph, his Flora of Australia, reviewed, 487.

I

Ingleby, C. Mansfield, his Shakspeare Fabrications, reviewed, 452.

K

Keightley, Thomas, his Account of the Life, Opinions, and Writings of John Milton, reviewed, 312—Poems of Milton, reviewed, 312.

L

La Suisse dans la Question de Savoie, reviewed, 533.
Legal Reform—Edinburgh Banquet, 189—Difficulties to be surmounted, 190—Lord Ellenborough's Speech on Capital Punishments, 191—Lord Brougham's great speech in 1828, *ib.*—his remarks on that speech in 1849, 193—Lord Brougham's Acts, 195—Law of Evidence, 196—Locking-up Juries, 199—how to frame statutes, 201—Consolidation and Codification, *ib.*
Lenormant, Madame, her Souvenirs et Correspondance de Madame Récamier, reviewed, 204. See *Récamier*.
Leo, Heinrich, his Treatise on the Local Nomenclature of the Anglo-Saxons, reviewed, 356.

M

Macaulay, Lord, Obituary, 273.

Masson, David, his Life of John Milton, reviewed, 312.
Mémoire sur les Rapports entre la Suisse et la Savoie neutralisée, reviewed, 533.
Milton, the Youth of, 312—radical fault of Mr. Masson's plan, 312—'Letters of State,' edited by Hamilton, 313 — Keightley's account, 314 — mistakes about the Puritans, 315—his Latin poems, 318—Milton's house, 321—his education, 323—St. Paul's School, 324—at Cambridge, 328—Laud's policy, 333 — Laudism not Puritanism, Milton's reason for not taking orders, 335 — firstlings of his imagination, 338—his travels, 341—his controversies, 346.
Mitchell, D. W., his Guide to the Gardens of the Zoological Society of London, reviewed, 161.
Mortality in Trades and Professions — Sheffield fork-grinders, 3 — miners, 6 — accidents, 7 — metalliferous mines and coal-mines, 10 —masons, 11 — shoddy fever, 12 — hecklers in flax mills, *ib.* — dustmen, &c., *ib.* — butchers, 15 — tanners, *ib.* — lucifer-match-makers, *ib.* — water-gilders, 17 — plumbers, 18—poisonous paper-hangings, *ib.*—file-makers, 20—steel-workers, painters, and potters, *ib.*—tailors, bakers, and milliners, 22— shoemakers, 25—pressmen and compositors, *ib.* — expectation of life in in-door and out-door occupations, 27—diseases of tradesmen, 28 — educated classes, 29.

N

Neison, F. G. P., his Contributions to Vital Statistics, reviewed, 1.
Norman, G. W., On the Pressure of Taxation, reviewed, 236.

O

Oliphant, Laurence, his narrative of the Earl of Elgin's mission to China and Japan, in 1857–9, reviewed, 96.
Owen, Professor R., his Recherches sur l'Archetype et les Homologies du Squelette Vertebré, reviewed, 487 — his address to the British Association, Leeds, reviewed, 487—his Palæontology, or a systematic summary of extinct animals, reviewed, 487.

P

People's Blue Book, reviewed, 236.
Pouchet, Professor V. A., his Hétérogénie, ou Traité de la Génération Spontanée, reviewed, 487.
Powell, Rev. Baden, his Essays on the Spirit of the Inductive Philosophy and the Philosophy of Creation, 487.

R

Rawlinson, George, his Translation of Herodotus, reviewed, 32.
Récamier, Madame, her singular history, 205—marriage, 209—meets Madame de Staël, 211—Récamier's offences against Napoleon, 212 —Bernadotte, 214 — trial of Moreau, 214 — Lucien's ball, 215 — Fouche's advice, 216—tempted by Madame Murat, 217—her husband's bankruptcy, 219 — goes to Coppet, 221 — Prince Augustus of Prussia, *ib.*—Récamier and De Staël banished, 223—removes to Lyons, 226 — visits Rome and Naples, 227 — interview with Murat, 228—returns to Paris, *ib.* — Society under the Restoration, 229—her brilliant *salon*, 230—notices of her guests, *ib.*

Report on Finances, by the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, reviewed, 236.
Report on Taxation, direct and indirect, adopted by the Liverpool Financial Reform Association, reviewed, 236.
Rogers, Henry Darwin, his Essays on the Coal Formation and its Fossils, &c., reviewed, 68.

S

Savoy, and Switzerland, 533—Italian policy, *ib.*—effect of the annexation, 534—treaty between France and Sardinia, 535—neutrality of Switzerland, established in 1815, 538—the treaty with Berne, 1564, relied on by the Helvetic Confederation, 539—the neutralised territory, 540—negotiations in 1703, 541—seizure of Savoy and Nice in 1792, 542—first Treaty of Paris, 543—importance of the neutralisation of Chablais and Faucigny, 544—the 92nd Article of the Congress of Vienna, 545—typographical details, 546—Second Treaty of Paris, 547—Conduct of Turin, 549.
Shakspeare Forgeries, the alleged, 452—nature of the charges, *ib.*—the 'Perkins Folio,' 453—the forgery theory, 454—Mr. Hamilton's letters, 455—points in favour of the authenticity of the Corrections, 457—'test word,' 463—result of Mr. Hamilton's collation, 465—Mr. Maskelyne's testimony, 468—palæographical objections, 469—appearance of the ink writing, 471—the pencil marks, 472—the charge as affecting Mr. Collier, and his demeanour, 473—Dr. Wellesley's corroboration of the existence of the manuscript notes, 474—pedigree of the book, Mr. Parry and Mr. Collier, 475—Mr. Collier's works, 476—suspected documents, 479—the Ellesmere Folio, *ib.*—the 'Bridgewater Papers,' 480—the 'Marston Letter,' 481—the 'Players' Petition,' 482—the 'official inquiry,' 483.
St. Hilaire, I. G., his Animaux Utiles, reviewed, 161.

T

Thakrah, C. Turner, work of, On Effects of Arts, Trades, and Professions, reviewed, 1.

W

Wallace, Alfred Russel, his work On the Tendency of Varieties to depart indefinitely from the Original Type, reviewed, 487.
Wilkinson, Sir J. G., assists Rawlinson in his Herodotus, 32.
Wolf, Joseph, his Zoological Sketches, reviewed, 161.
Wright, Thomas, his work, The Celt, the Roman, and the Saxon, reviewed, 356.

Z

Zoological Society, Reports of, 173.

END OF VOL. CXI.

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